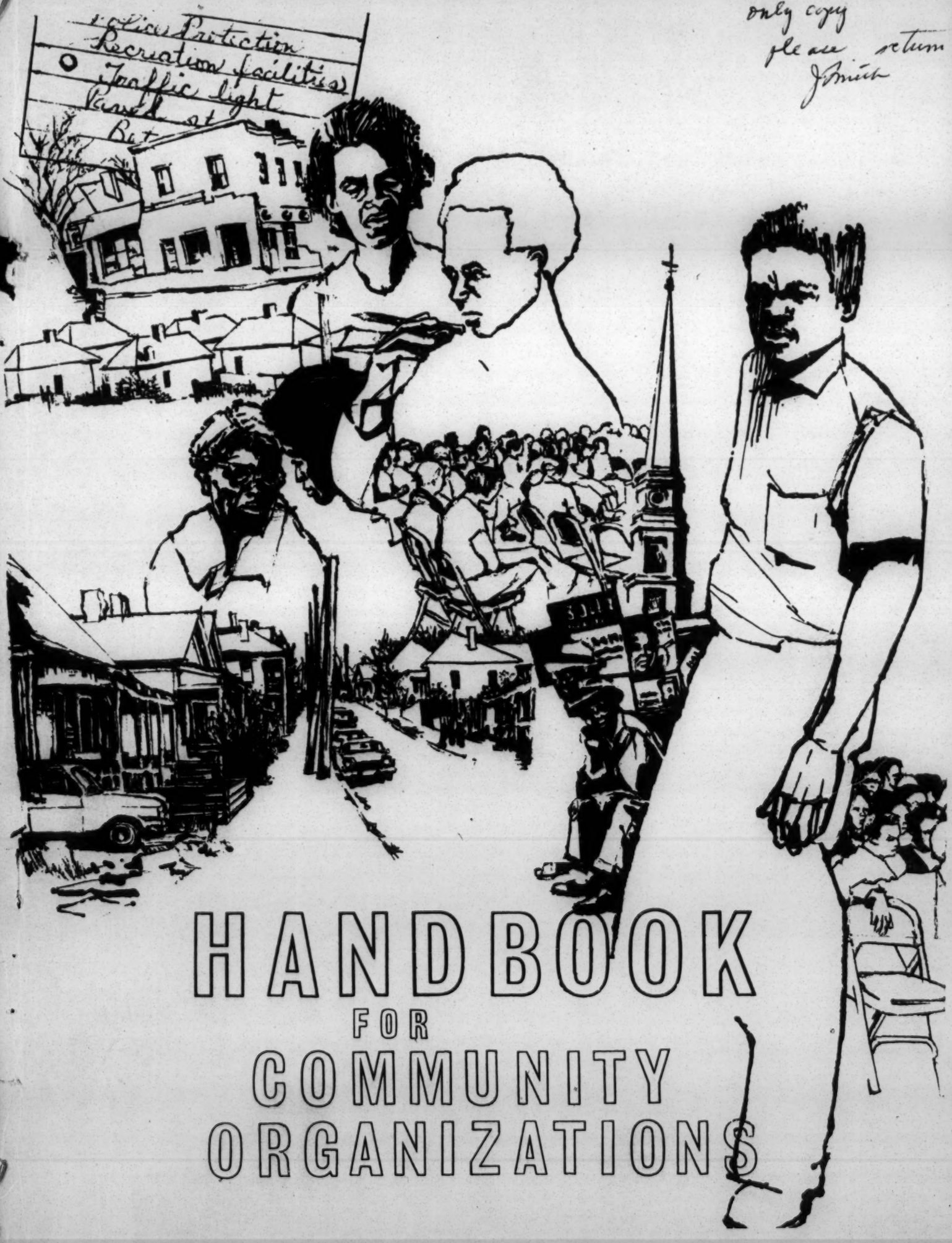
only copy
please return
J Smith



HANDBOOK FOR COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

HANDBOOK

FOR

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Prepared by the Foundation for Community Development of Durham, North Carolina. Edited and distributed by the Community Organization Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Foundation for Community Development
Post Office Box 647
811 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina 27702

919-688-8248

Community Organization Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

404-522-8764

OCTOBER, 1969

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NOTE iii

WHAT IS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION . . . . . 6 - 7

WHAT WILL THE GROUP REALLY BE DOING. . . . . 7 - 12

YOUR ROLE AS AN ORGANIZER. . . . . .12 - 13

INITIAL STEPS. . . . . .13 - 20

MEETINGS: FIRST MEETINGS AND LATER ONES. . . . .20 - 26

WHAT TO DO BETWEEN MEETINGS -- AN

ORGANIZER'S WEEK. . . . . .26 - 33

A WORD ABOUT THE LONG-RANGE VIEW. . . . . .34 - 36

ADDENDUM: PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE . . . . . .36- - 42

PROPOSAL. . . . . 43 - 46

GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS . . . . . 47 - 55

NOTE

This booklet is designed to assist persons who are beginning to work as Community organizers.

The staff of the Foundation for Community Development has found through its experience that community organization follows certain patterns:

(1) The organizer must enter the neighborhood and learn about its people and problems in the community.

(2) The people then get together to form Neighborhood Councils to work on the specific problems of their neighborhood.

(3) These councils develop strength through successfully dealing with neighborhood problems.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION?

First of all, we should define what we mean by "community." We are going to use "community" to mean two things:

1. It can be a certain area where people live.
2. A community can be a group of people who have shared common goals or interests. (Example: All of the people on the welfare belong to the welfare community.)

The second word to be defined is "organization." Organization simply means getting something together. For our purposes it means:

1. Combining different people or groups into one working body.
2. Bringing people or groups together for various reasons who have been seperated.

But community organization means much more than getting people together. There must be a purpose. The overall purpose is to form a group that can take action on community problems. Effective community organization implies that you will create a group that doesn't just sit around and talk about how bad things

are. The effective group is one that can get some action on the problems of the poor people who make up the group.

There are two basic kinds of community organization:

1. The Issue-Oriented Group: This is a group created around a particular issue, or problem. Example: getting a street paved or getting better garbage collection, and so forth.

2. The Self-Help Group: This type of group tries to better neighborhood conditions by the efforts of neighborhood people. Example: A group formed to carry out a clean-up campaign, or to start a credit union. The Self-Help groups are usually formed by poverty agencies.

You will notice that there is a basic and very important difference between the issue-oriented group and the self-help group. The issue-oriented group tries to get changes by working with outside agencies, like the City Street Department or the Building Inspector's office. This means that the issue-oriented group must have direct confrontations with outside groups if it is to succeed. (The self-help group relies mainly on the initiative of people from the community.)

The specific conditions of each neighborhood determine which kind of group will work best. Both can be effective if -- and this is a big if -- they are change-oriented. Behind any successful community organization is a real desire and commitment to make basic changes in the way decisions are being made. The decisions that school boards make and the city agencies make do not take into account the problems of poor people. So poor people must organize so that they will have a strong group that can speak for their interests. Both issue-oriented groups and self-help groups can work for these changes.

Certain things must be true about a group if it is truly change-oriented:

1. The group must encourage each member to come to a new self-awareness.

We are talking about several things here. First of all, a change-oriented group must encourage pride. (Pride is what you think of yourself. Poor people because of their situation may think nothing can be done to improve their condition. Many poor people have lost hope in themselves and any solutions that might solve their problems.) This involves casting out the fear and insecurity society has forced on poor people. The idea that every person on earth does not have the right to live decently as human beings should be rejected by the group.

All ideas of inferiority must be excluded. Each member of the group must believe in himself. Each member must believe that he can give something to the group that will help lead to basic changes in the way poor people live.

This group as a whole, and each individual member, must believe in the necessity for change. They also must believe that this change will come about only through their efforts. No one is going to give anything to poor people. They will have to fight for a change.

2. A group that gets change must be action-oriented.

Talk is the beginning point of community organization, but the end is action on community problems. If the group is issue-oriented, it must wrestle with issues. If it is a self-help group, actual projects must be carried out. Otherwise, the people will not continue to support the group.

3. A change-oriented group must provide real solutions to real problems -- victories.

A group must tackle the problems that really concern the people, and the group must come up with real, workable solutions. An example of a problem that is real is substandard housing. An example of a problem that is not real is "communication." This is something the power structure is always saying. "There's a

lack of communication," they say. What they mean is that they want to talk about the problems and keep things quiet. But your group, if it is to get changes made, must keep its eye firmly on the real problem of bad housing. We can use a "commission" as an example of a solution. The power structure often suggests a commission as a solution to a problem. Whether a commission is a real solution depends on whether it has any definite and specific powers to deal with problems. For example, if the problem is housing, a commission is a real solution only if it has power to force landlords to fix their houses. If the commission is just a talking group, then it is not a real solution.

4. A change-oriented group must have both short and long-range goals.

Short-range goals are necessary because a change-oriented group needs to make concrete changes in people's lives. A house must be repaired; welfare injustices must be stopped; a man who was fired without reason must be defended. A group builds strength on winning short-range successes, but the group must also keep in mind the long-range view. The end goal is to make basic changes in the way the system operates. (We will talk about what we mean by "the system" later on.) And basic changes are going to take a long time. So the group has to be aware of

the direction it is going to take in the long run. For example, it is important to have the short-range goal for fixing individual houses. But it is just as important to work for the long-range goal of getting a completely new housing code that will make sure that houses don't get into such bad shape.

5. A group that gets changes must be flexible and loose.

We said above that the group should encourage a new self-awareness in its members. This can be done only if each member feels comfortable in the group meetings. This implies that the group should not get tied up with a lot of formal rules and regulations. Everyone should feel free to speak his piece. Time must be allowed for individuals to express what's on their mind until they are satisfied. The change-oriented group also must be careful to avoid letting one person or one small group run the whole show.

6. The change-oriented group must be realistic both in victory and defeat.

Victories keep people in the group. If the people see that the group is getting better conditions and dignity for poor people, then they will become involved in the group. But everyone in the group must be aware that battles will sometimes be

lost. If your group wins a victory, you must keep the ground and be aware that one victory does not mean that the battle is won. Also, if you suffer a defeat, your group must accept the defeat as temporary and realize that one defeat does not mean that the battle is lost.

WHAT WILL THE GROUP REALLY BE DOING?

A change-oriented organization of poor people is trying to do one basic thing: GET POWER.

Power is the ability to affect the actions that other people take.

Power can be used indirectly or directly. Power can be used indirectly to influence another person to make a decision that might not have made if the power had not been used. Power can be used directly to make the decisions yourself.

There are two basic kinds of power in America: Money power and People Power.

1. Money Power or economic power doesn't need any explanation. Money talks.
2. People Power is the kind of power that poor people can have. As things stand right now, people power is mostly a possibility and not a reality. People power is a goal to be worked toward. The power of

the people is only as strong as the strength of their organization.

There is a chart on the next page showing how power works in America.

You can see by this chart that persons who control business and industries are the people who control such boards as welfare, health, school and the boards of poverty programs, and staff positions in these agencies are filled mostly by white persons. All of the boards are set up to deal with the problems of poor people, but they are run by non-poor people. The result is that these persons control two communities; they control the poor white community, and they control the black community. The system decides where poor people will live, what kind of houses they live in, what sort of health care they get, what their children learn in school and who gets a job and how much he is paid.

This is the "system" we talked about earlier, and this is the system which must be changed.

There are two possible ways to change the system:

1. A complete and immediate overthrow of the present system and replacement with a different system.
2. A gradual step-by-step change until the nature of the system is radically changed.

How Our Political + Economic System Works

Business Men have ownership and control of

BUSINESS STRUCTURE

Unofficial structure
Power to make

Business Decisions

PLUS

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

Official Decision

Makers

BOTH

Industry, Stores
Real Estate

Jobs

Prices, Work
Conditions, etc.

Poverty Boards
Housing Boards

Welfare Boards

Health Boards
School Boards

. . . majority of board membership

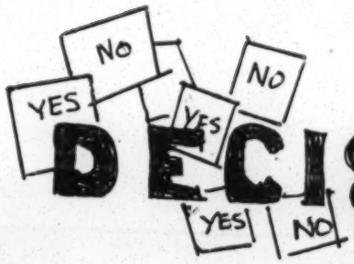
. . . Administrative staff positions

The kind of community organization we are talking about is geared more to the second, gradual kind of change in the system. Community organization does not mean tokenism or gradualism, it means keeping in mind the long-range goal of basic change while working for change right now. A complete, immediate overthrow of the present system probably is not possible right now, because the means for achieving this are not present. This is not an excuse for giving up. Community organization means that you, as an organizer, must become involved in the decisions that are made for the benefit of poor people.

It's important to remember that the system can be changed only through the efforts of a united community, and the key to this is organization of poor people. Low-income citizens have people power if they are organized. They also have a big stake in changing the system. They can provide the key to uniting the total community. Individuals from all levels must be brought together. The funeral home director must sit down as an equal with the bootlegger. The preacher must climb down from the pulpit and talk to the worker in the streets. Groups must organize together to make sure that the total community is together. Church groups, fraternities, civic groups, etc., must all unite around their problems and work together for the progress of the community.

GET THE

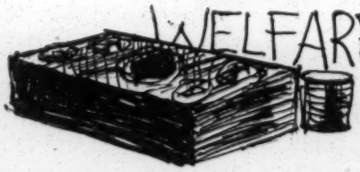
COMMUNITY'S



DECISIONS

ON SCHOOL BOARDS,

WELFARE BOARDS,



CITY COUNCILS, AND

COUNTY COMMISSIONS.

YOUR ROLE AS AN ORGANIZER

Changing the way the American system works is like moving a mountain. Change is the goal of your group, and change is your goal as an organizer. The job is so hare, you will need certain qualities to make changes possible:

1. Hard work is necessary.
2. It will take time to make change.
3. Sacrifice is required. Sacrifice of time and energy and money and comfort.
4. Commitment to the long, hard struggle is absolutely necessary.

These qualities do not need much discussion. They are all necessary. The organizer should keep them in mind as he goes about his work.

Now, we want to say a few things about some of the opposition you might meet. You can be sure that if you are doing a good job as an organizer, you will make some enemies. Frederick Douglas said long ago that "there is no progress without struggle," and that is true today. There are many people opposed to the kinds of changes that community organization can bring. There are several ways people will try to hinder your work as an organi-

zer. They are:

1. They can try to buy you off. This can be done either directly by offering you cash, or indirectly by offering you a so-called better job.
2. They can put pressure on the person you are working for. They can call you an "outside agitator" or a "trouble-maker."
3. Another way is the oldest trick in the book -- to smear you personally with lies about your personal life.

These are some of the ways people who are against change may try to attack you. We mention them not to scare you, but to make you aware that you not only have to fight problems, but you also have to deal with people who want the opposite of what you and your people want.

INITIAL STEPS

This part of the booklet is going to talk about things that can happen from your first day on the job as an organizer until the first meeting of the community.

This is your problem as an organizer: You have people who are poor. They are poor because the system they live in -- and

the one you live in -- did not give them the tools to escape poverty. They have been given bad educations--the lowest jobs that pay the least money--and they have been crowded together in the worst part of town. As you begin your work, your people are individuals who are going their way alone. Your neighborhood will probably have old feuds and rivalries. Some people won't say good morning to their neighbor. Churches may be competing against each other.

One thing your people will share is poverty.

You can add a second thing for them to share: the idea that community organization is the best way for people to get together and work on their problems. It is going to take a good job by you to get this idea across. To sell the idea of community organization, you have to master two things:

1. You must know your neighborhood's people and their problems.

If you are working in a neighborhood where you have lived for a long time, you have a head start on learning the people and the problems. If the neighborhood is new to you, you'll have to start from scratch. Either way you will have to do a lot of walking. No one yet has found any other way to begin community organization except by getting out into the streets and walking

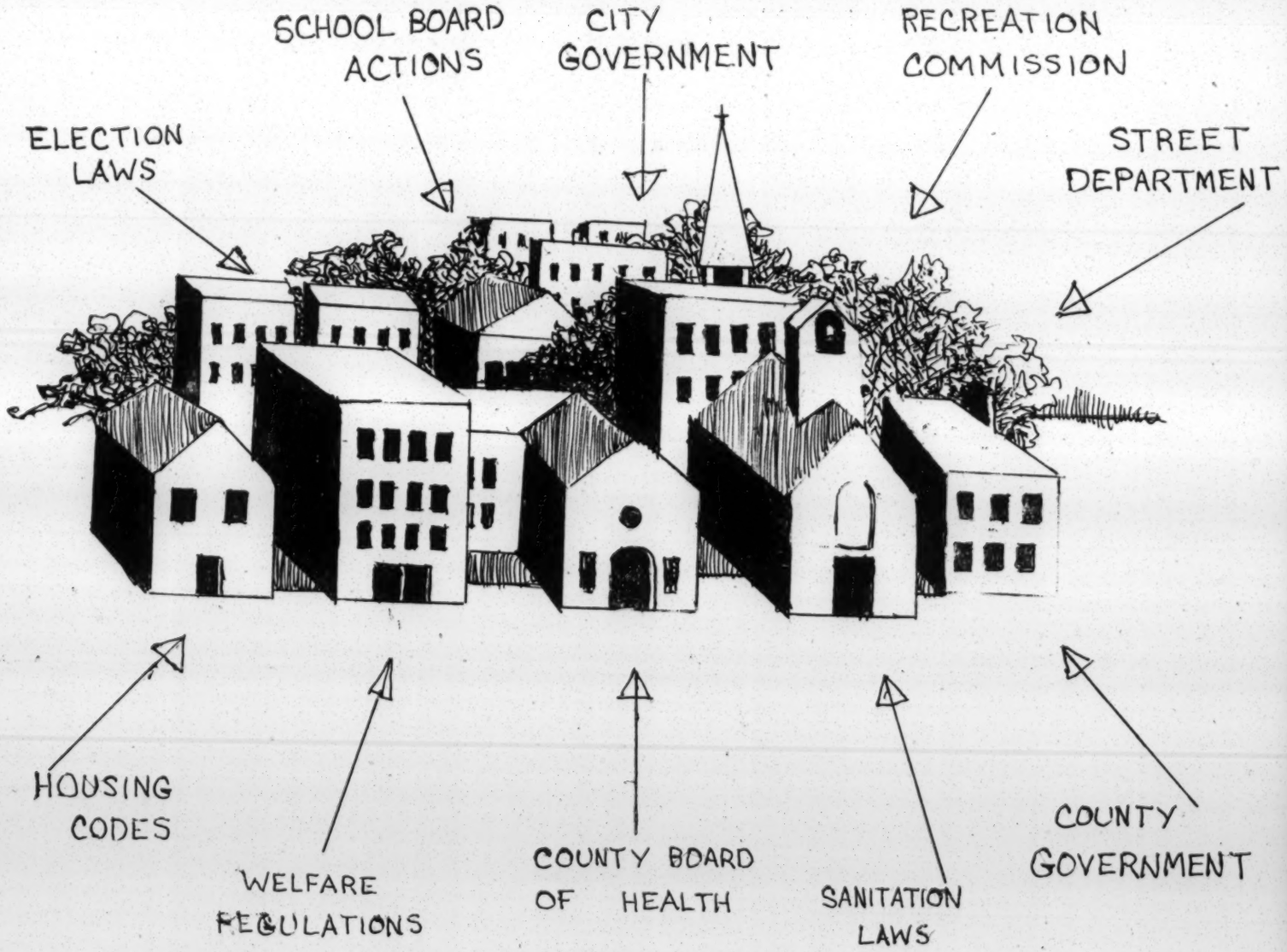
and meeting the people. The streets are textbooks for organizers, and the people are teachers.

The most important thing in the beginning is the way you come across to the people. What you say is not as important as how you introduce yourself. You can't just walk up on a front porch and say, "I've come to organize you." That's liable to fail and probably will get you kicked off the porch, too. If someone asks you about your work, you should explain it, of course. But, you don't have to push things. A suggested way to begin is to just introduce yourself and tell who you're working for. Then just talk about whatever the person wants to . If you find people who don't want to talk, or who are busy, leave and come back again. You will soon develop a sense of timing about when to talk and when not to, when to stay and when to leave.

Try to see yourself through the eyes of the person you are talking to. Are you coming across honestly? If this is the way the people see you, you will win their confidence. Their confidence in you will lead naturally to talks about their problems. When problems are brought up this gives you a good chance to suggest that you know other folks with the same kinds of problems. The logical thing then is to ask the person if he would

OUTSIDE FORCES

ON THE COMMUNITY



like to get together with some other folks and talk about ways to solve their problems.

2. You must know about the forces outside your community that affect your people. These forces include city government, county government, welfare regulations, housing codes, sanitation laws, election laws and school board actions.

A good working knowledge of systems is a strong tool of the organizer. A basic belief of community organization is that the people can make the correct decisions if they are given enough information. The trouble now is, they aren't being given enough power or information. The organizer must learn about systems -- about government, politics, economics -- so he can pass it on to the people.

Nearly every problem that poor people have is related to an agency, an official, or an individual who is responsible for helping solve the problem.

If your streets need paving, you must work through the street department to get the work done.

If your schools are not good enough, the school board must be forced to admit the problems and get to work on them.

If the neighborhood houses are run-down, the landlord must

be forced to fix them, either through enforcement of the city building code or through action by the people.

Community organization includes two educational processes that take place at the same time: (1) the community organizer educates the people as to the idea of community organization as a means for group action, and (2) the organizer educates himself about these systems and then passes on what he learns to the people.

There is no set time for how long it takes before you should start thinking about a meeting. Some communities may be ready in three days, others may take two months. One thing is sure, though -- having a meeting <u>just to have a meeting is a mistake.</u> Getting people to come out to a meeting is hard work, and they will expect to get something out of the meeting. If it turns out that the meeting is just a lot of talk and no action, they probably won't come back. So, a good rule of thumb is that a meeting -- and especially the first meeting -- should grow out of a specific need. A meeting should have a purpose.

You will have to work hard to make sure that the people turn out for a meeting. This is true especially in the beginning. You must explain very clearly what the meeting is about, where it will be held, and when. Some folks will have to be told

about the meeting several times. Even then they may not show up.

The place for the meeting is important:

1. It must be a place that the people can get to easily.
2. It must be a place where people can go and feel comfortable.

Most meetings, at least in the early stages of organization, are held either in people's homes or in churches. Either place is okay if the folks feel at ease there. You would not want to schedule a meeting at the home of a person who is disliked by most of the community. It would also be dangerous to have a meeting at a church where the preacher is a "Tom". These are important things to remember, if you have done a good job of learning the community, you will be able to spot the good and bad places to hold meetings.

Publicity for the first meeting can best be done by word-of-mouth and by heavy use of shoe leather. Other things that are helpful are leaflets and posters, announcements in church and radio ads.

MEETINGS: FIRST MEETINGS AND LATER ONES

The big thing that's usually discussed at the first meeting of a neighborhood council is structure -- officers, by-laws, committees, and so forth.

There is no single one set-up that's best for every neighborhood group. The general rule is that the best structure is the one that allows the group to act effectively and quickly on the problems.

The experience of neighborhood councils in many communities has shown that, in general, there are certain things that should be avoided, if possible.

1. Avoid electing officers the first night, if possible. This is because it's impossible to be sure who will be the best leaders without waiting awhile. For example, the persons who talk the loudest and the most at the early meetings will not necessarily be the best leaders. In fact, they are more likely to be persons who simply have had previous experience with meetings in their church or clubs. But this experience doesn't make them leaders. They may just like to hear themselves talk. The best leader for your group may be a very quiet person in the back of the room. But it takes time to tell. So, if at all possible, the group should be urged to put off electing

a president and other officers at the first meeting.

You might want to talk to your group about the idea of leadership. Some folks have the idea that a leader is someone who is different from the folks, somebody who is smarter than the rest and who stands apart from the "common" people and make speeches. This is not true. A leader is a man or woman who is in there with the people. Someone who feels with the people, who understands their problems, and who is dedicated to fighting for his people. At your first meeting, the people who look like leaders may be sort of middle class types. One of your jobs will be to make sure that they don't take over the meeting and turn your organization into a talking club.

2. Avoid a fancy structure. It's easy to fall into the trap of wanting a high-type group with lots of officers and by-laws and rules and such. The trouble with this is that an organization of this type is likely to scare off many of the people who need to be organized the most and who have a lot to give.

3. Avoid putting a lot of emphasis on Robert's Rules of Order. Nobody should be forced to know complicated rules in order to take part in a neighborhood meeting. Most groups have found that a good chariman can keep the meeting

rolling along without having to use a lot of rules.

But it will be helpful to you as an organizer to study Robert's Rules of Order. Sooner or later, your people will meet with outside agencies like the City Council or County Commission. These meetings often are governed by Robert's Rules of Order, and these rules can be used against you if you, or someone from your group, doesn't know them. Some of the basic elements of parliamentary procedure are listed at the back of this booklet.

So, when you are meeting within your community, formal rules aren't important. But, when you go to confront outside groups, it is necessary to know them.

It is suggested that the three things above be avoided so that the group can be flexible enough to act freely. There are some things you can do to make sure the group remains democratic and loose.

1. Try electing rotating chairmen. Let the leadership pass among the group. Don't let the power become concentrated in one person, or a group of persons.

2. Keep the list of officers short. Most groups have found that they can work effectively with a president (or chairman), a vice-president, a secretary, and sometimes a treasurer.

If there is a lack of trust, you may form a finance committee.

3. Give everyone an assignment. People work best when they feel that what they are doing is important to the group. Every member of your Council should feel that he is important. When you give assignments make sure that each person reports back to the group. This will make sure that things are done.

4. Arrange the chairs in a circle, if possible. This is a small thing, but it's worth doing. There is a feeling of closeness when people get together in a circle, facing each other. This feeling isn't as great when folks are arranged in straight rows, all facing a leader in the front.

This first meeting will provide you with a tremendous opportunity to learn more about the community. People will be very likely to want to get things off their chest. This will give you a chance to define the problems and see which ones seem to concern people most. You can soon begin to make a list of problems in their order of importance to the community.

For example, you might come up with a list like this:

1. Rent
2. Roof leaks
3. No bathroom
4. Don't make enough off welfare
5. Streets need paving
6. Need clean-up campaign

IMPROVED HOUSING

ORGANIZED COMMUNITIES

BETTER GARBAGE COLLECTION

FIGHT FOR

PAVED STREETS

7. Roaches and Rats

8. Junk Cars

You will also be able to pick up useful information about the people themselves. You can watch to see which people come in together. Notice which people sit together. You can learn from watching to see who laughs at the things certain other people say. It will help your organizing work to notice who gets respect and attention when he talks. Also, it will help you to learn which people do not seem to have the respect of the group. Nearly every group has certain types of people who will present problems to the organizer. There are the obstructionists, people who are against everything just to be against it. There are religious people who feel that the problems of the poor are "God's Will." These are all problems you'll have to face. All of these little bits of information about people will be helpful. The more you know about your people, the fewer mistakes you will make in your community organizing, and the better your organizing goes, the sooner poor people will get power.

Your first neighborhood meeting is a step in the community organization process. Usually, no big decisions are made at a first meeting. It's mostly a getting-to-know-each-other thing.

The meeting is useful as a means of getting started. You can learn something about the people and their problems. As we said before, it's usually wise not to get bogged down in structure of your group at the first meeting. There will be plenty of time for electing officers later. You shouldn't make any decision at your first meeting that might come back to haunt you later.

WHAT TO DO BETWEEN MEETINGS -- AN ORGANIZER'S WEEK

Community organization is like an iceberg. There is a little showing on top and lot more out of sight. Meetings are the part of community organization that is above water. Most of the organizer's work is done quietly during the time between meetings. This section will deal with some of the things the organizers have to do between meetings. A housing problem will be the example used here, but the kind of work the organizer has to do applies to other problems. First of all, what is a good issue? A good issue is one that the people will get together on, one that they will work on, and ONE THAT CAN BE WON. If these three things aren't present, you don't have an issue. You can easily see why:

1. If a problem concerns only a very few people, it is not a community problem. If it isn't a community problem,

then it doesn't really come under your community organization work. It is true that you will have to do some "case work" on individual problems. But this should be only a means of strengthening community organization.

2. People have to be willing to commit themselves to working on the problem. If the problem is housing or sanitation or jobs or whatever, it is not an issue unless the people are mad enough to take action and not just talk.

3. You, as an organizer, do not have an issue if the problem cannot be solved. Success is very important to community organization. This is true especially in the early stages, but it is always true. People gain confidence and self-pride through successes. When they get a new stop sign through your work as an organizer, they also get other things: pride, a feeling of strength, and the desire to push on for more successes. Defeat takes away strength of the people. Sometimes you lose on issues. This is inevitable. There is absolutely no point in fighting a battle you know you will lose. Like taking some workers out on strike when you know there is a huge supply of cheap labor just waiting to get those jobs, or like trying a rent strike on a wealthy landlord who thinks his slum houses are a bother anyway and just wants an excuse to tear them down and kick the tenants

out. So the motto for community organization is: "Don't go into a fight unless you have a good chance of winning." If the people are defeated, you are discredited as an organizer. Organization becomes harder. It becomes even harder to work on those problems that can be solved.

Suppose your neighborhood group decides at an early meeting that they want to get their houses fixed up? So, they tell you to look into the problem and see what can be done. (As an organizer, you will have to perform some tasks at first that neighborhood folk can perform later.)

Suppose they tell you on Monday night to look into the housing problem and report back next Monday night. What do you do?

The first step is to define the problem. Your first way of stating the problem might be: The people's houses are bad, and they need fixing. Yet, this is too general to be of much use. You must find the answers to some questions:

1. How many people have a housing problem? All of the Community residents? Half? Twenty per cent? This is very important because in order to organize, you have to have a problem that is bugging enough people to make a good issue.

2. What exactly is wrong? Are rents too high? Do

the houses lack adequate plumbing? Are the windows and screens broken-down? Do the floors need fixing? Do the houses need re-wiring? These facts will be your ammunition as you fight the problem. As an organizer, your job is to have answers to questions like Building Inspectors and City Councilmen. The more answers you have, the more useful you are.

3. What is the cause of the problem? Who are the landlords? Does one man own most of the bad houses? Or do several landlords own them? Have they turned down the people's requests for repairs?

4. What can be done to solve the problem? Here you may come up with any number of possible things to do:

-- go to city hall and see if there is a building code. If there is one, find out whether the houses meet the standards of the code. If they do not, you can tell the City Council and ask them to take action.

-- write the landlord (or landlords) and ask them to fix the houses.

-- if one landlord owns enough houses that the loss of income would hurt him, you could consider a rent strike.

Finding out the answers to these questions is going to mean that the organizer is going to have to do some hard work. But

it's all necessary. You, as an organizer, have to come up with this information so you can take the people's general problem -- bad housing -- and turn it into an issue that can be organized around and, hopefully, that you can get a victory on. You should remember that the work you do on this one problem is in addition to your day-in and day-out job of meeting the people, listening to their problems, getting to know them, and getting yourself accepted as an organizer.

So, when Monday night rolls around and it's time for the meeting, you should have a good deal of information about the housing problems of the community.

This is where you can do something that will speed the process of organizing. When you give your report on housing, you have two ways of presenting it. (1) you can have <u>your</u> mind made up about what to do and you can give the group only information that supports your decision; (2) or you can tell the folks everything you learned, suggest all the possible courses of action, and let the <u>group</u> make the decision. The second way is more true to the spirit of community organization. The goal of community organization is to have a group of people working together to make their own decisions. So if you can get started on the right foot and encourage group decisions

from the beginning, your organization's efforts will benefit.

It may be that your council decides that they can and should fight one landlord who owns a lot of the houses that need fixing. Quite likely your group will want to invite him to a meeting of the council to talk about the problems. When the time and place of the meeting are set, you have two main jobs in between the meeting with the landlord.

1. To get all the information your people will need to confront the landlord. The work you did to report back to the group will provide you with much of this information. What you need to do now is to narrow your focus to this one landlord. Get all the facts about his houses: How many he owns, how much they rent for, whether they meet the building code (if there is one), when was the last time he fixed the houses, and so forth. It will also be helpful if you can get personal information on what kind of person the landlord is: Is he a hardline radical or can he be reached with reason? Where does he get his money? Will he respond better to persuasion or to force?

2. To set up and conduct a pre-meeting. A pre-meeting is a meeting where the neighborhood people get together and plan strategy for a meeting with an outside person or agency.

Pre-meetings are very important. They can make the dif-

ference between a successful confrontation or one that fails. The power structure has always gotten together in small, private groups to decide what they will do in public at city council meetings and housing authority meetings. The community organizer should use pre-meetings as a tool. He should talk with the group and discuss exactly what the people want from the upcoming meeting. Do they expect the landlord to fix all the houses at once? Some of them at once? Or will they be satisfied with a promise to fix them sometime?

Once the objective of the meeting is decided, the organizer can suggest tactics to achieve the objective. He can make sure specific people are picked to bring up important points. The organizer can provide the group with facts about exactly which houses don't meet the housing code. He can make sure somebody from the group is ready to stand up and tell the landlord exactly what the people want. Details of time and place and transportation can be worked out at the pre-meetings. Someone can be appointed to keep notes on what happens at the meeting.

The organizer should take care at pre-meetings to explain to the people exactly what might happen, or might not happen, at a confrontation meeting. He should not lead the people to expect overnight miracles. This is a hard problem, because the

organizer also has to keep the people's hopes up and the organizer also must strike a realistic balance between inspiring the people and keeping them aware of the realities of their problems.

A good pre-meeting is a sure way of getting the most of a meeting with the enemy. If the organizer has done his preliminary work, he can only wait and see how things turn out. The landlord may not turn up. Or he may be stubborn. The landlord may be afraid. He may tell you to go to hell. Your people may get shy when it gets down to the nitty-gritty of facing up to the man.

Whatever happens at a meeting -- any meeting -- should be turned into a victory. Community organization feeds on victories, no matter how small. If the landlord shows up, that's a tribute to your people's power. If he doesn't show up, maybe he's scared, and you can use that to beef up your group's morale. If the landlord makes a few repairs, you can point this out as a victory, although you shouldn't be tricked by token repairs. If the landlord gives the folks everything they asked for, you can claim this as proof of the power of the people and the power of community organization. If the landlord doesn't do anything, use his refusal to indicate that the people don't have enough power and that more organization is necessary.

The two main things to look out for are:

1. Getting the folks' hopes too high

2. Getting caught by surprise at a move by the enemy

Both of these dangers can be avoided by the good organizer. Honesty and realism will keep the people's hopes at a reasonable level. The organizer can pretty well spot what the enemy's choice of response is. The organizer can relay these to the people and suggest plans of action to meet every possible move on the enemy's part.

We have stressed the importance of action all through this booklet. One thing to remember is that action and planning must go hand-in-hand. The group should never take any action that is not backed up by good thinking and consideration of all the things that might happen if the action is taken. Good planning by you, the organizer, and your group will make sure that the odds are good that the probable benefits of the action will outweigh the risks involved.

A WORD ABOUT THE LONG-RANGE VIEW

One thing poor people can learn from the power structure man is the need for long-range planning.

When the power structure makes plans for urban renewal,

they do it on a twenty-five year basis. Plans for public housing are made over a period of years. Projections for spending in other areas that affect poor people are also made on a long-range basis.

When the urban renewal bulldozer is outside your house, it's too late to say, "Hey, we'd better get together and make some plans."

As an organizer, you will be in a good position to study the power structure in your community. You can see first-hand how it works. You can analyze its weaknesses and determine where it can be attacked. You and your fellow organizers and your allies should constantly discuss long-term strategy. While working on relatively short-range projects, keep in mind the need for long-range goals. For example, if there are plans for new public housing in your community, you must get in on the planning. The same goes for programs in your schools. Also for proposed zoning changes, bond issues, and so forth.

As you work, you should constantly evaluate yourself and your work. The worst trap to fall into is getting into a rut. It's easy to repeat yourself and to do things because they are easy.

1. One way you can check on your community organiza-

tion is to find out <u>what</u> the people think about it.

2. Another way is to check what projects you have going, which ones are succeeding, and which ones aren't doing so well.

3. Attendance at meetings and enthusiasm are check points.

4. Finally, a sure sign that community organization is going well is a high level of participation within your neighborhood group. A strong group is one where everybody takes part, where no one is afraid to speak up and where you have many leaders.

A community organizer's goal is to work himself out of a job with one group of people and move on to another. When you see your people taking on leadership and responsibilities, you know that your work is succeeding.

ADDENDUM

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Formal Rules for Meetings

A motion is a suggestion that the neighborhood council take action on something. This is how you make a motion:

Suppose you want the group to conduct a neighborhood clean-up campaign.

1. You raise your hand or stand up so that the chairman (the president) says you can talk.
2. You tell the group what you are suggesting. "I move that our neighborhood council have a clean-up campaign."
3. Someone has to back you up by seconding the motion.
4. Then there is a discussion.
5. Then the Chairman repeats the motion so that everyone understands it.
6. The group votes on it.

Now a motion is just something that was made up so that meetings can move along. Your neighborhood group may not need to carry out its business by motions and other formal rules. BUT you will need to know something about formal rules of meetings so you can handle yourselves when you meet with outside groups, like city councils, school boards, or recreation commissions. These groups go by parliamentary procedure. The

list below contains some of the things you will need to know about formal meetings. You can use this list when you need it. If you need more information, call someone in to explain things to the group.

WHAT TO SAY AT A FORMAL MEETING

IF YOU WANT TO . . .

1. Stop the meeting for a short time to take a break, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE THAT WE RECESS."
2. Set a time for the next meeting, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE WE FIX THE TIME OF THE NEXT MEETING."
3. Ask someone to speak louder, or open a window, or call attention to something concerning the comfort and well-being of the people at the meeting, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I RISE TO A QUESTION OF PERSONAL PRIVILEGE."
4. Bring a discussion back to the subject or get to the main part of the agenda, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I CALL FOR THE ORDERS OF THE DAY."
5. Correct a mistake that is against the by-laws of

the group, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I RISE TO A POINT OF ORDER."

6. Get more information on the business being discussed, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, POINT OF INFORMATION."

7. Question a chairman's decision, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I APPEAL THE DECISION OF THE CHAIR."

8. Discuss something without having to stick to the rules, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE THAT WE SUSPEND THE RULES."

9. Stop a motion YOU have made,you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I WISH TO WITHDRAW THE MOTION."

10. Prevent discussion of a motion, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I OBJECT TO CONSIDERATION OF THE MOTION."

11. Have a motion put aside until later, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE WE TABLE THE MOTION."

12. Bring up a motion that has been tabled, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE THE MOTION BE TAKEN FROM THE TABLE."

13. End (or limit) a discussion, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE THAT WE CLOSE (or limit) DEBATE."

14. Put something off until another meeting, you say:

"MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE WE POSTPONE THIS MATTER."

15. Ask a committee or a member to study an idea or recommendation, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I MOVE WE REFER (OR RECOMMIT) THIS TO _____."

16. Change or add to someone else's motion, you say: "MR. CHAIRMAN, I WISH TO AMEND THE MOTION." (YOU CAN AMEND A MOTION ONLY TWICE.)

OTHER WORDS YOU SHOULD KNOW

1. ABSTAIN - Not voting one way or the other on a motion.
2. ADOPT - To approve or accept.
3. APPOINT - To assign a person to a job or position.
4. CAUCUS - A meeting of organization leaders to decide policy, candidates and/or plans.
5. CHAIR (THE) - Position held by chairman or leader of group.
6. COMMITTEE - A small group that studies, reports on and recommends part of an organization's program.
7. GENERAL CONSENT - A silent, unanimous vote; if even one member objects, the motion must be voted on.

8. MAJORITY OPINION - The decison of most of the voting members of a group of committee.

9. MINORITY OPINION - The decision of less than half of the voting members of a group or committee

10. MINUTES - Official record of a meeting

11. NOMINATE - To recommend a person for election to office. (Nominations do not require a second.)

12. PENDING - Undecided; still before the group.

13. PRO TEM - Latin for "temporary".

14. PROXY - Permission from another member to vote or act for him.

15. QUESTION - Another name for a motion

16. RESCIND - To take back; withdraw.

17. RESOLUTION - Another name for a motion; a policy statement.

18. STANDING COMMITTEE - A committee that continues from year to year; a permanent committee.

19. SPECIAL COMMITTEE.- A committee that is appointed or elected to handle only a specific thing; a temporary committee.

20. SUBCOMMITTEE - A smaller committee formed within a committee.

21. UNANIMOUS VOTE - When everyone votes the same way.

22. VETO - To disapprove.

PROPOSAL

Sometimes it becomes necessary for the community organization to seek support from outside sources or agencies. Getting people involved in activities for change at certain points may require funds or support for the expense of the operation. Sometimes (issue-oriented groups) you may need funds for office supplies, personal assistants to help persons who are facing loss of jobs and other possible reactions from the power structure. There are certain points to remember about accepting funds:

1. You should not accept funds from persons or organizations that are not trusted by the community (politicians, churches, civic clubs, etc.).
2. You should not accept funds from political parties that may hinder you from getting funds from other sources with different political orientations.
3. Your organization should stipulate who to accept funds from, how the funds will be used and what role contributors will play in the organization. (personal contributors)
4. In the case of foundations or other agencies (OEO) there are certain guidelines the organization will have to follow.

5. It is important before applying for any funds that the community has reached a point in its organization to handle funds without spliting the organization.
6. Do not expect to be funded in a day, week, or month. It takes time to get funds because they are scarce and there is competition from other groups or organizations.
7. Do not build the hopes of the members of the Community or organization about getting funds.
8. Find out how the community will react to money. If they are too eager about who will spend the money or how the money will be spent or asking for certain positions, then they are not ready to handle large sums of money.
9. Remember funds are only to help the organization to be more effective. The organization must keep its purpose and objectives in mind (to better the conditions in the community).
10. If the organization is funded it is important that the money is used properly.

SIMPLE STEPS IN WRITING A PROPOSAL

There are certain points to consider in writing a proposal. (This sample is only a guide for writing a proposal. This is not a proposal.)

1. It is always important to write to the foundation or organization requesting information about their organization. This is necessary in order for you to know what kind of organization they will lend support and what they expect from you. The information will let you know what kind of proposal to write and what to include or exclude.
2. The form and structure of a proposal will vary according to the purpose and objectives of the community or organization.

SAMPLE OUTLINE:

1. A general area background - city, state county.
2. It should include population total, black and white ratio. Past activities of the group. In the case

of cooperatives: the employment rate, job opportunities, unemployment, major industries, black owned business and approximate average income. Existing programs (government or private) or community groups or other cooperatives.

2. Description of Program - kind of program and purpose of program. Explain how this program differs from other programs existing in the community and how this program relates to other program. How long will the program last and how many persons will the program involve or employ. How does this program relate to the problems of the general community. A structural diagram of the organization (Community organization only).

3. Personnel Duties and Responsibilities - Explain the functions of each position and how they relate to the organization.

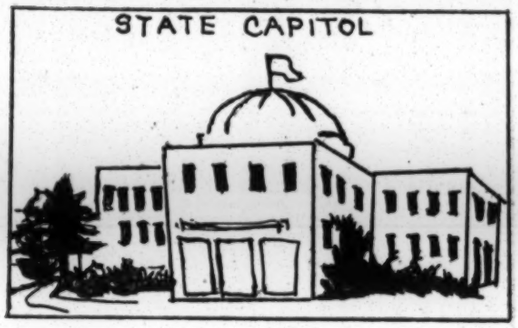
4. Budget Outline - Explain in outline form how money will be spent.

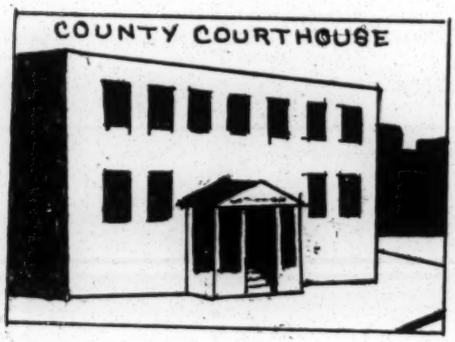
GENERAL INFORMATION

ON

CITY, COUNTY, AND STATE GOVERNMENT

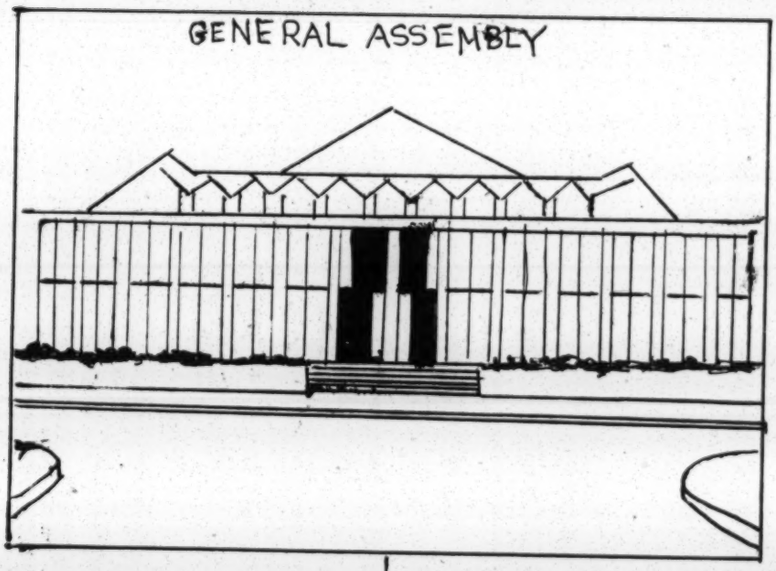
This is a general outline of city, county, and state government. This may vary from one area to another. It will be safer to find out the structure of your city, county and state government. It is important that you know what agencies or department you are attacking and its functions.


STATE CAPITOL

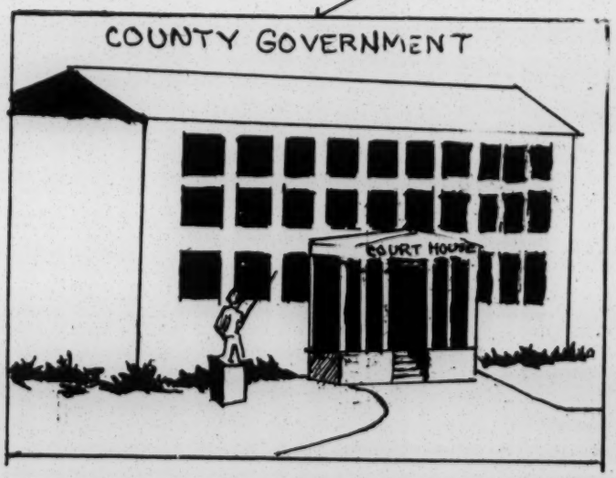

COUNTY COURTHOUSE

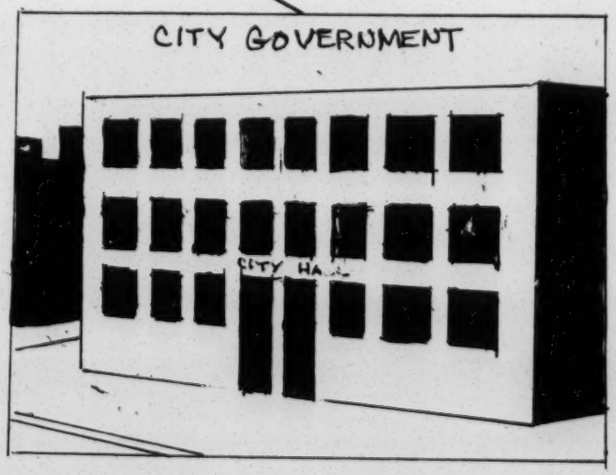
CITY HALL

CITY AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS GET THEIR POWER FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT

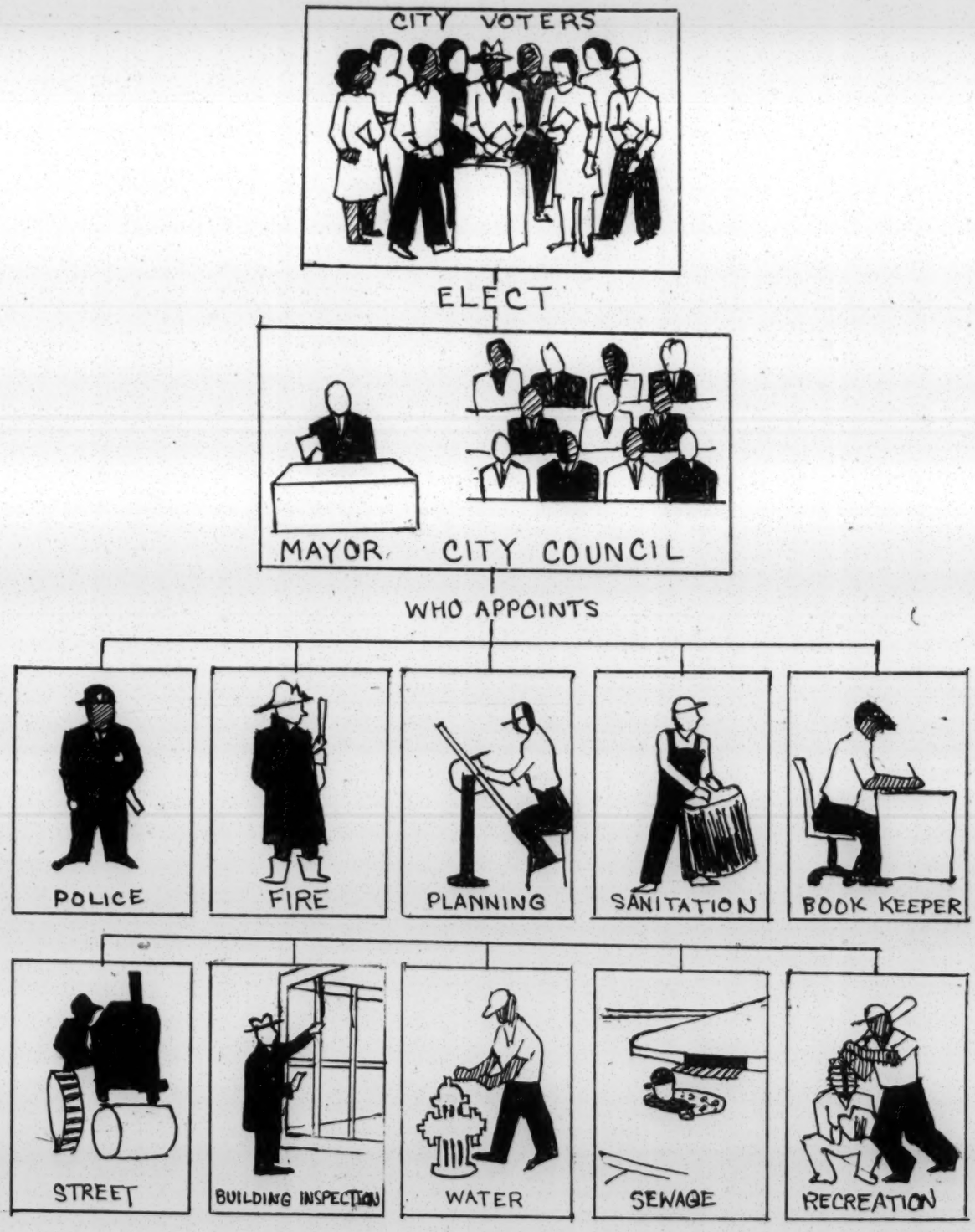


GIVES POWER TO GOVERN TO

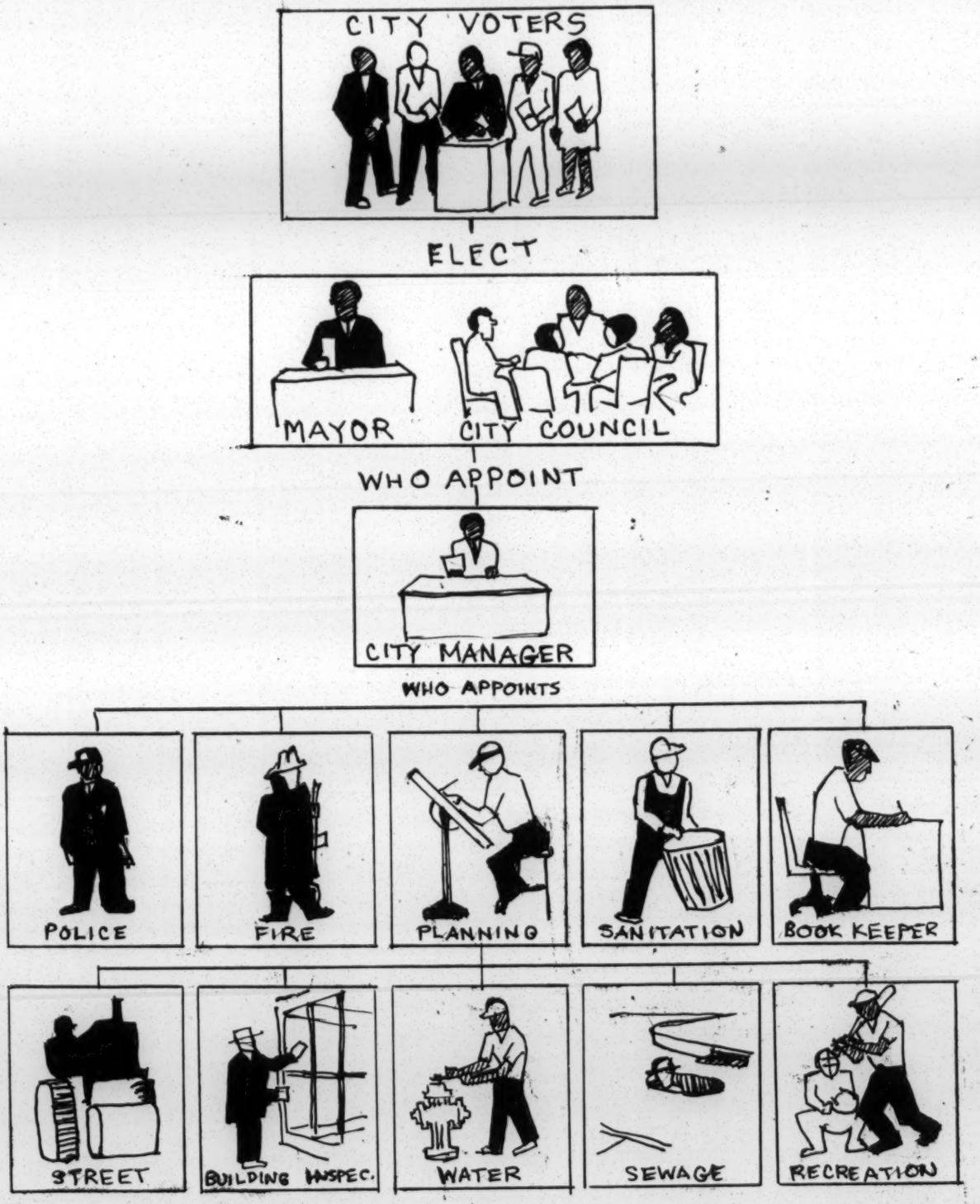




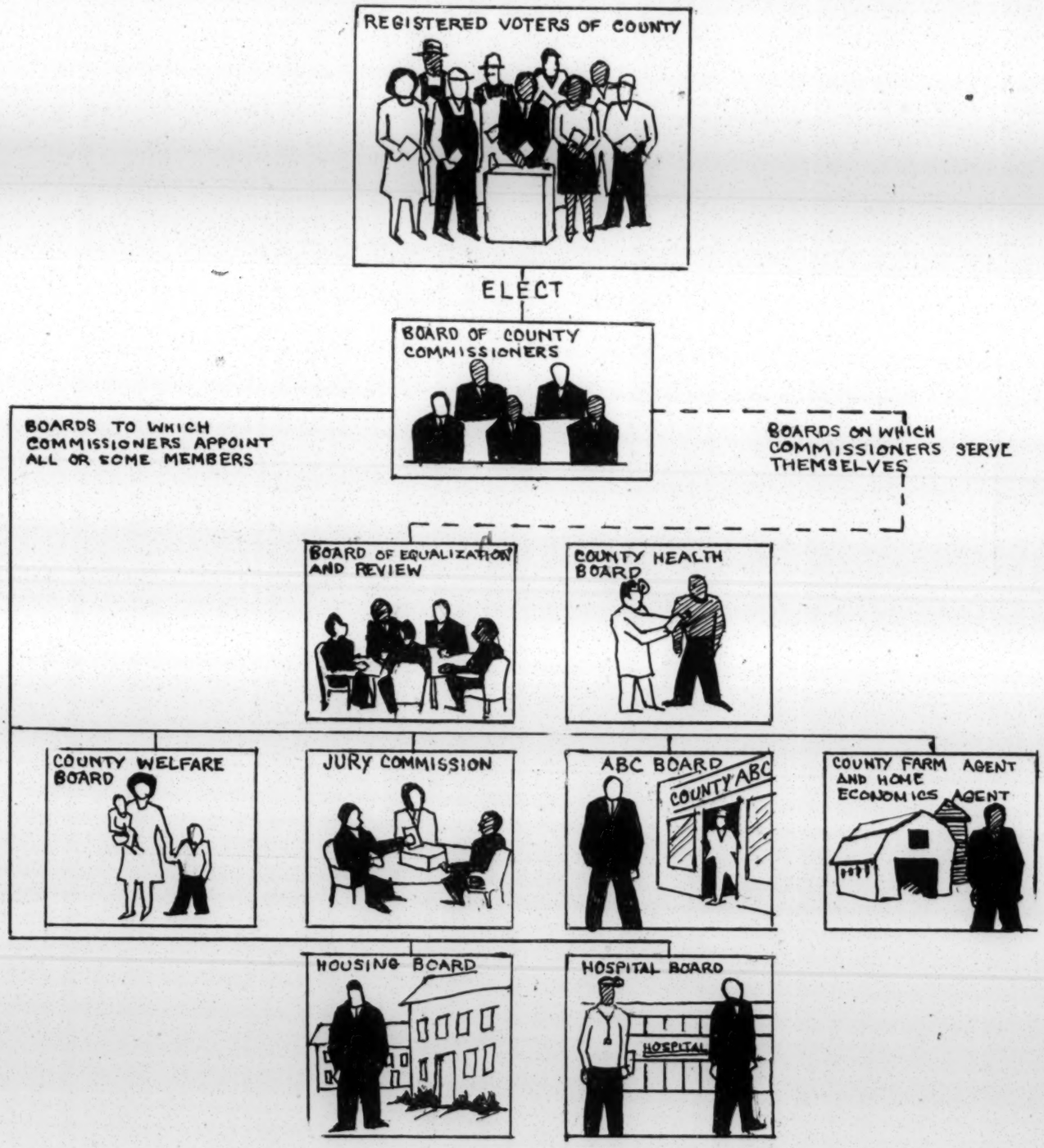
MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM



COUNCIL-MANAGER FORM



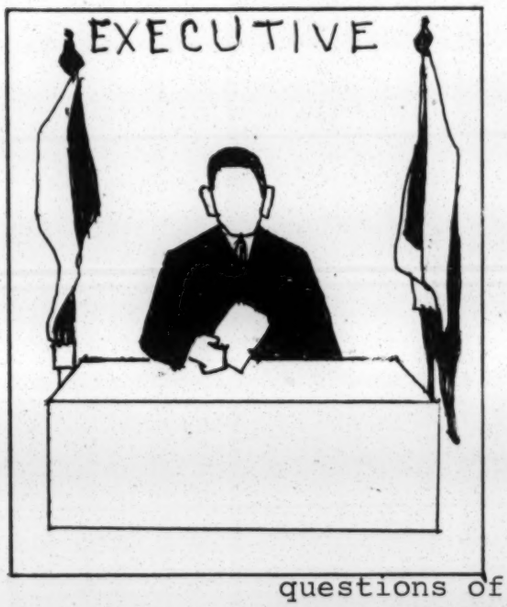
BOARDS ON WHICH COMMISSIONERS SERVE AND APPOINT MEMBERS

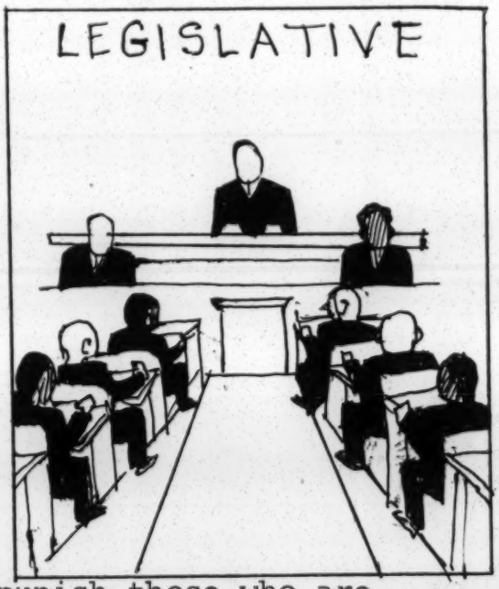


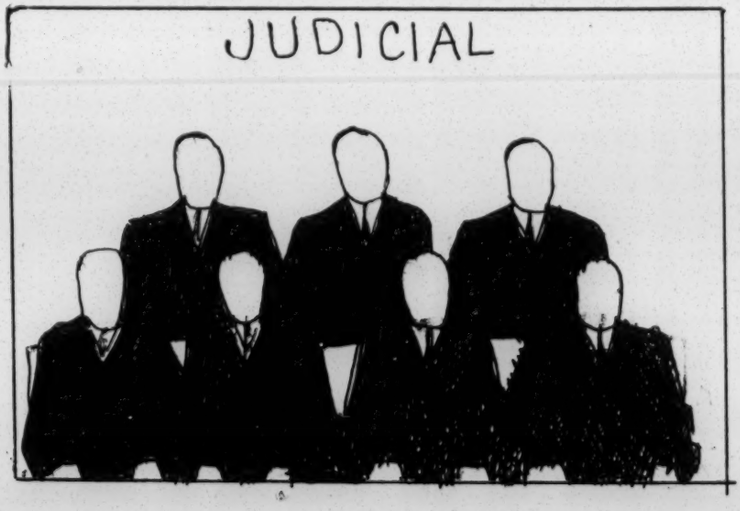
STATE GOVERNMENT

The State government is divided into three parts just like the United States Government. The three parts are:

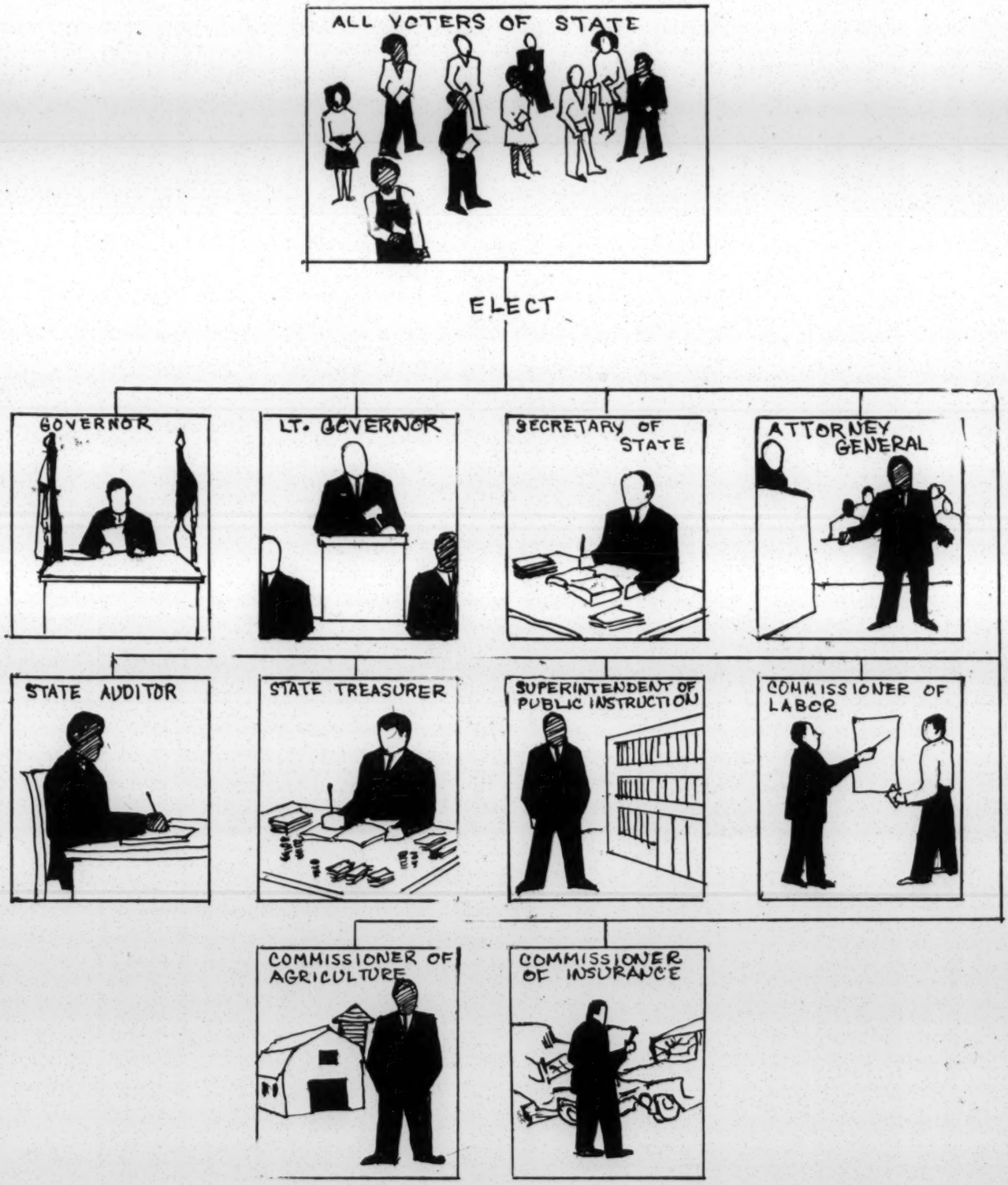
- Executive. This part is made up of the Govenor other elected officials and boards. The job of this branch is to run the government and enforce laws.
- Legislative. This is the General Assembly which meets in Raleigh. This branch makes the laws about how the government is to be run.
- Judicial. This part is made up of the different courts of law. The job of this branch is to decide questions of law and help punish those who are proved quilty of crimes.



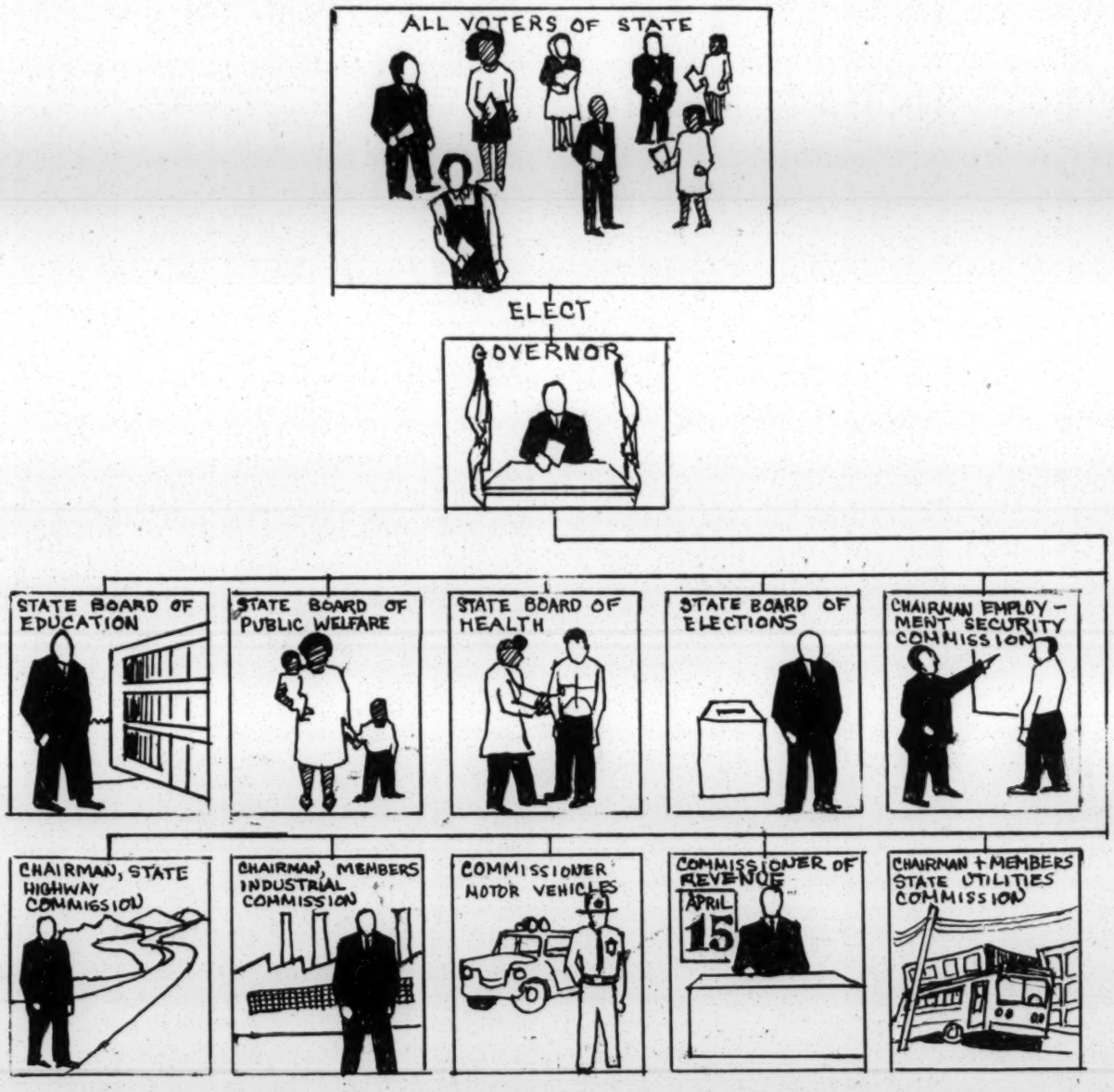




ELECTED EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS



OFFICERS, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR



BLACK CANDIDATES

Southern Campaign Experiences

By Julian Bond

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

FOREWORD

Early in 1968, the Voter Education Project engaged Julian Bond to make a study of how selected black candidates had run their campaigns. The plan, which was originally suggested to VEP by Mr. Bond, called for interviewing a number of recent candidates. These interviews then would become the heart of a booklet that could be used as a guide by other black candidates in the South.

Dozens of races were studied in the search for a balance of campaign circumstances so that a wide range of potential candidates could find a campaign to relate to their own. Many more were interviewed than appear in the final publication.

Ten of those whose stories appear sought office in rural areas or small towns and the rest ran in cities. Five of these had lost their races. Thirteen —of whom five lost previous or subsequent campaigns—were holding office at the time Mr. Bond talked to them. One had been elected but was removed from office on a charge which was later struck down by the courts.

Mr. Bond's interviews, conducted in person and transcribed on a tape recorder in the summer of 1968, centered on several questions: What was the racial makeup of your district? What motivated you to run? How did you raise funds, and what campaign tactics did you use? What kind of help did your campaign get from blacks, whites, paid workers or political party? What effect did your running have on the Negro community and prospective black candidates? Why do you think you won or lost your race? And what advice would you give to other black candidates?

Their answers to these and related questions are set down in these chapters exactly as they responded to Mr. Bond.

The booklet's conclusion, written by VEP research director Marvin Wall, summarizes not only the experiences of the persons interviewed by Mr. Bond but also the problems of black candidates to which the VEP has been a witness over the last several years.

There is perhaps no better illustration of the problems and promise of the black elected officials in the South than the career of Julian Bond himself.

First elected to the Georgia General Assembly in 1965, he was twice refused his seat by the members of the House of Representatives because of his public concurrence with a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee denunciation of the war in Vietnam. He was elected three times within a 12-month period before the U. S. Supreme Court ordered the House to seat him at the 1967 session.

Completing his work on this booklet in the mid-summer of 1968, Mr. Bond went on to become co-chairman of a racially integrated group which challenged the regular Georgia delegation to the Democratic National Convention in August. In Chicago, amid chants of "Jul-ian Bond, Jul-ian Bond," dissident Democrats proposed his name for the office of vice president of the United States.

Although he declined to be nominated—at 28 he was seven years below the constitutionally required age—he nevertheless received 48½ votes. Today he is probably the best known of the South's 400 black elected officials.

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council wishes to stress that none of the material presented herein is intended to be partisan in any way. On the contrary, it is intended as a representative sampling of experiences, and for that reason a wide variety of candidates was interviewed. Our purpose was to collect material to assist prospective black candidates in need of assistance, feeling as we do that their full participation in the political process means a healthier democracy.

VERNON E. JORDAN JR.
Director
Voter Education Project

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . . Page 1

Rural Candidates

Lucius Amerson . . . . . Page 3
Felton J. Capel . . . . . Page 6
Mrs. Geneva Collins . . . . . Page 7
Eddie Davis . . . . . Page 8
Charles Evers . . . . . Page 10
James Jolliff Jr. . . . . Page 13
Jesse E. Lawrence . . . . . Page 15
Ledell Mackie . . . . . Page 16
Dan Nixon . . . . . Page 18
Peter Smith . . . . . Page 19

Urban Candidates

Elijah Coleman . . . . . Page 23
F. Malcolm Cunningham . . . . . Page 25
Earl M. Johnson . . . . . Page 27
Miss Barbara Jordan . . . . . Page 30
Mrs. Athalie Range . . . . . Page 32
Clarence L. Townes . . . . . Page 35
Horace T. Ward . . . . . Page 38
Q. V. Williamson . . . . . Page 41
Thomas E. Wrenn . . . . . Page 44

SUMMARY . . . . . Page 47

INTRODUCTION

This booklet will not tell anyone how to get elected. It does tell how a group of black people—two civil rights workers, a school bus driver, some lawyers, businessmen, farmers and others—ran their election campaigns, as they recall it.

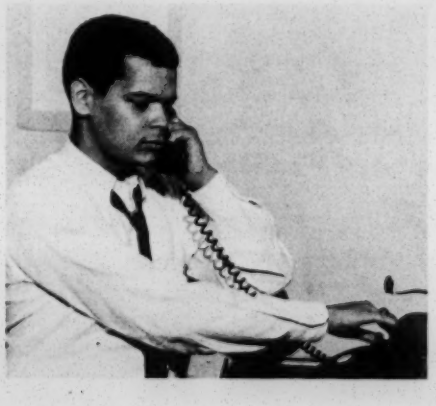
The campaigns described here took place between Negroes or with Negroes running against whites in both rural and urban sections of the South. They ran for offices ranging from magistrate to U.S. Congress. Some won and some did not.

Their stories are printed here from taped interviews in which they answered questions about the racial makeup of their districts, the cost of their campaigns, their methods of winning votes, the mistakes they made and their advice to other black candidates. Except for brief biographical introductions, all of the accounts are in the words of the candidates themselves.

We hope that you, the reader, can learn from this booklet. You may read of mistakes you won't want to make. You may read of successful attempts made in another part of the South that could work in your part as well.

Most important, you will learn, we hope, that it *can* be done. It has been done before, and it will be done again. And you may be the person in your community to do it.

JULIAN BOND
Atlanta, 1968



Rural Candidates

Lucius Amerson

When Lucius Amerson was elected sheriff of Macon County, Ala., in 1966, he became the first Negro recorded to hold that office in a Deep South state since Reconstruction. Amerson was born in Clinton, Ala., in 1933 and attended Tuskegee Institute for three years.

The Negro-white population ratio in Macon County is seven-to-one. Negroes are about 23,000 in the county. Registered voters are 12,000. From 7,000 to 8,000 are Negroes.

In the first primary, I got 87 votes more than my nearest opponent, in the runoff I got 387 and in the general election I got 1,800. Each election I got more and more votes. My opponents were white. There were four of us in the race.

What motivated me to run for office in Alabama and more especially for the position of sheriff was the fact that it is time for Negroes to start participating more in political action. Negroes must run for these offices, they must run to win, and they must have a lot of determination and a lot of courage. I encourage all Negroes in the South, where they have an oppor-

tunity, to run for office.

I didn't know if I could win, but it was a matter of trying as hard as I could. There was a lot of apathy among the Negroes in the community. They didn't know what would happen if a Negro got elected sheriff, and of course some felt that a Negro just possibly could not do the job or that he would not get the cooperation from the white element.

This is something that I would like to point out to other Negroes running for office in the South, in Alabama or elsewhere: You cannot rely on what people particularly want you to do. You have to make up your own mind, you have to have determination, and you can't think in terms of what element in the community is going to like it. The fact is that you are an American and a citizen and a registered voter, and you have just as much right to run for these offices as anyone else.

When I ran for office, I didn't have any experience at all in running and didn't know a lot of techniques or how to solicit funds. A person who has a nominal amount of funds of his own could probably wage a pretty good campaign. There will be a lot of people who will encourage you, and they will solicit funds for you. It depends on how wide an area you have to cover and how many mass meetings you go to where you have to give out literature or printed cards or posters, or whether you're going to utilize the news media or TV or radio or the newspaper. It costs a lot of money, because this is one way these media have of making money—off of political figures.

In Macon County, Tuskegee Institute has a lot of white instructors who were from other parts of the country serving as poll watchers and passing out campaign literature. If you can get the right type of white people to help you, the kind who really want to see things progress, and really have no feelings one way or the other—that is, they just want to see a good man win—they will help you actively. They'll also help you financially, behind the scenes.

My campaign organization consisted largely of myself and about four other key persons when I first started out. After the campaign got under way, more people became interested and more people started talking in my behalf. I did not have any paid workers. They worked because they wanted better law enforcement and they wanted to see me win. They had never known in their lifetime of a Negro being elected sheriff, and this was one time when it could happen. I had a lot of volunteers after the runoff election when I won the Democratic nomination.

The type of campaign material I used was little personalized cards, pamphlets and flysheets, the sort of sheet where you hand it to a person and he looks at it, folds it up and puts it in his pocket or looks at it and remembers. I used the radio; and I used a loudspeaker on my car, as well as a sign mounted on top of my car. I moved around quite a bit, shaking hands and going all over the county, playing a combination of music and talking. The Democratic Party did not help out much in the way of funds or printed material. Toward the end of the campaign, the Democratic National Committee from Washington did send in some bumper stickers.

If at the end of this term, if I have made up my mind to run for sheriff or some other office, perhaps I would conduct it the same way, the same

method I used before, except that I would be more vigorous at it. I would not take for granted that Negroes are going to vote for me simply because I've already been in the office or because I'm a Negro. It would require my going back, contacting all of those people that I contacted before, as well as those I did not contact the other time. I most certainly will be trying to get white votes as well as Negro votes, even though the Negro people are in a majority. I'm interested in representing all of the people of Macon County as sheriff, and I will be soliciting all the votes.

I won because I had determination and because the people knew I could bring a better day in Macon County as far as law enforcement and protection go. I wouldn't say I had more money than my opponent, I wouldn't say I had less. His method of campaigning was not as good as mine; and, of course, he was quite reluctant about going into certain segments of the community. It was the sort of thing where many people who have held public office for many years have not been able to go into the Negro community and sincerely solicit votes. They've always been dropping off a few cards with key people, people who are supposed to be leaders in the community, people who are supposed to have influence over the masses.

You will find as the years go by, people are going to get away from having centralized community leaders, preachers and so forth. Everybody, as time goes on, is going to have the ability to think for themselves; and they're not going to rely too much on endorsements, because many times some Negro leaders in the community give out the wrong kind of endorsement simply because they've received some kind of compensation to do so. It pays you to wage your own campaign in your own way.

The most important thing is to meet the people personally. You cannot expect someone to tell them for you, you cannot expect to throw out a few cards in a cafe or a poolroom or a service station. You have to get around to these churches on every meeting day; you've got to meet the people, rich, poor, young and old; you've got to meet the kids, the ones in elementary school, the ones in high school, in college. It pays to meet the people personally and shake their hand.

The immediate effect of my campaigning was that I had to prove to people beyond a reasonable doubt that Negroes could do these jobs and that not a lot of education is required in order to do a lot of these jobs. It is indicated from a survey which I made that there are many people doing these jobs now who never finished high school. The registration in my county was increased by my election. Many people who did not have enough initiative to come up to the courthouse and get registered before my election thought it was a good idea to do so.

I strongly encourage Negroes to participate in all areas of public life—that is, running for state senate and house of representatives, as well as for mayor of cities, sheriff of counties, commissioner of boards of revenue, city councilman, school board, tax collector, tax assessor, anything to be of service.

The only advice I can give to other Negro candidates is that it's a good thing—you should always be fair and square with the people, and they will never forget you for it.

Felton J. Capel

Felton J. Capel, mayor pro tem of Southern Pines, N. C., was first elected to the city council in 1959 and has been re-elected four consecutive times. He was city treasurer from 1963 until 1965. Mr. Capel, a native of Ellerbe, N. C., attended Hampton Institute and is sales director of a metalcraft corporation.

Southern Pines has a population of 5,198 with 37 per cent Negro. The ratio of registered whites to Negroes is about two-to-one. Approximately 70 per cent of the registered Negroes vote at each town election. In past elections we have had only one Negro candidate seeking one of the five council seats during an election. Each time I have been a candidate I have had the endorsement of the Civic Club of the Negro community before filing.

Before I became a candidate, I had served as commander of the local VFW Post, was an active member of First Missionary Baptist Church, and was president of the West Southern Pines Civic Club.

The West Southern Pines Civic Club is an organization whose membership consists of all social, professional and religious groups in the community. The purpose of the Civic Club is to promote progress in all phases of community life and serve as the voice of the Negro community on matters to be brought before the city council, board of education and other policy-making bodies.

In my first election there were 13 men seeking the five council seats. I was the only Negro and received the third highest number of votes.

I was not aware of any organized opposition to my candidacy because of my being a Negro, but I assume that there were feelings. I have tried to serve the entire town. I felt that I could not help the Negro community without helping the white community at the same time. Being a Negro, I had an obligation to bring out the things that were needed but had not been brought before the people.

Streets in the Negro community were in deplorable condition and presented a burden on the town budget to maintain. An ordinance prevented permanent surfacing without special taxation by property owners. This ordinance had to be changed. We also felt the need of Negro policemen.

My chances of winning depended upon my getting most of the Negro vote and a percentage of the white vote.

My first year we estimated that I received approximately 20 per cent of the white vote. This estimation was based on my total votes received less the number of Negroes who voted.

Most of my campaign funds and volunteer work came from the Negro community. We had housewives canvassing and making telephone calls, and high school students, Boy Scouts and other youth groups distributing campaign material for us. We organized all city blocks with captains and got volunteers to use their automobiles for transportation. Electing a black

man was a victory for the Negro community, and we tried to get everyone involved. Unity was the key word.

Total involvement by everyone was a must. The campaign united the Negroes, and the community was awakened to the power and strength of the vote.

Southern Pines is the only town in Moore or surrounding counties that has a Negro elected official in any capacity. Presently in Southern Pines Negroes serve on all committees and boards and participate in the affairs of government.

Negroes planning to enter politics should have a background of public service and be prepared to give up time with family and give up personal interests to serve their fellow citizens. The Negro community should then be organized and mobilized for action. The candidate should understand that he is to represent the views of the Negro community. He should be selected by the Negro community and not be self-appointed or selected by the white community to be the candidate to represent the Negroes. Before any candidate files for office, he should bring together the leaders in the Negro community and get their endorsement. Campaign workers should include representatives from all segments of the population.

You should campaign on issues that will benefit the entire town as well as the Negro community. Point out conditions that will help the town but that have been neglected by the absence of Negro representation. Pledge to do something about this neglect.

Mrs. Geneva Collins

Mrs. Geneva Collins was elected chancery clerk of Claiborne County, Miss., in December, 1967. Mrs. Collins was born in Port Gibson, Miss., in 1922 and was graduated from Alcorn A&M College in Lorman, Miss. She completed work on a master's degree at Tennessee A&I University.

There were 8,239 Negroes to 2,600 whites. That was the population. The whites had 1,679 voters, and we had 2,908. I only had one opponent, and he was white.

One of the most important things that motivated me to run for office is that the Negro here in our county is a group of people without representation. Our people need inspirational leaders. The first step is difficult, you know. We just don't have many people who are willing to take the first step. I felt like I would win. Our people here are strongly together, and they felt like they wanted some representation.

Most of the campaign money came from inside the community. A few people gave donations from the outside. If any white people did help me, I don't know anything about it.

We organized a political action committee and got volunteer help. These people worked together. We had barbecues and campaign speeches where

we raised funds. After we got the funds, we got together and decided what kind of materials we would use, such as billboards. Some of us sent out letters, and we used different other things such as match books. We couldn't possibly have afforded any paid workers.

I don't think it would have made any difference if I'd been an independent. With the support I had, we just outnumbered them.

Right now I don't see too much I'd do differently. I made campaign speeches and things like that. My opponent didn't do anything that I know of.

It seemed to give the Negro race the feeling that they had made the first step toward overcoming discrimination, poverty and neglect in every area. They feel like they can progress, and this in itself made more people run for public office. It really helped them and encouraged them. And we will have more each time to come in and register who didn't have time, didn't have interest before, who just didn't pay it any attention.

As for advice, the only thing I would say that possibly could help would be that preparation comes first. You've got to prepare for these positions, you know. Of course, we don't have too many ways we can prepare; but I feel if you give the people facts about what you are saying, this is the best advice that I could give them. And everything else will be taken care of.

Eddie Davis

Eddie Davis was elected police juror of West Feliciana Parish, La., in November, 1967. Born in West Feliciana in 1909, Mr. Davis was educated at St. Paul B.C. Church School and is employed as a school bus driver.

There were 136 registered Negro voters and 26 whites. I ran against a white man who had been in office for more than 15 years.

I'd worked hard with the civil rights movement—I started with it in 1963. We had such a hard time registering and there were so many other things we had problems with. We had no voice in the courthouse; we didn't have a voice in anything that we undertook to do. All days were the white man's day; the Negroes had no voice in anything. We just had to do what the white man said.

I made up my mind that whenever I got in power, got to be a registered voter, I would run for office. After I registered and voted, there came up an election; and I decided I would run for something. It didn't make any difference what it was; if it was something I could manage, I was going to run, whether I won or lost. I was doing it to let the white man know that the Negroes in my community wanted their rights. Not for what I could get out of it; I wasn't running for that. I was only running to develop my race, so I decided to run.

I visited my meetings regularly. I went around and talked to the people and showed them it was a new day, it wasn't like it used to be. I asked them if I would run, would they support me? They all told me yes. I didn't make any big talk about it. I just talked to people as I went to meetings. They thought I would make a good police juror, or a good sheriff, or anything that I undertook to run for. But I told them, the police juror, I would try that first and see how it worked out; and then I might try the high sheriff.

Just a few Negroes told me not to run, about four or five. There wasn't enough to hurt. But the majority pushed me on. The campaign money came from my ward. They put on parties, they raised the money. I didn't have to put up anything.

We invited people from other wards, we invited the whites. I had quite a few volunteers. They just volunteered and came on in. What happened was that they so admired my nerve to run, that they just backed me up. They were surprised I had the nerve to stick my neck out and run for office.

I had cards made, my picture on them. I had on the back my platform, what I would do if I got elected. There were so many things that the people needed and didn't get, such as commodities and better roads. That was my platform—to see that the ones who were in need of commodities or food stamps would get them. Trade schools. I told them I was 100 per cent with anything that would develop my parish.

I don't think I could find a better way than the way I did it. I went along with the white people. I had plenty of them to come to me and ask me why I ran. I talked to them nice and told them, but I told them facts. And after I got elected, I had them come to my house. A white man came to my house and asked me why I wanted that office and told me how good they were to us. I told him the time has come for the Negro people to develop themselves.

The man I was running against did it a little different from me. I didn't go from door to door. He did, after he found out about me. He wasn't too particular; he was an old fellow, a nice man. We get along like two brothers. He wasn't even going to come out, but the white people asked him to come out. They supported him. He went from door to door, asking the people to vote for him. I never went door to door. I only made my speeches in little parties and at our lodge hall where the voters league would meet about once a week.

I would tell the people what I would do, tell them to stay together. That's the only way we're going to advance—to stay together, to vote for the black man. I said: "There are some white folks you can vote for, but be sure, when your color runs for office, be sure to vote for him. When you go in the booth, you don't have to tell the white man you're going to vote for me. Let your conscience be your guide. You don't have to tell anyone who you voted for; just go and vote, and go home and hush your mouth. I know some of you are living on these white people's places. You're going to tell them you'll vote for them, but you don't have to do it."

"Everybody's got the go-ahead gift now. The white man has changed. He has made up his mind to go along with us."

If I was going to give some advice, I would tell them this: When you get out there, if you're going to run, stand up and be true to your people. Don't let the white man lead you. If you're going to do that, then I wouldn't run. If you're going to run for office you've got to be a clean man. You ought to stand up to what you tell the people. Now don't tell the people any more than that.

To run for office, you've got to be polite to people, give everybody a smile. You've got to be smiling with everybody, the white and the colored. If you think people won't vote for you, go out and talk to them. Talk to the leading people, the strong people. Talk to the preachers. But most preachers won't cooperate with you. I never got more than one or two preachers to cooperate with me.

You can't do it by yourself. You have to have some strong friends. You have your mind made up. Sometimes when I can't change a fellow's mind, I have a friend who can change his mind. Those things help.

Charles Evers

Charles Evers took a leave of absence as field director of the Mississippi NAACP in February, 1968, to run for Congress from the state's Third District. Born in Decatur, Miss., in 1922, Mr. Evers was graduated from Alcorn A&M College.

The whites had us out-numbered racially about 120,000 to about 75,000, I guess. In the first primary I had 30,000 to 35,000 votes, I believe it was, and my closest opponent had about 28,000. In the runoff, there were about 45,000 votes for me, and my opponent was about 82,000.

Actually, I never wanted to run for public office. I feel I can do more in civil rights and in business than I can in politics. But we got to the point where there was nobody else in the district, and they said you gotta run. I refused for two weeks. We had meetings for two weeks, the whole district. Finally, one old lady was sitting there, and this was what really changed my whole feeling. She said, "Mr. Evers, we have done everything you have ever asked us to do. We have gone to jail with you, we've marched with you and we picketed with you. We have boycotted for you, we have done anything you asked us. Now we are asking you to do one thing for us and you are refusing."

Well, that did it. I said if that is the way you feel, then I am going to run.

I guess there were some who thought I shouldn't run, because they all didn't vote for me. But no one actually came out publicly and confronted me and told me not to. It was a unanimous decision from the counties that we have in this district: I was the number-one choice. For that reason, I felt like I had a majority of the Negroes with me.

Plenty of them didn't vote; there are many whites who don't vote. I don't

think it was because I ran. I think they just don't care enough, and they don't know the importance of voting. The thing we gotta work on now is to get our people used to going to the polls and that was another reason why I ran. I had to go in and break the ice so that it would give us, my people, something to vote for, someone to vote for. And maybe, after I decided I would run, I could uncover some things that people didn't know about, both black and white, and maybe change some of the minds and attitudes of some of the whites.

Well, you wouldn't believe it; we raised my campaign money mostly ourselves. I wouldn't accept much big out-of-state money. I get a sort of feeling on that. I wouldn't accept any big funds, because I didn't want anybody to have any strings on me, had I won. So I mostly raised it in churches, around on street corners, and we had street rallies; and I had quite a few people across the country to mail me dollars and dollars-and-a-half and five dollars, like that. But most of my money came from right here, from the poor people here—50 cents and 25 cents. I ran a very cheap campaign, I did that.

I didn't do any billboards. We did a lot of handbills, we did a lot of bumper stickers—you know, the cheap way of doing things. Then we did door-to-door, town-to-town, county-to-county. We marched up and down the street with a band. A lot of school bands: almost every county, just about, furnished me their band. They were marching up and down the street playing, and that got a lot of people out.

Then I would go up and down the street and visit as many poor people as I could find, particularly those who were bed-ridden. That's just the way we did it. I went into all the pool halls, honky-tonks every day and had dinner in all the rough Negro restaurants. I'd carry four or five and buy dinners in different places. And if someone was drinking beer, I would buy a quart of beer—things of that sort. It was more or less a person-to-person sort of thing.

I must have had about 20 or 25 whites in all working really openly for me. We were able to count 3,600 white votes which were in predominantly white precincts. So we know that we got at least 3,000 to 4,000 white votes in the run-off. There was quite a bit of white participation—more than you would expect, particularly for me, and then in Mississippi, too.

I think the only person who got paid was a full-time secretary, who got out most of the memos. The rest were college kids and high school kids and housewives.

We had quite a few of our security boys—we don't name them—but they did most of the advance guard, going in and getting things clear. For instance, if I had to be there at two o'clock, we mostly had a group that went in that morning around 10 to check out the area and be around there before the people.

Then we set up what we called the campaign canvass committee, the campaign committee, the finance committee, the telephone committee, and the program committee, made up within the organization. It was named the Political Action Group. It was all volunteer. We spent well less than $20,000 on both the campaigns, so you know we didn't spend much money.

And most of that was on TV, radio, handbills, bumper stickers, placards and telephone. So you see we couldn't have done much to run a whole congressional campaign, in both primaries, with less than $20,000.

We are trying to change this Democratic racism structure, this white supremacy. I feel maybe I'm being criticized by a lot of people, but I feel always to change anything is to become a part of it and destroy it from within. That is why I ran as a Democrat, to let them know that we are challenging them, that we will meet them head-on. We also wanted to let them know that they didn't have the Democratic Party to themselves anymore, that every time they run, they are going to have to beat one of us. And if they stay at home, we are going to beat them. That's why I ran, because I know that the Democratic Party has to be changed in Mississippi, and I just can't see where a third party can make it. And I feel like we gotta become a part of the two major parties and make them right, and we can't make them right by staying on the outside cussing them. We gotta get in there and fight for what we believe in, fight for what we know our people are entitled to, and settle for nothing less.

Another reason why I ran—and I am not being braggadocious because I was able to run financially—I didn't have to worry about somebody foreclosing me, somebody putting a lien against something that I may own. They couldn't buy me off. They offered me $50,000 dollars to get out. So now if I had been hungry and needed something, that would have been a heck of a temptation. So that was another reason I wanted to run.

I also ran because I wanted to prove to Negroes that a Negro can run and they can win if they get out, because we won the first time. If they didn't have that crazy (runoff) law, I would be in Washington now. I might have never been re-elected but I certainly would have been up there now getting some poverty programs and some low-income housing and getting some work programs from industry in here for our people. By this law they have, a Negro will never win here in Mississippi.

I don't know of anything I'd really do differently. I don't know whether I could. We ran a hard, clean race, we talked about nothing but the issues. I didn't even bring the white folks up, because I didn't want to give them any credit at all. I never discuss them. All I discussed was what we gotta have and what we are gonna do and how we are going to change the system and what we are going to do for the poor people. I mostly ran a poor people's campaign. And I think mostly the white votes I got were poor whites, because they know that they are subjected to the same type of things that Negroes are — maybe on a different basis, but it is still the same denial and discrimination.

I don't know of anything other than that I possibly would do. I might go a little more on TV, because this gets over to people better. And you can get to more people than like I did—door-to-door, house-to-house, street-to-street, county-to-county, town-to-town—and you can get on TV for 15 minutes and you can get to more people than you can in the whole six months. That may be the only thing that I would add to, is try to get money and get TV time to really spell out the issues—what we really want and what we gotta have.

I think it (the campaign) meant one of the greatest things that you could mention. It gave them (Negroes) hope, because for a while Negroes believed that the vote didn't count; and the mere fact that we won the first primary. . . . you could just see it. Since my election we have been able to register in Hinds County alone over 2,000 Negroes. That has just been in a little over a month, and we are doing it all over the district. So we are encouraging Negroes to go out and register, because they thought I was going to run again in November and they are trying to get ready so that they can vote for me in November. It inspired Negroes to become more involved in politics. And it is gonna help to elect Negroes and change that rotten system.

Don't become a racist. Talk about the issues and the problems of the Negroes and what you gonna do to change them. Once you are elected, don't turn white and forget the Negro. I wouldn't accept many invitations. I turned down hundreds from big cities because Negroes there (and I hate to say this) Negroes in most cities are mostly there for good times and to pop off and don't really want to go out and fight for it, like Southside Chicago, Westside Chicago. If Negroes would get together in those places, they could control and rule something. My feeling is that Negroes gotta control somewhere in America, and we've dropped anchor in these three counties. We are going to control these three counties in the next ten years. There is no question about it.

My advice is to control something. Control the economics of the county, control the ballot of the county, the politics of the county—in other words, control the entire county where we are predominant.

In Mississippi we have 29 counties predominantly Negro. We are going for broke.

We don't holler Black Power—but watch it!

James Jolliff Jr.

James Jolliff Jr. was born in Wilkinson County, Miss., in 1941. Mr. Jolliff was graduated with honors from Natchez Junior College in Natchez. In November, 1967, he was elected to the Wilkinson County Board of Supervisors, but was removed from his seat after being convicted of a felony. However, he appealed his conviction and later was reinstated.

There were about 1,350 Negroes registered in the district I ran in and about 750 whites. I ran against two whites and one Negro.

I decided to run for office simply because of the fact that the Board of Supervisors has very influential powers in the state of Mississippi. They promise Negroes they will fix or gravel their roads, but they never promise anything on the administrative side, such as appointing Negroes to the welfare department, appointing Negroes to various other departments in the county—the library board and others like that. I felt that I, as a Negro,

would be able to see the inside of the Board of Supervisors more than I could just by being president of the NAACP.

I didn't find any Negroes against me because they said it wasn't time for a Negro to run. But I did find some against me because I had made some enemies—Negroes—as president of the NAACP. So far as the idea of qualifications, nobody could fault me, because I had better qualifications than the other three combined.

In the August primary, people at rallies and campaign meetings raised money, mostly for gas. Charles Evers gave us bumper stickers and leaflets to pass out. That was sponsored by people from the North. During the November general election I ran against a white man, and funds came from Michigan, New York, California and various other places.

I would say I got about 30 white votes each time I ran. There were young people and old in the campaign together. Some of the young people would go to church and Sunday school to campaign. The old people would do the same thing. Some of the young children would campaign with teachers at school. They weren't paid—just a volunteer effort.

In the general election in November, I used signs saying: "Elect James Jolliff as Supervisor, First District, Wilkinson County. Old Enough To Know; Young Enough To Go. Former Radio Announcer—Newspaper Man."

I ran as a Democrat. The reason wasn't because I'm that much in love with the Mississippi Democrats, but I more or less like the national Democratic Party better than I do the Republican. I had some whites approach me to run on the Republican ticket, but I always thought the Republicans want to remain with the status quo. I couldn't see myself joining another minority in Mississippi, the Republicans. So I decided to run as a Democrat to try to break down racial barriers in the state Democratic Party.

There's nothing I'd do differently. I'd do the same thing that I did before. I'd run on the same platform that I ran on before. I must admit that in order to win in the South, you've got to convince a lot of Negroes who are illiterate and who don't seem to know the importance of Negroes being in office. You have to more or less run a racist campaign, in a way of speaking. You have to prove that you have done a lot for him. You've got to say you've done more to help Negroes than this white man has. You say, "Well, I got out there and campaigned and begged you to register to vote. Has any white man done that?"

That's the way I ran my campaign. I'd ask if the incumbent had been here today, and they'd say "Yeah." "Did he ever come to your house and tell you to go to the courthouse and register?" "No." "Well," I'd say, "I'm here to ask you to register and to ask you to vote for me." "Well, that's two different things. I never thought of it that way."

The effect my election had on the Negro people was rejoicing! For the first time since Reconstruction, a Negro would be a supervisor. This county has 8,000 Negroes and 2,000 whites, and a Negro has never even been dog-catcher in this county.

I would give this simple advice: Go out and mingle with the people and don't sit in your office and depend on your people. Go out to churches, go

out to other civic organizations and talk to the people. Tell them that slogan, "Black Power," simply means for the people to get economic power and political power. Once you have this, you don't have to go around the country screaming "Black Power." You've really got the power when you've got that ballot. You can put Negroes in office and you can do something to really help Negroes and whites, because Negroes will never do the things that the white man has done to him.

Jesse E. Lawrence

Jesse E. Lawrence was an unsuccessful candidate for the South Carolina House of Representatives from Williamsburg County in June, 1966. Mr. Lawrence, a life insurance agent, was born in Salters, S. C., in 1917.

I decided to run due to the fact that the officials we had elected before weren't doing anything for our people. I decided to run to see whether or not I could do anything for them.

The Williamsburg County Voters League backed all the candidates who ran in 1966. We had a hard time getting registered, you see. I was working with the groups that were trying to get all the Negroes in the county registered at that time. After we had put in all this effort, that, too, encouraged us to put someone in the race.

I was selected by the Williamsburg County Voters League to be one of the candidates to run for House of Representatives from Williamsburg County.

We had approximately 6,000 Negroes registered. There's a funny thing here. At that time there were about 6,000 whites eligible to register, but they had about 9,000 registered to vote, almost 110 per cent.

We set up a campaign organization. We had a campaign manager who set up meetings at various centers—community centers and churches such as we have here. Then all the candidates came to these meetings and made little campaign speeches to the people who were there.

We had the paper carry some articles on the candidates. We made it our business to be at all of the meetings that were set up and encouraged the registered voters to vote for us.

We had some people here from CORE at the time and they were helping us. The only thing that it cost us at the time was $150 for qualifying, and the Williamsburg County Voters League put that up. It didn't cost me anything but time and a little money.

We used posters. We ran off some flysheets. We distributed them around every meeting we went to. These were gotten out by the Williamsburg County Voters League.

No one discouraged us in so many words, but they didn't help us either.

They'd start off by saying it's best to run just one candidate. We explained that the reason we ran two was that we had no assurance that the whites would vote for one of us at all. Of course, they had about seven people in the race in the primary.

One local white man gave us some money to put in the pot. No whites said anything concerning us not running.

The white candidates didn't come out openly and campaign among the Negroes at all. They had one meeting at the courthouse, and I didn't attend that meeting. But other than that, they didn't come out and get on the stump at all.

I made statements at our meeting that I would accept anybody who was willing to give me their vote, but I didn't get out and make any appeal for white votes or go on the radio or anything like that.

I had 4,186 votes. In the primary runoff, I had around 5,000 votes. The funny part about the thing, when we protested the runoff, our count varied a lot. We got an opportunity to go through the records, and we found that there were a lot of irregularities in the primary runoff.

If I gave advice, I would say to get someone who is dedicated to the cause of electing some Negro to represent them at the polls as a poll worker —someone who is up on the laws of how elections are supposed to be run. They should follow the law to the letter.

Ledell Mackie

Ledell Mackie, a farmer in St. Francisville, La., was elected police juror (county commissioner) in 1967 in a rural area where Negroes only recently began to register and vote. He was born in Plettenberg, La., 61 years ago.

This place is set up in wards, and in my area where I was campaigning, I imagine the population is about 3,000. Well, it should be somewhere about 80 whites and about 205 Negroes registered to vote.

Negroes started voting here in 1963. I registered in '63 around November. It was rough when we first started and they turned us down. At the time, they had such hard tests until we all couldn't register at the same time. In the year of '63, we only registered about 70 voters. But it got higher each year.

I keep in touch with the Voters League, and I was trying to assist in my ward by trying to get the people to register and vote. And in 1963, they decided that they wanted to run some colored people for office; and I had been there, and they called for someone for the tenth ward. After no one would stand up, I stood up, and I told them that I would run.

From then on, that's how I come to be a police juror. In other words, my real reason that I wanted myself or someone else in my neighborhood

or in the tenth ward to run was because there are lots of things that we're not getting here in this tenth ward. There is a lot of aid and assistance we're not getting. Road assistance—we couldn't get that. Absolutely, we couldn't get the things we were supposed to get.

I'll tell you the reason I didn't know if I could win was because I didn't know how the people were going to stand up for me. I didn't know; but I tried and did the best I could, and I got on my campaign. And the longer that I was campaigning, the better progress I could make.

I'm out in the rural section on a farm. The people live all scattered about.

I could hear a few Negroes speak against it. Some spoke against it, but the majority was for me.

My campaign money came from the people in the community; and I had a bunch of children from New Orleans who came and put on a big drive for me and helped to raise money. And I had some people in this area who put on a drive to raise money for my campaigning. I imagine it cost about $250.

Well, there were a few whites who told me that they were going to support me. They asked me if I was still going to run, and I said I was, so they told me that if I would work with them they would work with me. I promised them I would do the best I could for them, and they said that the ones of them on the jury weren't doing anything for us. I imagine about three white people voted for me.

I had cards made, and I sent out the cards around to the people whom I met at the churches and societies and congregations where people would meet. I would have the ministers to speak sometimes for me to the congregation, but most of the time I would get up myself and speak when the church was going on. I still went around to houses and talked with the people to try to get them.

I've been living here in this parish all my life and I never have been in any trouble. I've never been in court in all my life. I've been a good citizen of this parish. I try to do, in my duties, the best I can; and the people seem to have confidence that I would do and I would serve the best I could for them. There was something that was offered that tried to get me not to run, but I wouldn't accept; and that gave the people more confidence that I would stand up regardless of whatever, and I would stand up for my race.

At the time I ran, the people were scared to run, and they thought that something would happen to them—because at the time there were homes and things that were being bombed about the country, you know. In other words, they felt that at that time they just couldn't get elected. They got in their mind that people wouldn't go to the polls and vote for them and thought that some of them would be bought out and wouldn't get the support. But now it seems that most people's eyes have come open and that they are ready now (I mean the colored) because they see what progress they're making, and they see how much help and how much good they can do. I believe that we won't have any trouble about the people running in the future. I think we'll have most any special office that has not been open in the past. We'll have some colored person that will be able enough to run for it.

I'd tell others who want to run to sure enough have a made-up mind that

they're going to run and try to stand firm, to try to do the job right and make a good campaign. And try to get them to be watchful, because a lot of people will try to get them to step down, and they will offer them money to step down. Tell them to try to stand fast and be unmovable, because now they're trying to work on the progress of the Negro race.

A lot of the Negroes are really proud of this success because a lot of them, before I was elected, had it in their minds that I wouldn't get elected. They didn't think the people were going to vote for me, but the people stood up for me and made it possible for me to win this election.

Dan Nixon

Dan Nixon, a magistrate in Haywood County, Tenn., has had his home bombed because of his participation in politics and civic affairs. A farmer who calls himself an "independent Republican," he was elected from a majority Negro ward in August, 1966. He was born in 1907 in Haywood County.

There were three hundred and something registered Negroes and about two hundred and something whites when I ran. I got about 290 votes. I ran quite smart ahead of my opponent; he ran about 190 votes. He did get some Negro votes, and I got some white votes.

I made up my mind to run for office because I knew any change in the administration would be good. Of course we ran independent, A. D. Powell and myself, and decided to stay in there and see what we could do. As a result of our staying in there, we went out and got the endorsement of our candidacy among 25 of our fellow citizens.

Coming up to time for voting, I began to get threats. Threats began, asking me to get out of the race, not to run. But I was determined. I told my wife I was going to stay in and see what the end would be. As a result of staying with it, we came out very well; we beat our opponent. There were four of us, two colored and two white, for two seats.

On one occasion some fellow citizens came 'round to advise one of us to get out and one of us run. They advised us, A. D. Powell and me. They came to our house and had a conference with us on it.

I told them the thing I would do. If one of the whites would back out, then one of us colored would back out. You know, that was a kind of complicated question for them to ask. I was determined to stay in there; that's why I answered the question like I did.

I beat the highest one here, who had been in office 18 years.

Different people furnished me gas just to drive around. I did this in the district. You see, the district consists of so many miles wide, not too big. We had about five or six weeks time in our running to do very well. I think the most successful thing in our running was we waited just a few days before the deadline to qualify. Then it was cut down and nobody could get

in. They had no chance to knock us out.

The campaign was during farming time. We just caught them in the fields, anywhere we could catch them. Some would be on the tractor, and we would get them. We would visit nearby churches.

I did go into neighborhoods where the white people were, but it was mostly the white people in the neighborhood who were against us.

If I did it again, I believe it would be just a little more. We didn't have the know-how so much to start with, we just felt our way into it. I believe we would have had a little better success.

My advice to others would be this: Since you don't know, go ahead and try and see what will be the results. That is the way I had to undertake it. I didn't have any knowledge of the function of it. I would just try and see what will it be because opportunity is more available now than it was when I started.

Peter Smith

Peter Smith is mayor pro tem of Grand Coteau, a Louisiana town with a population of about 1,200. Born in Grand Coteau in 1928, Mr. Smith attended George Washington Carver High School in Sunset, La., and was elected to the Grand Coteau town council in April, 1965. He is a contractor.

In the town here the Negro percentage is about 47 per cent. We won in the first primary. There were three Negroes, or 13 people running for five seats. The three Negroes were elected in the first primary.

This time, it was the first time that Negroes had ever gotten together and decided to run candidates. We had a group of about 18 men. We called a community meeting, and I had no idea that I would run. It was held at the meeting that candidates would be nominated by the people. We first thought we would run only one Negro. Someone from the audience said, "Why run one Negro?" He cited the example that if one Negro ran and won, he wouldn't be of much benefit to the Negro community anyway because he wouldn't hold the deciding vote with four whites. If you run more than one Negro, the chances might be better to get one elected. So we decided to run three Negroes instead of one.

There were about eight Negroes nominated that night to run. It was felt that some should withdraw to get it down to three. I was one of the first to withdraw, and they wouldn't accept it. So I stayed in at a sacrifice.

That night the community decided to support us. As a matter of fact, they put up the finances for our race. Our campaign as individuals didn't cost us a single red penny. Just about everybody from the Negro community was there. I would say that except for the old people, everyone was there.

Very few told me not to run, but one Negro I'll never forget. Everyone looked to this man as a leader, but one reason he gave was that the meeting was called the night before the last day to qualify. We did it for a purpose, to keep from having any pressure put on any candidate; and he said he felt we had waited too late and that the time wasn't right for a Negro to run for office.

We had some threatening messages sent, but we didn't know whether to take them seriously or not.

Here in the parish, for some years, we had a sheriff who was kept in office by the Negro vote. He had some 30 or 40 Negro deputies. He had campaign leaders among Negroes. Negroes have been deep in politics even though the candidates were white. White candidates would race to see who could get to that group of Negroes to get support out of them. I can't think of any candidate who ran in this parish who was criticized by Negroes or who criticized Negro policies who won, even though some of the whites who got elected didn't stand up for Negro policies.

Our campaign was different in terms of money. Our campaign was supported by Negroes. Instead of our having to raise the money, Negroes pledged more than enough to carry out the campaign. This is a small town; we walked door to door, we talked to people. We offered to help people who didn't have much education if they needed assistance. Some people were uncertain and thought that we were choosing the white candidates that we wanted elected with us. But we got young girls who had the proper information, people who could be relied upon, to help them with the other candidates.

We were candidates of the people. We didn't get up and announce; we were drafted to run for office. The people of the community said it's time to have Negroes elected.

We had no criticism of the present administration. We realized that the white administration respected our votes. We had 47 per cent of the votes, and they knew it. We wanted a chance to prove that we could serve all of the people. We got 18 per cent of the white votes.

The parish is divided into sections called wards. If we had to run on a parish level, I'd do it differently. According to the services that are asked for by the white members of the community, we'd have to capture instead of that 18 per cent some 38 per cent of the white community. What we campaigned on, we followed that stream into office. We listened to everybody's grief, we looked into things personally. The things we could do, we did them.

I'm skeptical about what effect we've had. In some sense, it has made Negroes feel they should run against each other, rather than picking out someone and sticking behind him. We need a lot of education in politics. We have a youth council, and we are instructing the youth on how to go about it and what to expect from their government. One or two people, some of the people who talk loud, felt that just because there were Negroes in office, every street could be black-topped and gutters put in within a year. They didn't understand that in a municipality the funds come from the

people. We can only give justice, but some people want it all today, without extra taxes or paying anything for it.

I don't know whether from our experience in our little town my advice would help. I would have to say try to get not only the Negro vote but the white vote. Try to run with dignity. On a larger level, in the parish or county, I would say you would have to counsel the Negroes who offer themselves as candidates and take a poll on them— whether Negroes think he's the kind who should run. He should seek advice from his own people, and if he can carry that support, then he should run. Some Negroes feel that you can't represent them. Sometimes you'll get a person involved with politics with the white man for money. They'll get a few votes, but then will fall out.

I would advise him to campaign to everybody.

ELECT
HORACE T.
WARD

Urban Candidates

Elijah Coleman

Elijah Coleman, director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, was an unsuccessful candidate for the Jefferson County, Ark., school board in March, 1968. Mr. Coleman was born in Chidester in 1924 and holds a master's degree from the University of Arkansas.

As near as we can come to it, the population in the district is more like 51 per cent Negro and 49 per cent white. It was our opinion that we had a greater number of registered voters, and we just didn't get them out. I've had two elections—the first in September, 1967 and the other in March, 1968.

I live in the school district—and had been a principal for 12 or 15 years; and at that time they only had one Negro on the board. He himself was an educator, and I thought maybe what we needed was a little more balance from the standpoint of educators versus businessmen and laborers. No Negroes opposed it at all. I was encouraged by the majority of Negroes to run.

My money came from the community, just in that school district, more or less. Some of it came from the city at large. We have four school districts

in the same town, a town of about 60,000. I got some financial help from white people—and some votes, I'm sure, because in the box that was predominantly Negro, there were eight whites who voted in this box and my opponent only got six votes out of that box. There's no way of telling about the white box, but we probably got a few votes out of that box.

It was strictly a volunteer organization, made up of a cross section of people in the district, who had assigned to them specific responsibilities, such as car pools. The college helped a lot—A. M. & N. College. The students helped a lot on the door-to-door. Before the election, they had worked very actively on getting people registered. It was a combined effort of the community and the college and the high school.

My first and second campaigns did not differ to a great degree. I think we made more of an effort on the last time, but the weather was kind of against us. We had snow and rain, whereas in the first election we had a beautiful day. We got out something like 50 votes less, but it was the same campaign with just a little more knocking on doors and a little more personal persuasion to get them out. On the second time, we did appeal to white voters, hoping we would be able to get more votes from the white community—which we evidently didn't do.

One thing I think I'd do differently—and I did do this to a certain extent in the last campaign—I would try to find some whites who would be receptive to a Negro candidate and get this person to go into the white community and work more actively. This was done to just a small degree during our last campaign with only one individual. If I had to do it again, I think we would make a concerted effort to try and persuade some of the white votes our way.

During the first campaign, we ran against a 20-year incumbent who has three substantial businesses in the district. He had been president of the board for about 16 years. This is the man I made a better showing against than the second man. The second man had been appointed by the school board members who were in office to serve an unexpired term. He was a car salesman, and he had a lot of friends in this district. They used the telephone quite effectively. You know, "We have one black on the board, and we don't want to turn the school board black." I think they came out more to vote against another black man on the board instead of voting for the candidate himself.

There were several good effects. We succeeded in getting the polling booths integrated. Up until the last election they had Negroes in Negro boxes and whites in white boxes. It did serve, too, to unify the Negro voting strength in the district. In fact, they are quite confused now as to why they lost. Even though the books don't designate color anymore, we know where most of the Negroes live in the district. We thought we could just out-vote them by strength and that we didn't have to form any coalition to win. We still think this is true. Efforts are being made to decide if we will take this route again; if we just are going to vote by sheer numbers and not try to form any coalitions here. If we do this, more Negroes will be registered and we'll make a greater effort to get them to the polls.

When you get into politics, you shouldn't presume anything. I had gone

on the assumption that most people here knew me for 16 years. Maybe what we didn't do is see enough people from the grass-roots community. I don't believe we really involved enough people. We were top-heavy with college people, with affluent people, whom we thought could solidify the community. What I'm trying to say is that we didn't have enough activity in the grass-roots community.

F. Malcolm Cunningham

First elected to the Riviera Beach Fla., City Commission in 1962, F. Malcolm Cunningham was re-elected in 1964 and 1966 and ran unsuccessfully for state House of Representatives in 1968. He was born in Plant City, Fla., and attended high school in Tallahassee. Mr. Cunningham also attended Florida A&M University and received his A.B. and law degrees from Howard University. He ran for office the first time in 1956 and lost.

Back in 1962, we had two-thirds white voters and one-third Negro. We got 80 per cent of the Negro votes out then, compared to about 50 per cent of the white votes. That was one of the many factors in my winning the election. I received about 15 per cent of the white votes that were cast. My opponent was white; he had been serving on the commission for 12 years.

My percentage of the Negro vote decreased and the percentage of the white vote increased for me in subsequent elections. By the same token, there was no increase in Negro votes for white candidates.

I filed for the first time for the city commission in 1956. I lost by only 80 votes at that time. Thereafter I didn't bother with it, because I had to devote a lot of time to my practice. I thought the time was ripe in 1962. I had more time to put into it. I had been working very closely with voter registration. I had been president of the voters league in the area and president of other civic and charitable organizations throughout the whole county, so I thought that it could be done. In addition, I had a lot of people urging me to run in the initial election and working very closely and very hard with me as far as the initial election in 1962 was concerned. They did it in subsequent years, too.

In 1956, some of my closest friends, teachers and some of the old heads got afraid. In 1956 there were two or three crosses burned in the Negro community. Rumors spread. A lot of Negroes became frightened. There was strong feeling against my running. During that time, we were filing a lot of school integration cases. Our so-called leaders at that time said we were "trying to change things." They were kind of apprehensive of us. But that didn't stop us, because we had a lot of young fellows who were willing to go and work with us. So they just moved aside.

Initially, we had a club and an organization. I paid my filing fee out of my own pocket. As for other expenses, the organization donated all their work free and didn't charge a nickel. A lot of people donated their cars.

Some people gave a tank of gas. There was little or no expense in the first election. I would say that I didn't spend over $150 or $200. In 1966, I spent $50 to file, and I spent about $40 on handbills, and I gave some boys about $15 to take them out. That was it.

What happened is this: I didn't spend much money, but the white candidates who were running were hiring people to drive cars and other things. It's a bad situation when white candidates can come over in the Negro area and spend a lot of money and hire the most workers. Regardless of what he stands for, he will control a lot of Negro votes.

Anyway, I didn't have to worry, because even though they were spending the money, the people who were working for them were working for me. There was no such thing as a Negro person openly working against me in Negro areas. They would have been outcasts—if not physically, then from a social standpoint. That's just how strongly people felt about Negroes working against a Negro candidate in favor of a white candidate in that area.

I got a considerable amount of help from white people in my 1962 campaign. I had a lot of white people working in white areas. I had some driving for me in the white neighborhoods. But that situation has changed since 1956. I didn't have that then.

As a matter of fact, in 1956 the whole city hall was fighting me. They brought out fire trucks and sirens on election day to get white people out to vote to defeat me. That didn't happen in 1962. We had a changed sentiment in the white community as far as getting a Negro elected. We still worked on our registration. We brought it up to nearly 40 per cent of the whole and our population has increased. There is still a lot of apathy in the Negro community.

I campaigned by making the Chamber of Commerce meetings, the Jaycee meetings, all the political forums. I got my handbills out in the Negro and white communities. I didn't get on the radio or anything like that. I'm doing it now in late 1968 in my race for state representative.

It was difficult for my opponent to campaign in the Negro community against me. He got 162 votes in Negro precincts, and I got almost half the votes cast in white precincts. I received 90 per cent in the Negro precincts. He didn't bring up racial issues. However, in one instance where another Negro was elected, his white opponent brought up the racial issue. I think that brought Negroes to the polls, but it didn't bring out whites; and as a result, the Negro defeated him.

The campaigns encouraged voter registration, and it encouraged other Negroes to seek office. In a town near here, a place called Delray, a fellow by the name of Youngblood was able to get elected in that city. We had a fellow who ran in Belle Glade in this county.

As for advice to others, the person must be the kind who can get along with all factions. He must be the sort who doesn't get offended when they disagree with him. I think personality has a lot to do with it.

Number two, he must know what he's talking about, he must know the issues. If he doesn't know the issues, he can be made to look like a fool.

In addition to knowing the issues, he must have some time to devote to the problem. It's the kind of job that he's going to find will pay him little

money and will be little help to him financially—unless he's going to go into something undercover, and that I don't advise.

My suggestion is to involve yourself in the community. People have to know you.

By the same token, you have to have certain convictions. After you study something and come out with a position, stick with it. If you're changing here and changing there, no one can put any confidence in you one way or the other. A lot of times I've taken positions that a lot of Negroes fought me on, but I had to stick to it. I knew I was right. In the end it paid off dividends, and those same people who were fighting me have come to be my best friends.

Another thing I suggest for the person running for public office: he's got to have freedom, he's got to have independence. He must be in a position where he can't be pressurized so much, because they will try to pressurize you. And he's got to have his community together.

I find a lot of envy among your so-called professionals and pseudo-professional Negroes. I can't understand it. You find a lot of bickering and jealousy. They have run quite a few Negroes in this area and none of them have been elected because the Negroes can't get together. We fight each other too blasted much.

Earl M. Johnson

Earl M. Johnson, elected to the Jacksonville, Fla., consolidated City Council in 1967, had previously been an unsuccessful candidate for the Duval County Commission and for the Florida House of Representatives. He was born in Huntington, W. Va., in 1928 and received his higher education and law degree from Howard University.

I ran in 1962 for a county commission post. It was a county-wide seat. The ratio was about four white votes for each Negro vote. I finished third in a field of seven. All of the other candidates were white.

I'm not at all sure that I ever made the decision that I wanted to hold elective office. I think I was more or less projected into it because of my other public service in civil rights, as a civil rights lawyer primarily, and as a lawyer period.

I suppose deep down there was some interest in holding public office. There weren't many Negroes running for public office, if any, that I recall —particularly county-wide. This was thought unreachable. Someone had to start to get the white people oriented toward the possibility of having a Negro hold county-wide office. Those sorts of considerations went into that judgment.

There was quite a bit of Negro opposition in 1962. Not only that, one of the so-called political leaders here, who had been the man that governors and mayors and others looked to for delivery of the Negro vote, actively

supported one of my white opponents.

I had the support pretty much of everybody, as my vote indicates. When I ran for the Legislature, I garnered some 47,000 votes, which is more votes than any Negro had ever gotten, I'm told, in the state. That may not be accurate, but at least it's true in this county. Not only that, most of that vote, some 26,000, came from the white community, which was also unheard of.

The difference is, it seems to me, attributable to a change in attitude, resulting from a change in law and behavior. My running in 1966 was in the perspective of a new attitude toward civil rights, toward the need for Negroes in positions of public responsibility. Even the white people fear what the absence of Negroes in these positions means. I have since 1962 demonstrated an ability to appeal to white people, and I have not done anything to alienate the Negro community since I've been in the forefront of civil rights litigation. I've not had to compromise my positions on civil rights issues to get white votes.

Each of my races has been county-wide. I've had to appeal to the whole area, the whole county, and my money has come from everybody. I have always received more money from the white community than from the Negro community. There is less money in the Negro community. We are less attuned to the business of giving for politics. (This is not to say that I haven't had more in numbers giving in the Negro community.)

In 1962, there wasn't much white support, except some persons would privately tell their friends, "I'm going to vote for the Negro," or they'd say, "I'm going to vote for that nigger" on the theory that this would not make them seem liberal even though they were going to vote for me. They didn't really want it widely known that they were. If they did, they wanted to do it in a condescending way.

Now they support me openly. I got the endorsement of the local newspaper, for example. Many of the people who have now been involved in the new power structure of the area gave me coffees and teas in their white homes, they put my posters and billboards in their yards in the white community. This has never happened before for a Negro, but it happened for me in the City Council race. White women manned my office during the last campaign. They made a great contribution in terms of work in 1966, but the 1967 race really involved a lot of white people.

I've never paid anyone to do any work, unless it was on election day when we had to arrange for transportation. We've had considerable support from the NAACP, from whatever voter groups there are. We used leaflets always, sample ballots whenever we could afford them, little brochures describing the family and showing my credentials. The last time we mailed them out to all registered Negroes, so we could feel at least that every Negro knew I was running.

We had big billboards in 1966; that is, these big neon lighted things that reach up to the sky. We had other placards and posters wherever we could get them up. When I ran for the Legislature, we did do considerable door-knocking. We had a supply of students from the local college and others in the community, and we did attempt a really vigorous door-knocking cam-

paign. We didn't do quite so much of that this last time, principally because we didn't have the manpower available. We hoped we could achieve the results of the door-knocking by the direct mailing.

In the white community, there was some door-knocking done, not by Negroes, but by white persons working for me. I don't know how we could have achieved the good results in the white community without that kind of manpower there—white manpower.

I'm sure I must have made some mistakes. I don't know if there's anything I could have done in 1962 to get elected. Frankly, this was an exercise in education—to get white people looking forward or preparing themselves for the time when a Negro would be acceptable in their eyes. In 1966, everybody thought I was going to win. We had considerable radio and television time, and we also did this last time. I think getting a Negro on radio and television who can articulate is important. You've got to get that kind of broad coverage so he can sell himself as an articulate candidate. If he does that, I think my experience tells that he can get elected.

I don't know specifically what I would not have done, as I think about it, except that I would avoid some persons, an alignment with some persons, or even soliciting the support of some persons who had made reputations—I hate to say "bad" reputations—but who had reputations which can cut both ways sometimes.

My opponents were always white—different appeals were available for them. One of my opponents in the last election talked about bloc votes and he dealt in racial issues. As a matter of fact, there's always been at least one of my opponents who would do that. Being a Negro, I've always drawn more opponents, and they would try to make capital out of that.

I don't know how you would contrast what I would have to do and what a white candidate, similarly qualified, would have to do. He has a naturally larger number of supporters to start out with. I've got the job of trying to persuade some of them either of the need for Negro representation when there is no Negro representation or that somehow I have better credentials.

I've tried to avoid talking about the race issue—even such statistics as that there were no Negroes in the Florida House of Representatives, for example. I had to avoid saying that, while at the same time, by innuendo and other subtleties, saying it nonetheless. It just rubs people the wrong way. I even think Negroes don't want to hear you talking about colored folks. At least they haven't in the past. Perhaps they may now some.

In a word, the effect has been good, not only from the standpoint of educating the Negro, but from the standpoint of making him aware of the likelihood of getting Negroes elected. No one ever believed a Negro could get elected county-wide. I was the first. This was quite an impression on the Negro community and on the white community.

It made the white community know they were a little better than they thought they were. Some people wouldn't want to hear me say that, but it's true. Many of them were not as bad as they thought. They really could vote for a Negro. The awareness in the mind of the Negro people that white people would vote for a qualified Negro is a good and wholesome thing.

It seems to me your campaign hinges on the amount of money available. Regrettably, you've got to spend a lot of money. The leaflet isn't as effective as television and radio. Speaking at rallies is not effective for the reason that nobody comes to rallies but the candidates and their followings.

Television and radio is the answer, and newspaper coverage. I, for example, during the last campaign, had a $500 ad on Sunday which carried the endorsement of some 50 to 100 prominent people—most of whom, incidentally, were white and who had considerable personal following themselves. For instance, a bank president who says, "I'm for Earl Johnson because he served on the Local Government Study Commission, which helped to develop the new government."

People called white doctors and said: "Well, if you're going to vote for that nigger, then I will too." That kind of thing.

I think you've got to get a broad sweep. You've got to get the endorsement of local organizations, labor unions. But to do that, you've got to sell your own qualifications, your reputation as a good, stable, mature person. I think race cannot be sold. I think you cannot sell a candidate by selling him as a Negro, frankly, even in the Negro community.

We had a Negro who ran, and it was always thought that if a Negro threw his hat in the ring, he got the Negro vote. But that didn't happen, he didn't get it. He went down to a miserable defeat.

Miss Barbara Jordan

Miss Barbara Jordan of Houston, an unsuccessful candidate for the Texas House of Representatives in 1962 and 1964, was elected in 1966 as the only woman and first Negro member of the state Senate. Born in Houston in 1936, she was graduated from Texas Southern University and from Boston University School of Law.

I have about 46 per cent Negro, and the rest is white. The registration breakdown was 45 per cent Negro and the balance white.

I ran for the Texas House in 1962 and 1964. In '62, I received 46,000 votes in a county-wide race and the winner received about 65,000. In '64, I received 64,000, and the winner, again in a county-wide race, received about 75,000 votes. Reapportionment broke the constituency down so I could run from about one-fourth of the county.

I had worked in prior political campaigns, starting with the Kennedy-Johnson campaign in 1960, and worked through our local Democratic club, the Harris County Democrats. In working with them I could see a real need for more candidates taking an interest in politics—certainly more Negro candidates to help stimulate political interest.

As a result of my efforts in working to get out the vote in 1960 in the presidential contest, my interest became rather keen. I felt that I had a reasonably good chance of winning. I was realistic enough, the first time

that I ran, to know that there was a real problem of name identification and that the Negro vote was in the great minority as far as the county-wide vote was concerned and that it would be highly improbable that I would win. But I felt that if I intended to make future races with a firm belief in winning, I had to start some place. In the first race, I had one opponent, in the second I had two, and in the third race one. In all instances, the opponents were white.

I had no public, obvious opposition from Negroes in either one of those races in '62 or '64. I would sometimes get rumors about some individual who felt that this was not the thing to do, but I never saw any influence on the part of Negroes in opposing me in either of those two races.

In the main, most of my campaign money came from local sources with small contributions from other Negroes. In both the '62 and '64 campaigns, we designed a little button with my name on it and sold them for a dollar each. In the '62 campaign, we raised about $15,000 that way.

I have a small campaign organization which I have kept intact since 1962. As a general rule, we only have one full-time paid worker. This is usually a secretary who can do general office work. As you get into the latter stage of the campaign, you would bring in about half a dozen ladies to do telephoning and that kind of thing. But in the main, the help has been volunteer.

We have concentrated daily, in all of my campaigns, on a block-worker program, which we have found to be the most successful thing that we have done in any of the races. We start with the precinct judges and get them to submit to us a list of workers in their precinct who are willing to work their blocks. Once we get these names, we ask for a street captain who will oversee the activities of the street workers on a given street. Breaking that down, each worker has been furnished with a block-worker's kit, a letter of instructions as to what he is to do and campaign material.

We used buttons and bumper stickers, and in the last campaign, the one for the Senate, we added billboards. In the '62 and '64 campaigns, we did a considerable amount of radio and television. It was a county-wide effort, and it was just impossible for the candidate to appear in person before a lot of groups. When we got it broken down to districts, we did not put any funds into television and only into radio for the two Negro stations that we had. In '66, the block worker program was the primary factor.

The Democratic Party organization here as an organization takes no hand in primary contests. It's just liberal versus conservative. Persons who vote in the Democratic primary as a general rule will vote along those lines. I had no help and no participation by the official party organization in Harris County, but no other candidate had the official help of the party organization. In surviving the primary in May of '66, I did have support from the regular Democratic organization for the general election in November, because the liberal-conservative contests were ended and everyone was on a "vote-straight-Democratic" program.

I would do more personal campaigning, right now, than I did in any of the other campaigns. I believe it has been a mistake to rely on rallies and the news media primarily as exposure vehicles. I would hit the streets my-

self, walking and talking and shaking hands with as many people as I could see at the bus stops or supermarkets or other places of public gathering.

During the last campaign, my opponent concentrated on the white vote, I felt, and interjected the racial issue into his campaign, whereas I did not see race as an issue for debate or discussion. I concentrated on a maximum turnout of Negroes, because I knew I had to get better than 90 per cent of the Negroes and rely on about 30 per cent of the whites to win. My opponent was thinking that he would get at least 25 or 30 per cent of the Negro vote and a higher percentage of the white vote, which would give him enough to win. As it happens, he got about one per cent of the Negro vote and about 65 or 70 per cent of the white vote, which was not enough.

One immediate effect was a new awareness of politics on the state level among Negro voters in particular. By and large, Negroes had not known what a state senator or state representative did. Upon my election, there was an awakening to politics on the state level. This interest has encouraged people to follow the papers and become interested in bills pending before the Legislature. The emphasis had been on local races like for city council or for school board, but now that has been broadened to include state-level politics.

I would say that no Negro candidate for public office ought to automatically write off the white vote. There is, I have discovered, a substantial white vote that does go to a Negro candidate out of some feeling of justice or equality on the part of the white people. Some interest or energy ought to be directed toward the white community.

Also, the Negro vote should not be taken for granted. It doesn't just automatically come. There are some people who will just automatically go out and vote for a Negro candidate, but there are still great numbers who have to be stimulated every time.

Mrs. Athalie Range

Mrs. Athalie Range is a city commissioner in Miami, Fla. Mrs. Range, a successful funeral director, was defeated in her first bid for office and then appointed to finish the term of a retired commissioner. She won election to the City Commission in November, 1967.

When I first ran, I was in a race with six white opponents. I was the biggest vote-getter by some 1,100 to 1,200 votes. When it came to the primary runoff, it became a white-black situation; and I was beaten in the runoff by 1,400 votes.

It was quite evident that there was very definitely a racial circumstance here; because in the primary where there were some 15 people seeking

office, and I was one of the only two Negroes among them, there were 37,000 people who came out to a city election to elect from 16 people. In the runoff, when there were only two people running, myself and my white opponent, 38,000 people came out, which means there was far more interest because of the racial situation here.

Two nights before the election, a loudspeaker went through the community stating, "Unless you vote on Tuesday you will have a Negro on the City Commission." As a result of this, I can very easily imagine that people who had not voted in some time and who had no interest in city elections came out, and I was beaten by a margin of 1,400.

Following the election in which I was defeated, some few months later, one of the commissioners resigned. I was appointed to his seat. Then I won an election by a very large margin.

Of course, I've always felt that Negroes needed greater involvement in government and civic affairs that we simply have been so terribly lacking in. However, the manner in which I came out as a candidate was that a group of lay people and ministers felt the same way I did about Negro participation in government, and they began looking around for someone to whom everyone could cling, and really do a good job of putting this person in office.

The novelty of Negroes in public office will eventually wear off, however. When this occurs, it will be an even greater burden upon those who offer themselves as candidates to be as well versed and as fully prepared as their strongest opponent. For once elected, you are expected to perform as ably as any and all others in a similar position or office. I have found, and rightfully so, that the public is demanding, merciless and noncompromising regarding the political behavior of those whom they have elected to serve them.

There were several names brought up, and it just happened by the process of elimination that I was the one to whom everyone felt they could give sole support in the community. Of course, I can very easily imagine that they might have approached other people, preferably a man, who for some other reasons, known only to themselves, did not want to seek the office at this time. When I finally made up my mind that I would accept the draft, because it was indeed a draft from the Negro community, then I went out with the intention actually of winning.

We waged a full-scale campaign. That is, we did not go out thinking we could win on sympathy alone. We sought funds, we opened a campaign office, we had publicity people and everything that goes along with a full-fledged campaign. We got very good support from both white and Negro.

I think the greatest mistake that might have been made in the primary was that the group of people who felt that we should have representation began to work very, very late. We were only six weeks in the campaign before the primary election. This means that my opponents were all out and running, had all solicited some support, and of course this was marked up on the negative side for me. There were some Negroes who had given their word of support to some of the white candidates, principally the person who eventually defeated me; and of course, they could not go back on their

word once they had given their word to the other person. This was one of the outstanding factors, I believe, why I did not win the first time out. But I got very, very good support.

We used every medium other than television. TV is too expensive, and we simply did not have that kind of money. I did have at least one paid person I can think of at this moment. This was my publicity man. He came rather high, to my way of thinking. My manager was a minister who was not paid at all. All of my campaign workers were volunteers.

We did quite a bit of door-to-door campaigning. I went with some of the gentlemen who were kind enough to go with me out to the masses of people. We stopped in every poolroom, we went into nightclubs, into whiskey places where they sell whiskey all day. This was the type of campaigning I did throughout the predominantly Negro area.

I spoke to large groups wherever I had an occasion to, and I went into homes where there were just a few people gathered. In the white community I did the same thing. I did not go into white poolrooms or white bars. As far as churches, home gatherings, lawn parties, political gatherings—I went to all of these. I missed a lot of places because I had only six weeks to cover the entire city.

I campaigned in much the same manner the second time that I did in the first election. I knew it was necessary to set up a headquarters. I knew it was necessary to have even more persons out working for me. I think because I did have, through my appointment to the City Commission, an opportunity to build a record, I could run with far more ease than having to break the ice for the first time. Consequently, I think many of the things I did the second time around were not really mandatory. I think I would have won if I had not campaigned so hard.

But I enjoyed campaigning; I think it's something that's due the public. You ought to get out and let yourself be seen and let your voice be heard.

The effect these campaigns have had among Negroes is that Negroes came out to the polls because they had something to come out for. In my first campaign, more Negroes came out to vote in that primary election than had come out before in any city election for a number of years in Miami. It had to be attributed to the fact that they were trying to get a Negro into office.

There were many factors controlling the runoff. Many Negroes who were not knowledgeable were told by their employers and they were told by other Negroes who were probably being paid by the opposition, "Now you voted for Mrs. Range last Tuesday, your vote will count. It's not necessary to go back."

This is where we have a terrible lack of voter education. Many people did not know. They accepted the fact that they voted for me once and their vote would count in the second election. As a result, there were fewer Negroes voting in the runoff than there were voting in the primary. I believe that as long as we have runoffs with Negroes and whites running, that the Negro's best bet is to do all he can to get in the primary. When it comes down to a situation where there is white and black, we still have not come far enough to vote on the principle of the man or woman who is running.

The first general advice I would give is that I feel that people should not run for office simply because they have the desire to run. I think that when one runs for office, he must prepare himself, even though I cannot say this was true in my case. But I had in my favor many, many years of civic contributions. I was well known in the community in that I had worked very strenuously in Parent-Teacher Association work, and I had been a public speaker in the city of Miami for a number of years. I had participated in many, many interracial boards.

We simply cannot get up and run because we want to run. Once we start this and do it on two or three occasions, then we become perennial runners where everyone sees our name on the ballot but they pay absolutely no attention to us.

The next thing is that after we have prepared ourselves, then we need to have good organization. You simply cannot run for office and win with an out-of-pocket campaign, with nobody actually being behind you, with nobody being able to identify you with a specific group who is actually promoting you.

We have to expose ourselves to the white community; and when we go into the white community, we must not be afraid to point out the inequities that have existed through the year, as well as when we go into the Negro community. I think that people, no matter how it might appear on the surface, appreciate the truth.

When we go into a campaign, we should go in with the true facts. We should know the existing issues and know what is important. We should be able to answer general questions about the office for which we are running. In our first campaign, there were some issues that I knew absolutely nothing about. But after I was asked the questions on one occasion, I looked into these matters and was able to come up with an answer. This is very important.

Clarence Lee Townes Jr.

Clarence Lee Townes Jr., now special assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, was defeated in 1965 in his race for the Virginia House of Representatives. Formerly a training director of a Negro insurance company, he was born in Richmond in 1928 and was graduated from Virginia Union University in 1950.

Thirty-five per cent of the population in the area was black. Approximately 30 per cent of the voters were black, but the black voters voted the highest percentage. The voting percentage is higher than the actual registration percentage. The total vote was in the neighborhood of 35,000.

I was running on an eight-man Republican slate against an eight-man Democratic slate. We were not running as individuals. There was the

phenomenon of a write-in candidate who actually won and eliminated Dr. Ferguson Reid, a Negro, from victory in that particular election.

I ran as part of a growing process in the party. Beginning back in 1961, the Crusade for Voters, which is a predominantly Negro voting registration and voter delivery organization with which I was associated, had supported in many elections Republicans, not so much out of philosophy but out of the ability to use the black vote as the balance of power. We were voting against the entrenched Byrd organization in the state and in the district. In '62, the Negro vote was delivered, approximately 87 per cent of it, to a Republican candidate for Congress against the Democratic incumbent. With this vote, the Republican candidate failed to win but almost upset the incumbent, losing by some 300 votes. In '63, the Negro vote assisted the Republican Party in electing for the first time in the history of the Third District area the first two Republicans to the lower house.

It was a growing thing; and because of it, the Republican Party began to cut Negroes legitimately into the party apparatus and at the committee level. I had gone through the ranks with the support and blessings of the Crusade for Voters to the position of vice chairman of the city and vice chairman of the district to vice chairman of the state party and an alternate delegate to the 1964 convention. We had an unwritten commitment from them that they would include a Negro on the ticket and fully support him for the General Assembly.

Of course the '64 thing came along and just completely distorted the relationship. I was the only one identified with the black community in a political sense and a voter registration sense still identified with the Republican Party, and simply carried out what had been a commitment by the party made back in '64. This was done with, of course, the blessings of the black community.

We had a strange thing to happen in Virginia in 1965. Dr. Ferguson Reid ran in the Democratic primary. At first he lost, supposedly, and in the official canvass the ballots were lost and the courts ruled that he had to be the number-eight man on the ballot. They put Reid back on the ballot by court order. The assumption was that there was hanky-panky going on because the Republicans, with Clarence Townes legitimately on the ticket, would attract this 30 per cent of the total vote, the black vote, and thereby elect a majority of Republicans from this district to the lower house.

The campaign got into a lot of emotions, with Reid on the ballot; it put us in the position of running against each other when that was not the case. It put the Negro community in the position of choosing between two slates—the Republican slate, that they had looked with favor upon earlier, running against the Democratic slate with another popular Negro on it. It split the Negro vote up, it split up emotions among Negroes. And in the end, what happened was that white folks had the most miraculous write-in in the last ten days that elected a white man instead of either one of us.

We spent about $30,000, the Republican Party did, and everything was

spent equally. We got the total support of Republicans, black and white, in the district I ran in. We ran as a team, a group, everything equal. We campaigned wherever the entire slate campaigned; I campaigned in some very hostile areas, just as they did when they came into my area. They had to answer some very forthright questions from the black community. We had the entire Republican precinct organization, about 300 Negroes, working in the campaign for the total slate. Each billboard had all eight candidates on it, all the literature had all eight; there was nothing separate. We used handouts, flyers. All television time was equal, all radio time was equal. This was also a state race, a race for the governor's mansion, and the gubernatorial candidate was included in some of the television time also.

If I had to do it all over again, I think there's one mistake that I made, a mistake in loyalty to this team idea of ours. When the predominantly Negro voter group in town decided that it would support the Democratic slate, I condemned them. It did do some damage to the Negro community at that time. I wouldn't do that again, because unity in the community is more important than my idea of whether or not their action was hypocritical. It cost me as an individual about 2,000 black votes on election day.

The campaign made the Democratic Party in the state and district get busy trying to mend some fences in the black community. It pushed the governor to the position where Virginia began to take a more progressive attitude on many things. For the first time, in my memory, in Virginia race was not a factor, openly, in a campaign. The great thing that came out of this was to focus the attention of both parties on legitimately seeking the Negro vote.

We should produce black candidates who really have something to offer in suggesting ideas and programs to the total electorate. We have reached a point in our communities in the South where black candidates have to legitimately represent and articulate the aims of the black community. If they fail to do this, they fail to be of service to the total community by honestly attempting to seek office. I don't think we should disillusion the black community by running poorly financed and poorly organized campaigns that fail to produce the thrust needed to elect a black candidate.

Where there may be more than one black candidate running, whether they are running with a party or independently, we owe it to the black community to have a sense of unity among the black candidates. They ought not to let whites force them into the position of running against each other. When election day is over with whites, they don't fall out. We can't afford the luxury of having antagonism among black political figures of various shades and thus splitting the black community.

Horace T. Ward

Atlanta attorney Horace T. Ward defeated white opponents in a predominantly white district in the 1964 primary and general election to become Georgia's second Negro state senator in modern times. He was born in LaGrange, Ga., in 1927.

In the 39th state senatorial district at the time that I first ran—in 1964—we knew that the white registration was larger than the Negro registration. The white voting strength was 12,500 and the Negro voting strength was 9,500. The population in the district in 1964 was about 55 per cent white and 45 per cent Negro. In the primary, the incumbent Democratic senator was white and the Republican candidate was white.

I had decided some time before then that I was going to get into politics. I thought I could render a service, and I thought I had some of the necessary training and also the willingness to do something for the people. I felt like if you're going to have anything to say about how the government's going to be run, you have to be on the inside.

I had really decided on that job two years before I ran, but it was a matter of trying to decide what was the proper time to do it. So I waited until 1964 when I thought there was a better chance of going in.

I raised my campaign money by personal contacts. I picked out a list of people around the community and sent them letters. Some responded. I talked to some ministers. I had some neighborhood teas or receptions, and we raised a small amount of money that way. It took somewhere in the neighborhood of $5,000, and I recall borrowing about $1,500 dollars during the campaign. The greater amount of the money that was raised for campaign funds came from Negroes. Some came from whites, principally from labor unions.

One white minister got together a letter of his own which he sent to about 100 people telling them that he knew me and that I would be a worthwhile addition to the Georgia Legislature. Some other white people in the community gave me some mailing materials. Many white people told me, "I am going to ask my friends to vote for you, but I'm not going to make any public display of support."

I organized a campaign committee, consisting of names that had come to me of people who had worked in civic organizations and voter registration drives and other political groups. I picked them out all over the district—got some in each of the precincts, principally Negro areas. I organized them into a committee, not a hard-and-fast organization. I would call them together now and then for advice and for them to help me get out my material and to help me contact other people.

I did hire a campaign manager. I don't think there's any substitute for having a centralized office, because you can't make all your appointments—you can't even keep up with them. During the month before the primary

and the month before the general election, we hired a secretary, we opened up the office, we had a telephone.

Of course, I campaigned on the basis of trying to reach as many people as I could in the community. I wouldn't know how many churches I went to. I knew the people, I went to their meetings, their churches, both Sunday meetings and other meetings. I got to know the ministers, as many as I could. I feel like I reached more organized people through the churches than I did through organizations. I got to know all of the heads of the housing project tenant associations.

I had a little advantage on some of the candidates in view of the fact that I had some foundation in the community, having been a civil rights lawyer.

We didn't do any radio ads—we didn't have that kind of money. We didn't do any advertising in the general newspapers. We ran one or two ads in The Atlanta World, and we ran some ads in The Atlanta Inquirer. Those we had to pay for. But I did do some extensive printing. I got some printing through the civil rights groups; some were lenient with the price and some printing was free. I printed up brochures; I printed up cards, placards and posters.

Prior to getting into politics, I had made some long-time associations with the organized Negro political groups. I had gotten into the Atlanta Negro Voters League; and although I wasn't a power in it, I knew what was going on. And then I'd gotten into the Fulton County Democratic Club, another Negro group, and most of the organized Negro groups. Then, prior to my election, I had gotten into the Democratic Party. I was the first ward leader out here for the Democratic Party.

I was operating with the Negro Democrats before they were officially accepted by the Democrats in Georgia. You know, Negroes weren't officially in the Democratic Party until the early sixties. I joined the Young Democrats in order to extend myself a little beyond the Negro community; then I joined the Democratic Party.

Now, my thought about it was this: that a Negro candidate would have to do two or three things. First, he would have to have a foundation of strength in his own community; and I thought you'd do that by service in the community and by identifying with the people in the community and by having a working relationship with the organizations in the community. That's your real foundation if you're going to be a success in politics. Negroes especially, because you've got to come first from your own community; and if you're not accepted there, I don't think you're going to make it in the other community.

After you get established in the Negro community, you have to follow a procedure of what I call establishing a beachhead in the white community. That is, if you're running for an office which is larger than a Negro constituency, you can impress the white community by showing them that we've got enough intelligence or know-how to do the job.

I won my first election by about 10,000 votes, and my opponent got about 6,000 votes. I got 90 per cent of the Negro vote and one-third of the white vote.

I approached the people wherever I could find them, in night clubs and lodge halls, in churches and PTA's and tenants' associations and on the corners. I visited all the areas of the district that I could. I did have some whites invite me to their houses where they would have a small group of people. I didn't see my opponent too much in the campaign.

I answered all the questionnaires that you get from people like the League of Women Voters and the Voters Guild, and I went to all of their forums. My position was in the meetings that I could do the job better than my opponent.

In the general election, I got to know my Republican opponent very well. He sought the Negro and the white vote; he had paid Negro workers, I'm told. He apparently was well financed—he had spot announcements on Negro radio stations. He had at least one mailing to all of the more than 20,000 voters in this district. I appeared on many programs with him.

I don't know where our techniques differed. I ran the same kind of campaign, a sort of direct and positive campaign, in which I tried to meet as many people as I could. I felt if I could get to the voters personally, they would give me a fair shake, would get to know me, and get to know about my qualifications.

I noticed in both campaigns there was an effort to identify me in the white community. I suppose they wanted the white voters to know I was a Negro. I thought they knew it, but they wanted them to be sure. They printed up a little statement on a sheet of paper, put each man's picture on the top, put his education and affiliations, and didn't say if he was Negro or white; but the voters would know, because of the fact that I was an officer in the Atlanta Negro Voters League and a NAACP lawyer.

I was called by some young white folks in the district out there. They called and said, "Horace, we got a letter in the mail today. It had your picture and your opponent's picture on it. It didn't do you any harm. It showed who you were and what your qualifications were. I think that maybe that's going to show that you are better qualified than your opponent."

Well, the immediate effect of the campaign was that it was kind of a unifying factor. At that time we had only had one man elected to state political office, elected in '62. My election was thought of by many in the community as a second step in the political process. It must have had a unifying effect, because without a great amount of money and so forth, I was able to get at least 90 per cent of the Negro vote in the general election. There were other factors—the President was running and things like that. At the same time, I think it helped to stimulate interest in politics in this area, and it added to the fact that the Negro people thought they were getting a larger voice in government by having another representative.

Generally, I would ask prospective candidates to seek to understand politics and the way it works and to seek to know something about the job they're trying to get and to realize that getting elected to political office is a kind of complicated and sophisticated process. It's true that some people might have gotten elected to office without the greatest amount of effort, but that's not the way it works. I would have them know that this is not

something you do just because you want to do it.

To know something about politics, you've got to know something about people. A man doesn't get elected to office just because he's out there. It requires some technique, it requires some know-how, it requires some ability. Not to say he's got to be a Ph.D. or anything like that, but he's got to have some ability with people, he's got to be able to reach them, and to persuade them and to mix with them.

Of course, it's going to require some money, and that's one of the hard things about it, especially in the Negro community; because Negroes haven't been used to paying for politics. They've been used to white politicians who generally have the money when they come to the Negro community, but they must be told that when a man runs for a job that pays $4,200 a year and sometimes spends more than that to get elected, there must be something else to it. If they want good candidates, then the people will have to support them.

Basically this is a business unto itself. It's not just a part-time occupation. Some of the jobs might be part-time. Generally, know what the job is all about, know that politics is a hard kind of business and know that it's basically dealing with people. They (candidates) need to also know that you don't go in it to get wealthy. You might go broke before you get in.

Q. V. Williamson

Q. V. Williamson is a member of the Atlanta Board of Aldermen. A real estate broker and businessman, Mr. Williamson was born in Atlanta in 1920 and educated there. A Republican, he ran twice for alderman in Atlanta's city-wide non-partisan election and was elected in September, 1965. His candidacy was by far the most expensive and most professional of those chosen for this survey.

I ran first in 1961. The Atlanta Negro Voters League had agreed to back Mr. A. T. Walden. At the last minute, he got sick and withdrew from the race; and they asked me to run—which was a mighty short time, you know, to get ready or to organize a campaign in 5½ weeks before the primaries. This was a real disadvantage that I had at that time.

There were two other Negroes running, but the Voters League was not backing them. So there were three of us running at the time, for three different seats. I decided to run after the League came to me and said that Mr. Walden was not going to run. You see, they had a strategy meeting and decided that they shouldn't run but one Negro at this time, because that's all we could get elected. Then in the strategy meeing, they decided who had the greatest possibility to win, and they ranked them. Walden ranked first, and they had me ranked second and they had J. C. Daugherty ranked third.

In the first election I got support from Negroes as well as from the

whites. But I was so short in notice getting into the race, I did not have time to organize and build up real support in the Negro community or the white community. In the first campaign, I got financial support from the Negro community and the white community. But, in the first campaign I would say that 80 per cent of the support came from the Negro community and 20 per cent came from the white community. In the first race I got 39,000 votes, and my opponent got 41,000.

The next time I ran in 1965, I had time to really organize a political campaign, to set up an office, and to get a staff and some volunteers. I started a good three months before the election because this was a city-wide campaign. And I got a good organization in the white community. As a result, I was successful on the second go-'round.

We had to campaign over the whole city, and we did hardly any "knocking on doors." But we had organizations in practically every precinct. Of our campaign budget, 60 per cent of it was spent on newspaper, radio and television advertising because of its being a city-wide campaign. I had a public relations firm in both campaigns to handle that part of the campaign professionally.

I had the same opponent both times. He was white. He had less money, less workers in both races.

In the first campaign in '61, the Negro constituents were confused because they thought all the Negroes were running against each other, and it was hard to straighten that confusion out. But in the '65 campaign, I think we had less confusion in this area because of the experience of the '61 campaign; for it was realized after the earlier election was over that the Negroes weren't running against each other.

Well, in the second campaign, I was the leader with some 29,000 votes. The incumbent, who ran second, only had 17,000; and the third man in the race, who was white also, had 15,000 votes. In the runoff, it was a landslide for me. In the runoff, we didn't have as many people voting as we did in the primary. I got some 30,000 votes to my opponent's 15,000. I made the same speech in both Negro and white communities and distributed the same kind of literature.

I don't know of anything I would do differently. It's hard to say, of all the things you do in a campaign, which was good or which was bad when you were successful. So I don't know that I would do it any differently because I know all the things that we did, put together, meant success.

I don't think I could have been elected had I not been a Republican, because I couldn't have gotten the amount of white votes, mostly from the North side, which is where most white Republicans live. It has been demonstrated in Atlanta that white Democrats will not vote for a Negro, regardless of what party he belongs to. But the white Republicans will vote for anybody running in a campaign with a Republican tag on him if he's white, blue, red or yellow.

Of course, my advice would only be advantageous to those who would run in a city-wide election; because I know here in Atlanta the elected

officials who get elected out of a district don't use the same technique I used. In a city where white people are about 60 per cent of the registered voters and the Negroes are only 40 per cent of the registered voters—which means that Negroes can't elect anybody city-wide by themselves—you've got to have a combination of Negro and white votes in order to be elected.

All cities have a politics peculiar to themselves. But I can tell you this: My analysis of the political situation in Atlanta is that there have always been three huge groups of voters in Atlanta, and the combination of any two of them means election. One huge group is the segregationists, the other huge group is the Negro, and the third huge group is the people that the power structure influences in the white community. And these are usually your "liberals."

Unfortunately, in Atlanta, the Negro group has always had to align with the power structure. Some of us refer to it as the "unholy alliance." But the Negro group is not able to ally with the white segregationists because their views are too diverse, so this was the only other group they could ally with. And in my election, what I did was put the power structure with the Negro group.

I was able to get the endorsement of the daily newspapers. This is important. Most politicians tell you that it is equivalent to 10,000 votes, so I would advise everybody who is running for city-wide races, if they can, to get the daily papers' endorsement.

My public relations firm designed all ads. In my first race, the public relations firm designed some ads, and every profession was represented in this ad by a hat. The blue-collar worker was represented, the white-collar worker was represented and the professionals were represented by hats. The ad indicated that I was for everybody. This was their technique that they came up with, it wasn't mine. Usually if you run in a city-wide race, you certainly need a public relations firm. Not only did they take care of my ads in the newspaper, radio and television, they took spot polls to tell me which parts of the city I needed to go into in person and which parts of the city we needed to put more placards in. This was a great help. This you only get when you buy professional help.

I sat down with my public relations agent and he worked out the platform with me, as to the things we ought to put in our platform and the things we ought to talk about in the city election. The city government, you know is the government closest to the people. It provides more services for the people and the people expect more services from it. In our platform, all we talked about was improving these city services, getting better garbage collection, keeping the streets clean, getting better lighting in some of the poor areas, and making improvements that the city could make for the people.

This was our whole talk: that I was better prepared and better qualified to do these things than the two people I was running against.

Thomas Edward Wrenn

Thomas Edward Wrenn was defeated in his race for the Birmingham, Ala., city council in November, 1967, in a non-partisan municipal election. Born in Sumter County, Ala., in 1932, Mr. Wrenn was graduated from Parker High School in Birmingham and received training as a dental technician. In 1968 Wrenn was an unsuccessful National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA) candidate for Congress.

We have something like more than one-third of the voters. In other words, we have about 47,000 registered Negroes within the city limits and about 71,000 whites.

I was the only Negro in the race out of 25 running for city council. I decided to run about two or three weeks before the election. I had gotten some inside dope on a conspiracy by the white power structure not to have any Negro in the race. That's how I got in.

I had to borrow the qualifying fee.

Some Negroes said that if I got in the race, I couldn't get the support of the white power structure or the newspapers; but we never had their support. They said that if I got in the race, the incumbent mayor would surely lose, just because I was in the race.

We had a campaign against police brutality and various other activities, and people knew me in the city. I had been lambasting the administration. I set out to sweep city hall, to get the five council seats and the mayor. I campaigned on the idea of putting new faces in city hall.

My money came from Negroes, from little people on the street, from anywhere. The thing is, no one put up any money to back me. The whole campaign cost some $900. I had one television spot and one radio spot, and that was in the runoff. The local affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was my headquarters.

In terms of organizing, I had people; but I didn't have the money. The people were the determining factor. As a lot of people said, "He's not the only Negro who ever ran," but now some say, "He's the only Negro who ever ran who raises the issues that affect our lives."

I knew that I had to win without a runoff, because in a runoff the white power structure will double-team you. In the primary, you had, in all of the primarily Negro boxes, not one box that voted more than 50 per cent. So it was the apathy of the Negro people themselves that didn't turn out the vote, but I did get in the runoff.

We had some so-called bourgeoise Negroes betting that I wouldn't even get in the runoff. A lot of people were betting I would make a lot of money. After I made the runoff, two or three middle-class Negroes did give a contribution. But not $50 or $100. I went in debt about $200.

If I had won, I would have been the only and first Negro to hold public office in Birmingham. What happens, in a city election here in Birmingham, you have to run at large. You have five seats open and you must vote for five councilmen. If you vote for just one, your ballot is void. The campaign

was as the Negro press carried it: "Wrenn and four others." You vote for five and one mayor.

I was trying to get Negroes to understand the strategy of the whole thing, that we should put up three Negroes to run. But they were waiting for white folks to tell them who to run. I said, I don't care who they are, but let's get three to run, because when you vote for five, you're going to vote for me. That puts the white power over here; and if we can use our votes to vote for three and two others, we can bargain with the power structure. If you can't deliver, you can't get service. We had the balance of power. We still have it.

What the white folks are trying to do now is bring in Homewood, which is 90 per cent white. They want to bring in Center Point. They tried to do this before the election, and they still want to do it now. We're in a bargaining position now.

During this thing, there were more Negroes threatening my life than white folks.

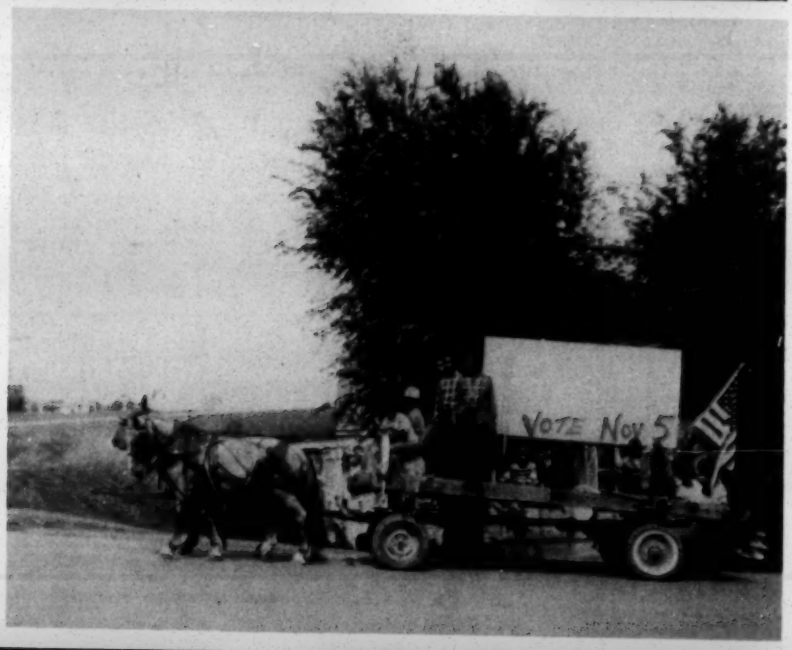
I'm strictly a non-party man. I don't think that Negroes at this stage can align themselves with either the Republican or Democratic party, but whatever party offers the most for us. In my kind of politics, if you've got two rascals in and two rascals out running against them, then put out those two rascals that are in and teach them a lesson.

I went door to door, house to house. It was done mostly with regular mass meetings, meetings in different areas, different blocks and groups, up and down the alleys, going to people, directly to the people. I used a bicycle to drive around. I out-polled the incumbent mayor; I beat him by five votes. They had a million dollars backing him, and I didn't have a dime. I ran the strongest race ever run by a Negro in this particular state. I didn't have anybody paid, but I had about 100 volunteers. You had all these movement people, all the civic leagues. I could have won, even in the runoff. But we were going so fast, we couldn't educate the Negroes about the opposition.

But you have to start at least six months before the election. I only decided to run about three weeks before the election. I would do it a whole lot differently. I would start earlier and set it up so well and have it so organized that every hamlet and village would be touched daily. I won't reveal how I'd do it; because if I reveal that, there's no telling what would happen.

We were able to raise the issues of open ditches and unpaved streets, and they're still talking about it now. If I hadn't gotten in the race, these issues never would have been raised. People like Emory O. Jackson, editor of The Birmingham World, will tell you, "He didn't win the seat, but he really won because his platform is the one they're arguing over right now in city hall." The campaign had a heck of an effect on the city. It changed the thinking of city hall.

It did it because we elected those cats. This is one time the Negro can say that he was the dominant factor on that new administration.


VOTE NOV 5

BABY VOTE
VOTE NOV 5
REGISTER NOW!
VOTE NOV 5
DEADLINE

Summary

Two conclusions stand out after reading Julian Bond's interviews with recent black candidates in the South.

The first is that virtually every black candidate who runs in the South is, in a very real sense, an "activist." Almost to a man, the black candidate is seeking office with the hope of improving the lot of black people in his community, in the region, and in the nation. Most—if not all—say this with deep sincerity. At least some of these are bitterly disappointed later when they find, as they often do, that there are severe limitations on what a single officeholder can do, particularly a black officeholder in a roomful of white officeholders.

The second conclusion is that black people campaign for office in the South pretty much the way that white people campaign. There is, often, one important difference. Black people don't have the sort of money that white people have to spend on politics. Therefore, black candidates tend to have very small campaign budgets. It's amazing how well some black candidates fare with almost nothing to spend.

The nineteen candidates interviewed in this booklet offer what seems to me a good overview of how black candidates in the South conduct their campaigns. They also offer sound, down-to-earth advice on how to handle typical situations and problems.

Of course, what works for one candidate will not necessarily work for another. There are marked differences, in much of the South, between campaigns in rural areas and urban areas. Tactics may differ in large campaigns and small campaigns. Tactics may differ according to the Negro-white registration breakdown. Each candidate and potential candidate using this booklet will have to decide which suggestions to use and which to avoid. Each will have to chart his own course in the light of local conditions, selecting the approach which seems best for his own situation.

Perhaps the suggestions in this booklet can best be summarized under

four headings: I, Pre-Campaign Planning; II, The Campaign Itself (research, finance, organization, techniques, and special problems); III, The Election Itself; and IV, Post-Election Analysis.

I. Pre-Campaign Planning

The first decision to be made is, of course, whether the time is ripe for a black candidate to run. What is the Negro registration? Can black voters be expected to turn out in large enough numbers? Will they stick together or split? Are white votes needed? If so, can enough white votes be counted on? Does the white electorate seem ready to vote for a black candidate?

It may be found that the first need is a registration drive in the black community. It is recognized, of course, that some black candidates run despite the registration odds in order to get important issues aired. And sometimes a black campaign can be a means of encouraging blacks to register.

Next a decision must be made on when and how to run. The candidate could enter a party primary, in which case the choice would have to be made between Democratic and Republican primaries. Or the candidate might prefer to run in the general election as an independent. Advantages and disadvantages of party labels have been discussed in many of the interviews in this booklet.

Several candidates interviewed by Mr. Bond made the point that preparation for a political race might begin months, even years, before the actual decision to run is made. Some background of involvement in the community is important—indeed, almost essential. It helps to have been active in church, civic, school or party affairs. It helps to have demonstrated some concern about the problems of the community and the problems of black people. These are steps toward making one known to the community, and—as any politician would say—being known to the voters is the most important part of any campaign.

Several of the interviewed candidates mentioned the importance of getting an early start. Also mentioned were the handicaps shouldered by getting started too late—although a late start sometimes is deliberately chosen as a matter of campaign strategy.

An early start means first contacting people in the community—grassroots and leadership—to see how much support could be expected. It might mean getting commitments from political leaders, newspapers and others before these sources of support get committed to other candidates. In many communities in the South black leaders hold meetings, both formal and informal, to select black candidates so that candidates will not cancel each other out by seeking the same office.

And now a personality note suggested by the interviews conducted by Mr. Bond: Politics is not a game for the thin-skinned. It is a rough, demanding undertaking. For black candidates in the South, it might mean unbelievable pressures and temptations. It might mean threats, both economic and physical. Therefore black candidates must expect to make

sacrifices in terms of both time and money. Although it doesn't cost a lot of money for black candidates to run in many cases in the South, it helps to have economic security in order to withstand economic threats and pressures. One must have the time for campaigning and one must be ready to devote long, hard hours to campaigning. Victory doesn't come easy.

II. The Campaign Itself

A. Research

Once the decision has been made to run for a certain office, the next step is find out everything there is to know about that office. This means, in a word, research.

What are the duties of the office? How much is paid in salary and/or fees? What has the incumbent done or failed to do? What are the issues facing the community? What, if elected, would you do about them?

One after the other, the candidates interviewed in this booklet stressed the need to be well informed. Often this means burning the midnight oil and doing one's homework. It means talking to people about issues during the day and going home to read the background material at night. It means researching the answers. It is humiliating to make a public appearance in the course of a campaign and to be found uninformed on an important issue. This is the height of embarrassment for any candidate, black or white.

To be sure, information about local offices and important issues traditionally has been denied to Negroes in the South. Sometimes it is hard to find out what one needs to know. This means that black candidates must dig and work all the harder to get the information they need.

Once the facts have been determined, the candidate develops campaign issues and a platform. These might include the need for trade schools, a food program, a fairer tax rate, fairer law enforcement, etc—depending, of course, upon the area and upon the office being sought. It is wise to be frank and truthful about issues. It is unwise to overreach and make unrealistic promises, for these have a way of coming back to haunt all but the luckiest politicians.

In short: Know the issues, know the facts, offer some answers, and present them truthfully and honestly.

B. Finance

It costs a lot of money to run for some offices, and it costs very little to run for others. So the amount of money needed depends on the job being sought. In any case, an early note of caution should be sounded: If campaign funds are going to be required, make sure they are in sight before the campaign begins. A little money can go a long way in some circumstances. But on the other hand, a poorly financed and poorly

organized campaign might brew a bitter cup of disappointment for both the candidate and his supporters.

Money is a major problem for many black candidates in the South. Some have to borrow money even to pay a qualifying fee, and thus are forced to enter the campaign late whether they want to or not. Some are forced to seek minor offices because they don't have the money for high qualifying fees and expensive campaigns. Often, because of their color, black candidates are shut off from the business and industrial sources of campaign funds that are routinely available to their white counterparts. Thus, many black candidates are forced to fall back on small contributions raised in the black community (and, to be sure, this has its healthy aspects). Some black candidates are surprised and delighted to find that they can run on a shoestring and get elected, at little or no personal cost.

Nevertheless, certain sources of funds are available to black candidates. Candidates in rural areas find rallies, barbecues, church meetings and the like useful for raising campaign funds. In urban areas, it might be teas and receptions. Labor unions often assist black candidates in cities. Sympathetic whites are another possible source. Interested whites in other communities have been known to send contributions to Negro candidates about whom they have heard. Then there are certain donations that can be in the form of services: the use of an automobile or gasoline, the use of office space, telephones, posters, printing, etc. Finally, in some areas, especially in the urban centers, the same sources of campaign money that are open to whites are open to blacks.

Another note of caution about finances: Be careful where the money comes from, particularly if the amount is large. Nothing can subject politicians to more pressure than taking large campaign contributions that might have strings attached. No politician should accept any donation that might keep him from carrying out his program if elected. Some states have laws limiting the sources and amounts of campaign contributions. Try to find out all you can about whether there are such laws covering the office you are seeking.

Where Negro candidates are running as a group, or "slate," it is common to pool both income and outgo for the campaign. In this way, the cost of organizing and running a campaign is shared, as is the money-raising.

C. Organization

The size of a campaign organization depends, of course, on the office being sought. Some campaigns involve dozens and even hundreds of people. Others are one-man affairs, in which the candidate himself does all of his campaigning. Often the size of a campaign organization will depend on the number of people in the community willing to help.

If there is to be a campaign organization, the first step is the selection of a campaign manager. To a certain degree, the candidate himself always manages his own campaign. But if the campaign is large—say city-wide

or county-wide—it helps to have a campaign manager. The manager might be paid or he might be volunteer (usually it's the latter), depending on the money available and the amount of work he is expected to do. In large campaigns, there are many details and many routine assignments that can be left to a campaign manager. In very large campaigns the candidate who tries to be his own campaign manager and handle all the details is a little like the patient who tries to be his own doctor or the defendant who tries to be his own lawyer.

If the campaign is a large one, a paid secretary to answer telephones and make appointments also can be a big help. The candidate in a major campaign might even hire a small office staff, including a public relations specialist. Beyond that point, however, the help is generally volunteer. In a small campaign, the entire organization usually is made up of volunteers.

The next step is the selection of a campaign headquarters. In smaller efforts, of course, the candidate's home or office might be the campaign headquarters. For larger races, it is useful to have an office or building, with a telephone or telephones if possible, in which the work of the campaign can be organized and carried out. Such headquarters also provide a place where campaign material and equipment can be stored and where the candidate and his various committees can meet.

Depending on the size of the effort, the candidate and his campaign manager might appoint a number of committees. Some candidates like to have an advisory committee with which they can meet to plan strategy, make decisions and decide what to do and say. This committee usually is made up of a few old friends and trusted advisors who know the area and its politics well.

Sometimes candidates in urban areas like to organize by streets and blocks with a captain for each area. Sometimes these block workers are organized into committees and are given kits of campaign material to distribute. Other duties, such as knocking on doors and seeking out unregistered voters, can be assigned to these block workers.

Other committees can be formed for such purposes as telephoning, forming car pools, sending out mailings, arranging rallies, putting up posters, and so on. Committees also can be formed for such things as doing research and writing platforms, if these jobs are not handled by the advisory committee described above.

Volunteer committees can do a lot to make the candidate's job easier, just as can a campaign manager and a campaign staff. Committees also are a good means of getting more people involved in the campaign and committed to it. But the candidate must not take it for granted that every committee will function effectively and get the job done. It is essential to check behind committees frequently to make sure that they are carrying out their assigned tasks.

More and more candidates are learning, by the way, that young people with an interest in politics are extremely valuable campaign workers. Young people can bring vigor and enthusiasm to a campaign, and those who are especially devoted will put in long and hard hours of work. Schools and colleges are excellent sources of campaign volunteers.

D. Techniques

Techniques of campaigning will vary, depending upon the candidate and the area in which he is running. Most candidates nowadays are stressing the personal approach—door-knocking, hand-shaking and person-to-person campaigning in the streets, in the fields, and at the crossroads. Most urban candidates now are talking about reaching all types of voters, including people in bar rooms, pool halls and other places previously passed up by vote-seekers. Many rural candidates stress the need to attend church meetings, revivals, suppers and the like, and to approach pastors for support and assistance. Some candidates, urban and rural, have short talks they are prepared to make to groups of voters, small and large, if the occasion presents itself as the candidate "makes his rounds."

Other fertile places for campaigning include lodge halls, union halls, community centers, shopping centers, and neighborhood or "country" stores. Coffees and teas, whether arranged by the participants or by the candidate, are a good means of meeting small groups of voters in an informal home setting. Most candidates try to visit around among civic clubs and other organizations, and many try to get opportunities to speak to these groups. Some seek formal endorsements from civic clubs, labor organizations and the like.

Under normal circumstances, the candidate should try to be as cheerful and as polite as possible in his contacts with voters. He should not get offended if he encounters groups or individuals who disagree with him. However, he should be pleasantly firm in his convictions. A candidate who shifts with each and every political wind soon loses respect—and votes.

Public relations and advertising are important parts of any campaign, large or small. Some of the larger campaigns have hired public relations advisers, public relations firms, or both. These public relations workers write and distribute press releases, plan and place advertising, and assist the candidate in dealing with the media. They might also advise the candidate about getting editorial endorsements.

The value of an editorial endorsement varies, depending on local conditions and circumstances. There are times when a newspaper endorsement is extremely valuable. Understandably in many cases, you may feel that the local editor is totally against you. Nevertheless, there is no harm in requesting an endorsement, and it doesn't cost anything to ask for it. Regardless of whom they endorse editorially, the press is supposed to be fair and impartial in its news coverage of campaigns and elections, and candidates are entitled to demand this fair play in the news.

Commonly used campaign materials include the following: posters, billboards, buttons, bumper stickers, cards, flyers, pamphlets, leaflets, brochures and book matches. Other forms of advertising include newspapers, television and radio. For reaching black voters, radio stations broadcasting to Negro audiences are particularly effective. Some communities allow the use of front yards for displaying billboards and posters during political campaigns. Other devices are loudspeakers, soundtrucks, and signs displayed on cars used for campaigning.

Some candidates and groups of candidates print sample ballots, or "tickets," showing the voter how to mark his name on election day. As explained previously, candidates running as a team, or "slate," can share the cost of advertising and publicity, just as they share other costs.

It is important to know that there are state and local laws governing the distribution and use of various campaign devices, especially on election day. For example, there are regulations in some places on passing out cards and other materials near the polls and there are regulations in some places about loudspeakers and sound trucks. The candidate should try to find out as much as possible about these regulations before making his decisions (within the budget available) about what to use.

Careful decisions must be made about advertising and buying campaign materials. These are expensive items and might well be beyond the means of a budget for a small campaign. Black candidates might find themselves heavily out-spent by their white opponents. As already mentioned, this simply means that the black candidate has to work harder to make his campaign dollar go further. Many do.

E. Special Problems

While most of their problems are standard for all politicians, many Negro candidates in the South face the additional problem of dealing with the white majority. Of course, quite a few black politicians in the South represent predominantly black or all-black districts and thus do not face the problem of seeking white votes. On the other hand, some Negro candidates—including several interviewed for this booklet—face the necessity of getting white votes to win.

Getting white votes isn't easy, but most black candidates running in areas with white voters indicate that they make the effort. There is *some* evidence that whites, especially in urban areas, are willing to vote for black candidates on the grounds that Negroes are entitled to representation. Moreover, some whites are willing to vote for attractive black candidates just to "prove" to themselves that they aren't as prejudiced as they thought they were. Always, of course, there is the hope that whites will vote for blacks on the simple basis of qualifications. In any case, black candidates who have white voters in their district quite often recommend that a dignified effort be made to win these white votes, or at least some of them.

Some black candidates are able to recruit white campaign workers. Students, young people and the academic community seem especially willing to campaign for black candidates. These white supporters can be put to effective use in knocking on doors in white sections, in campaigning downtown and in shopping centers, and in holding coffees, teas, rallies and the like in white neighborhoods. A few black candidates have been able to get large display advertisements signed by prominent local whites for use in local newspapers.

Sometimes white candidates are able to use racism to defeat black candidates. On other occasions, however, racist approaches backfire, benefiting the black candidate. In some areas, especially rural areas,

Negro candidates have an advance party that goes ahead of them to make sure that areas to be visited are safe for campaigning.

One after the other, candidates interviewed by Mr. Bond stressed that the black vote should not be taken for granted. They stressed that a thorough job of campaigning should be done, with grassroots voters as well as with the leadership element. Several noted that civil rights groups can help in mobilizing the black vote.

Since Negroes in the South largely are new to the political process, some are easily misled by white employers and others about the mechanics of voting. Negro candidates must be constantly on guard to dispel rumors and deliberate spreadings of misinformation that can blunt the impact of Negro votes.

III. The Election Itself

A whole campaign—three months, six months, a year or more of planning and work—can go down the drain with a poor performance on election day itself. The voters must turn out. Beyond that, the candidate must have the best possible safeguards for seeing that every ballot is fairly counted. Unless these two election-day steps are taken, all can be lost.

Voter turnouts are a special problem for black voters and candidates in the South. Southern black people, in general, do not have the sort of financial resources for get-out-the-vote activities that whites have. As a rule, Negroes do not have the money for expensive telephone pools, transportation pools, baby-sitters, etc. The result, often, is low voter turnouts in the black precincts.

Nevertheless, by making heavy use of volunteers and donated services and equipment, black politicians can do a better job of getting out the vote on election day. A lot depends, of course, on the size of the campaign and the resources available.

On election day in many parts of the country, candidates use what is known as a "check-off" system. In some form or another, it can be used in practically any get-out-the-vote effort:

The first step is to obtain a list of registered voters—either a complete list or a list for the wards or precincts upon which the campaign is concentrating. Sometimes this voters list is officially available. Sometimes it must be obtained through a house-to-house canvass, or through some other unofficial means. Sometimes it must be purchased from local registrars, and sometimes it can be obtained without charge. In any event, a voters list of some sort—and as complete as need be—is an important tool in contacting voters and getting them to the polls on election day.

It is useful to have some sort of campaign headquarters—a central point of contact—in full operation on election day. The headquarters should have one or several telephones and the number or numbers should be well advertised and publicized prior to election day. Operating out of

this headquarters are the various election-day committees—telephoners, baby-sitters, drivers, poll watchers, poll checkers, and others. Voters should be able to call this headquarters number if they need rides to the polls, if they need babysitters, or if they have information about election irregularities, etc. Someone should be on duty at the headquarters to answer each call and see that something is done about it. If the caller needs a ride to the polls, the information should be relayed to the transportation committee. If a babysitter is needed, the caller should be told how this service is to be furnished. If an election irregularity is reported, it should be referred to someone at election headquarters (a lawyer, if one is available) who knows election laws and rules.

The voters list should be organized so that parts of it can be carried to each voting place. Then one, two or (if possible) three poll workers should be stationed at each voting place. They should have pencils, note paper and the voting list for that voting place. Then the poll workers check off each voter who comes in to vote. They should stand as close to the voting place as allowed. They should know the voters of the community (young people who have lived in the area all of their lives are good for this task). They should arrive before the polls open and stay until they are relieved. Arrangements should be made for having a sandwich or light lunch that can be eaten at or near the voting place.

Election headquarters can remain in touch with the poll workers by having them report in regularly by telephone, or by having someone from headquarters going from polling place to polling place by automobile. Regular checks should be made during the day on how many people have voted at each polling place. These checks can provide election headquarters with information about how many people are voting, and how many are white and how many Negro.

Late in the day, usually about mid-afternoon, the list of those who have voted is taken to election headquarters or some other designated place. If possible, it is a good idea to have a telephone number written down in advance for each voter. (Some election workers like to use small index cards, with a card made out in advance about each voter, giving name, address, telephone number, etc. Then, on election day, these cards can be distributed among a number of telephoners for purposes of contacting them on election day.) If a voter who is belived to be friendly to the candidate has not been to the polls by mid-afternoon, the telephone committee gives that voter a call. If the voter needs transportation or a babysitter, these services are offered.

Cars can be sent out into the neighborhoods to seek out voters who do not have telephones. Sound-trucks, where they are permitted, can be sent into neighborhoods where turnouts are running particularly low to urge the voters out. A special effort could be made to meet mill shifts as they get off to remind the workers to vote. (Someone at election headquarters should be familiar, by the way, with local laws allowing workers time off for voting. Many states require employers to give employees enough time off, with pay, to cast a ballot.)

Telephoners should be brief and courteous. They should remember

that their job is to contact as many friendly voters as possible before the polls close. While the voter is on the phone, double-check and verify his address if he asks for transportation. This will prevent the sending of badly needed automobiles and drivers in search of wrong addresses.

Depending upon the size of the campaign, there may be a campaign headquarters—with telephoners, drivers, and all the rest—in every precinct. Or there may be just one such location. In any event, get busy before election day to make sure there will be plenty of space for everybody to work efficiently. Some candidates like to have a large blackboard upon which such things as voter turnouts, by precinct, can be posted periodically during the day. As mentioned previously, candidates running as a team can share in the headquarters and get-out-the-vote effort.

A final, but extremely important, election-day unit is the poll watchers. These must be carefully selected and carefully briefed prior to the election. Their task is to see that nothing illegal or irregular goes unnoticed or unchallenged. This involves seeing that registered voters are not denied the right to vote, and that unregistered voters are not allowed to vote. It involves seeing that voters are treated properly and are given proper instructions, and that voters asking for help are given adequate help. It involves watching the clerks and managers to see that they are conducting the election legally.

The poll watcher should arrive at the election place before the polls open and stay until all the votes are counted. He should be prepared to stay all day, or until relieved by a fellow poll watcher. He should bring along an adequate supply of pencils and note paper in order to take down, carefully and in detail, any irregularities or suspected irregularities. If serious and repeated irregularities seem to be occurring, he immediately notifies campaign headquarters or some appropriate authority.

The poll watcher's duties are somewhat different from those of the poll workers or "checkers." The latter simply seek to check off voters, by name, as they arrive at the polls. The poll watcher, however, concentrates on looking for irregularities and possible fraud.

State laws vary as to what poll watchers can do—how close they can stand, how they can challenge ballots, etc. For this reason, it is most important that poll watchers be carefully and fully briefed and that they have a good knowledge of election laws. For black candidates, by the way, it is just as important—sometimes more important—to have poll watchers at white precincts as it is to have them at black precincts.

IV. Post-Election Analysis

Now the voting is over and the ballots are counted. But win or lose, one major step remains: post-election analysis.

The tired candidate may want a few days of well deserved rest, but usually there is no time to waste before the day comes to plan the next election.

As soon as precinct-by-precinct returns are in, take a good, hard look. Where was the turnout large and where was it small? Where was the

vote most favorable and where was it least favorable? What went wrong in the low-vote areas? Was too much time spent in one area and not enough in another? Did part of the campaign organization fall short? If so, why? Were the right issues emphasized? Were the right people contacted? Were the right methods and techniques used? Was the planning inadequate? Would a better registration drive have helped? Was the advertising and publicity appropriate? How did the results compare with previous election results? What trends are apparent?

This is the sort of solid information that the candidate can use as a foundation for future campaigns. The candidate who merely *guesses* what went wrong leaves himself open to repeating the same mistakes.

As several of the candidates interviewed by Mr. Bond indicated, some Negro candidates in the South have been remarkably successful even with limited political know-how. As more knowledge, skill, and experience is gained, even larger victories can be won in the future.

MARVIN WALL
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

VERY RARE COPY - Please return after use to address below

Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie ~~5 Forsyth~~ St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

1

INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CRIME AND OTHER PROBLEMS OF URBANISM

BY

JOHN O. BOONE
DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON CRIME AND CORRECTIONS
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

This paper will present five aspects of the problems of crime in cities. It was difficult for me to decide to present this kind of general discussion rather than something specific, such as for example, an overview of the systems that are utilized in the administration of justice. Such an overview would have dealt, incidentally, with public and private "influence peddling," corruption and illegal agencies and rackets that operate in neighborhoods against the wishes of the members of the neighborhood - and the operators, who are so adept at "fixing" things. However, since most politicians first run on platforms to eradicate corruption and wrong doing for their constituency, I decided to try to stimulate your thoughts about the problem and task that are so important to us all today in the wake of riots and dirorders. The five points that I want to make are: (1) crime in cities is a problem that has always existed; (2) as cities grow larger so does the problem of crime; (3) society's crime of punishment rather than helping and correcting is more devastating than common crime against society; (4) the conditions that make for crime are interrelated; and (5) government systems must change in order to implement the new task that are presented by current social problems.

CRIME PRIMARILY A PROBLEM OF CITIES

Crime is a vast problem of urban government; it always has been and it always will be. The people, and their rulers have defined crime, and their definitions have a direct bearing on the rate of crime. As urban populations increase, crime rates for offenses which are most easily perpetrated in the urban environment, and this includes almost all crimes against property and most crimes against persons, also increase. The twenty-six core cities of more than 500,000 people, contain less than 18 per cent of the total population. Yet, they account for more than half of the index crimes against persons and more than 30 per cent of all reported index property crimes.[1] To me this means that the rate of crime is not increasing, it's just that the cities are growing. For example, suburban rates appear to be going up as business and industry increase (i.e., concentration of money and convertible property). Shopping centers are blamed by local police officials for rises in suburban crime.[2] Another problem connected with this process is the tendency for codes to hangover for a very long time after their usefulness has been exhausted, and/or after it is very clear that there is a better way of coping with the problem such as control by financial provision, education, or psychological treatment, instead of police control and penal action.

---

[1] Report of the President's Commission Crime, p. 28.

[2] Ibid.

Evidence that crime has been a great problem in cities since the beginning of civilization is reflected in the ancient codes, e.g., the Ten Commandments, Code of the Great Ming, and Hammurabi's Code. Hammurabi's Code (coined reportedly around 1700 B.C), is one of the oldest in existence.[3] It is notable for its harshness of punishments, which invoke the principle of "an eye for an eye." Clues that this code endeavored to cope with problems of cities are found in such stipulations directed toward medical quacks and corrupt building contractors as "if a physician operate on a man for a severe wound with a bronze lancet and cause the man's death, or open an abscess (in the eye) of a man...and destroy the man's eye, they shall cut off his fingers."[4] "If a builder build a house for a man and do not make it's structure firm, and cause the death of the owner of the house, that builder shall be put to death."[5]

SOCIETY'S CRIME OF PUNISHMENT

While the punishment of Hammurabi's Code was relatively stern, it appeared to propose a crude measure of justice. From one of its elements the administration of justice in 20th Century America could take a cue, in that punishments were graded in their severity so that the higher the culprit in the social scale, the greater his responsibility and the more severe the penalty.[6]

---

3 Walter T. Walbank and Alastair M. Taylor, "Civilization Past and Present," (Scott, Foresman & Co., Atlanta, Chicago, etc.,) 1942.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.

In our system -- especially in cities -- there is great disparity of punishments, in favor of the upper classes.

It is important for us to briefly assess our attitude toward deviance because this determines what kinds of programs we will develop to cope with the task; how much money we will spend to correct the problem. Not very long ago, it was a simple matter to keep an offender out of the community as long as possible -- we just used the chain and shot gun. It was easy to control an incorrigible child. We kept him in jail -- exposed to all of the knowledge and skills that he needed to pursue a criminal career for the rest of his life -- and in most jurisdictions we are still using police control rather than helping services.

There are several schools of criminology that underlie the philosophies of punishment, that are reflected in the governmental agencies responsible for the administration of justice in local communities. Although some of these schools are in disrepute, their teachings still underlie attitudes and practices of individuals and systems in varying degrees. The first school is based on hedonistic psychology. It stipulates that man governs his behavior by considerations of pleasure and pain; the pleasure anticipated from a particular act may be balanced against the pain anticipated from the same act. This is the concept of the classical school in which the actor was assumed to have a free

will and to make this choice with reference to the pleasure-pain principle alone.[7]

The cartographic or geographical school was second to be developed and similar to the school which in recent years has been called ecological. The proponents of this school were concerned primarily with the distribution of crimes in certain areas, both geographic and social. They were interested in crime as a necessary expression of social conditions.

The socialist school of criminology is based on the writings of Marx and Engels and emphazised economic determinism, concerned with crime only as a by-product. It conducted many factual studies, principally by the statistical method, and provided much material regarding the variations in crime rates in association with variations in economic conditions.[8]

The students who were using this approach were regarded as supporting the socialist program, but it was appropriately considered scientific because it began with a general hypothesis and collected factual data in a manner that facilitated repetition by others who would test their conclusions.

The third significant school, typological or bio-typological, involved three phases and of the three, the Lombrosians are most

---

[7] Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, "Principles of Criminology," J. B. Lippincott Co., Phila., & N. Y., p. 54.

[8] Ibid.

familiar to those who are acquainted with sociological theory. Their thesis consisted of: (a) by birth criminals are distinct type; (b) criminals can be recognized by stigmata, such as asymmetrical cranium, long lower jaw, flattened nose, scanty beard, and low sensitivity to pain.[9] When this school fell into disrepute, its logic and methodology were retained, with feeblemindness substituted for physical type, indicating that the feeble-minded person is unable to appreciate the consequences of his behavior or appreciate the meaning of law, marking the rise of the "mental testers" school of criminology.[10]

The most important among typological schools of criminology was the psychiatric -- essentially a continuation of the Lombrosian school without its emphasis on physical characteristics. In the early years, proponents of this school emphasized psychoses, elpilepsy and "moral insanity."[11]

The central thesis of the psychiatric school at present is that a certain organization of the personality, developed entirely apart from criminal culture, will result in criminal behavior regardless of social situations.

Just as schools of criminology have arisen and fallen into disrepute, so have theories of punishment. The system used for inflicting suffering on those offenders considered as deserving of

---

[9] Ibid. p. 57
[10] Ibid. p. 56.
[11] Ibid. p. 58.

suffering has changed from time to time. For example, two centuries ago, criminals were disemboweled, quartered, hung in chains, branded, piloried, and in many other ways, mutilated, tortured and shamed. Although what is called the "price system" has developed in modern times, we can still observe variations of the antiquated systems of administering justice in the southern region today. The price system also makes for considerable disparity of punishment. Such terms as "debt to society" and "pay the price" have reference to the modern period's "price system." Just as a price is assumed to bear a constant relation to a commodity, so, it was assumed that the penalty should bear a constant relation to the crime. The aim was "to let punishment fit the crime."

CRIME CAUSATION

Present practices in the administration of criminal justice make for the kind of injustices that cause one to be dismayed about what I call "society's crime of punishment." These injustices are prevalent in each of the social processes utilized by modern administration of justice, (1) law enforcement; (2) prosecution and defense; (3) judicial process; and (4) corrections.

Government officials who must cope with the problem of crime in the ghetto, slums and other deprived circumstances will be greatly benefited in my opinion, by studying the influence of theories of criminology and punishment on the various systems in their communities. Are your policemen punitive? Can every

citizen depend on intelligent counsel and an appropriate defense? Are the courts just? Does corrections correct?

Cities are becoming increasingly concerned about the social conditions that relate to variations in the crime rates of communities and sub-cultures, and some of these conditions involve the processes of mobility, culture, conflict, competition, and stratification, political, religious and economic ideologies, population density and composition, and the distribution of wealth, income and employment.

It is also important for government officials to take note of the processes by which a person becomes a criminal. These analyses are related to general theories of social learning, such as concepts of imitation, (e.g., who does the Negro child imitate), attitude-value compensation, frustration-aggression, and differential association.

These orientations are taken from the social psychological theories of John Dewey, George Mead, Charles Cooley, and W. J. Thomas, and considered as involving the same learning processes as does the development of the behavior of a banker, waitress or doctor. The content of learning, not the process itself, is considered as the significant element determining whether one becomes a criminal or a non-criminal.

Personally, I prefer what is called the multiple-factor approach to crime. There are a large number and great variety of factors that produce crime and most probably these factors cannot

ever be organized into a general proposition which has no exceptions. In other words, one crime is caused by one combination of circumstances or "factor," and another by an entirely different combination. Cyril Burt discovered in a famous study of the young delinquent that there were no less than 170 distinct conditions described in his data, every one of which was considered as conducive to delinquency.[12]

The delinquent child is generally a child handicapped not on one or two, but usually on seven or eight counts. Almost any child can probably overcome one or two handicaps, such as the death of one parent or poverty and poor health. However, in connection with poverty, medical research is coming up with some shocking hypotheses.

Two implications that might result from life histories of poverty were referred to in the recent SRC Report on Hungry Children in Mississippi, both connected with mental or psychological components of the personalities of hungry children. Dr. Robert Coles of Harvard University Health Service, contributed to the understanding of why hungry, sleepy, ailing, sharecropper children of today become the slum rioters of tomorrow. He said: "In a northern ghetto, one sees how persistently sickness and hunger live on in adults -- who doubt any offer, mistrust any

---

[12] Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (London: University of London Press, 1944), p. 600.

goodness or favorable turn of events, as temporary and ultimately unreliable. I am afraid we have literally thousands of people who have literally grown-up to be, and learned to be, tired, fearful, anxious, suspicious and, in a very basic, inflexible and tragic sense, unbelieving."[13] This opinion has a medical base which supports the hypothesis that the psyche is affected by on-going malnutrition, resulting in possible brain damage. This observation also supports Dr. Raymond Wheeler's statement, that the plight of the hungry children is a "national disaster."[14]

If the child has a drunken-unemployed father and an immoral mother, is mentally deficient, is taken out of school at an early age and put to work, and lives in a crowded home in a bad neighborhood, nearly every factor in his environment may seem to militate against him.

GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS THAT DEAL WITH CRIME

In our society, as problems such as those that are manifested in the ghetto and slum areas emerge and are identified as warranting community action, some organization or system of organizations are established to deal with the problem. The characteristics of the organizations will reflect: (1) the way the parti-

---

13 Robert Cole, "Testimony Before Congression" (Committee on Hungry Children in Mississippi, July, 1967.

14 Ibid.

cular problem is socially perceived, e.g., as widely dangerous to health or safety, economically disruptive, or disadvantageous to a limited number of individuals; (2) the extent of community responsibility accepted in the social task; and (3) the means currently deemed appropriate for remedying the problem conditions, e.g., control by police action, financial provision, education, or psychological treatment, as I have already observed. This process is vividly demonstrated in the manner of some of the crackpot approaches to our acute problems of disorder in our cities. For example, the national lawmakers decide to pass a riot control bill, control by police action.

Urban government, in my opinion, must undergo basic structural revisions to meet the need of modern cities, and officials must resist those forces that lobby for the concerns of limited number of individuals. The ghettoization of inner cities presents problems which cannot be resolved in traditional ways and brings about feeling of bitterness and hatred which cannot be soothed through old-fashioned political give-and-take methods.

In connection with crime, and most all of the problems of cities are connected with crime, the nature of delinquent behavior must be redefined if we are not to have a city full of criminals. Recent decisions in Washington, D. C., and Atlanta, Georgia, that order the treatment of alcoholics in some manner other than police control are cases in point. We will live to see the same kind of

definition or similiar ones for other problems such as narcotic addiction, homosexuality, etc.

The enforcement of laws reflecting middle-class values frequently cause relatively well-adjusted members of sub-cultures to be defined as delinquent. This launches them into institutional careers which almost invariably end in serious criminal behavior. Thus, the chronic truant who spends much of his time on the street corner, the hungry child who tries to earn a few dollars by peddling without a license, the boy who becomes a father very early in life and is incapable or unwilling to assume the responsibility of supporting an unwanted mate and child, are all in danger of being adjudged delinquent with the unhappy results that such a stigma almost inevitably produces.

How can the ghetto dweller conform to white middle-class standards without white middle-class advantages and opportunities? Negro officials must move against white society's insistance that the ghetto dweller conform to white middle-class standards. The failure of Negro influence peddlers to represent their own has contributed its part to the current dilemma in the cities. Where large scale opportunities for legitimate upward mobility exist, widespread crime cannot flourish. It is significant that non-whites are victimized disproportionately by all index crimes, except larcency $50.00 and over. I say that the reason he is not the greatest victim in the larcency $50.00 class is that he seldom has this much on hand.

These ideas are embraced in the innovative approach to crime that is proposed by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, by no means a very liberal group.

Almost every recommendation in their report was a recommendation to state and local governments, the governments that by and large administer criminal justice in America.

First endeavors should be relative to prevention which covers a wide-range of activities; and of primary consideration should be the elimination of the social conditions closely associated with crime; (1) improving ability of the criminal justice system to detect, apprehend, judge, and reintegrate into their communities those who commit crimes; and (2) reduce situations in which crimes are most likely to be committed.

The first element of the Commission's recommendatios would encourage localities to strengthen the family, now often shattered by press from without and stress from within; make slum schools as good as other schools with compensations that are designed to rescue the slum child from his environment; combat school segregation and its partner, housing segregation. I understand one Negro Alderman has gone on record as being against a local open occupancy law because he feels it would drive whites to the suburbs. This does not make sense. White families cannot move any faster to surburbs than they already are in most every city, no matter what the push or pull is.

Employment opportunities must be enlarged and more vocational training and individual job counseling provided. New kinds of jobs must be provided, and lower entrance levels established, such as police aides, probation aides, medical assistants, teachers aides, community service aides, etc.

Quality policing must be pursued. This means that the police will require more money for salaries and the development of new ways for dealing with offenders. Higher salaries and professional standards will attract more men with integrity. Departments must especially develop expertise in effectively dealing with group behavior.

Finally, thinking of crime as a whole is futile! "A skid-row drunk lying in a gutter is crime. So is the killing of an unfaithful wife. A Cosa Nostra conspiracy to bribe public officials is crime. So is a strong-arm robbery by a 15-year old boy. The embezzlement of a corporation's funds by an executive is crime. So is the possession of marihuana cigarettes by a student. These crimes can no more be lumped together for purposes of analysis than can measles and schizophrenia, or lung cancer and a broken ankle. As with disease, so with crime: If causes are to be understood, if risks are to be evaluated, and if preventive or remedial actions are to be taken, each kind must be looked at and in many instances, dealt with separately."

A fundamental topic in any kind of forum among municipal officials is: What aspect of crime is most costly to the public?

THE COST OF CRIME

Common Crimes (Source: FBI Reports for 1965)

2,780,000 serious crimes were committed in 1965. Robberies, burglaries, larcenies, auto thefts and other common crimes against property resulted in losses in excess of $1,000,000,000.00.

White collar crimes are distinguished from the so-called "street crimes" by the relatively high social status of the offender and the fact that such crimes are usually committed in the course of the offender's occupation. Because white collar crimes are relatively rarely prosecuted, it is difficult to state with any certainty the actual cost to the public. But a few estimates will give the general picture.

- The estimated amount of unreported income ranges from 25-40 Billion dollars.
- The public cost of securities frauds is in the 500 million to one billion dollar range.
- A conservative estimate is that nealy 500 million is spent annually on worthless or extravagently misrepresented drugs and therapeutic devices.
- Fraudulent and deceptive practices in the home repair and improvement field cost an estimated 500 million

to one billion annually.

- In the auto repair field alone, fraud costs the public 100 million dollars a year.
- Furniture and appliance companies, who fail even to mark prices on their goods, extract hundreds of millions of dollars annually in excessive profits, usurious interest rates and unjustified service and delivery charges. By any reasonable definition, this kind of activity is as immoral and, in terms of the number of people harmed, more immoral, than almost any of the crimes commonly committed by the poor.
- The McCone Commission, which investigated the Watts riots, reported that they had: "heard recurrent testimony of alleged consumer exploitation in South central Los Angeles: of higher prices being charged for food there than in other parts of town, of spoiled meat or produce or old bread being sold at the same price as fresh, of high interest rates on furniture and clothing purchases, of shoddy materials at high prices.
- Official corruption -- bribes, kickbacks and other financial "arrangements" -- in housing code enforcement, insurance, law enforcement and other areas, makes the cost of robbery, burglary, and other common crimes seem small indeed.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

1. Tighten licensing practices
2. Insist upon careful supervison of municipal agencies responsible for code enforcement.
3. Use the public forum available to you to publicize the activities of those firms and individuals who systematically exploit the poor.
4. Take advantage of the resources available to you as public officials to find out how your constituents are being exploited and act to put an end to it.

THE WILL TO SURVIVE

By Anthony Dunbar

Do you think your children are about as healthy as they could be?

No, I don't think they're so healthy on account of I can't give them sufficient food and put sufficient rainments on them like they're supposed to be. You have to have shoes and clothes and a warm shelter. Well, you see they ain't got that.

Do any of your floors have holes in them?

They ain't no good. Ain't no good.

What happened to your porch out there?

It's tryin' to get away.

Have any of your children been to see a doctor?

I know those she [a sister] left are going to have to go. They needs a check-up . . . See she had tuberculosis and she left here about two weeks ago and they was comin' around to check the kids, but they got on the wrong road.

In other words, they been lookin' for us but they got throwed off and didn't find here. It was the Public Health Department that was lookin' for 'em, but they didn't find this place.

Do you have anything to say about Mississippi?

Well, I don't have any special complaints about it. On one condition, that is you just don't get enough here to support our families. Now I mean the kids, they don't have nothin' to do when they're out of school. If it's a woman, if she ain't got a husband she's got kids, it ain't but her one. And if it's a man, it ain't but him one, you know,

so that just makes it kinda rough. . . .

THE WILL TO SURVIVE

A Study of a Mississippi Plantation Community Based on the Words of Its Citizens

by
Anthony Dunbar

* * *

With an Introduction by
Charles H. Percy

Atlanta, Georgia
June, 1969

Published by

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

and

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Copyright, 1969, by Anthony Dunbar

Back cover photograph by Al Clayton, with permission to reprint from the book STILL HUNGRY IN AMERICA, New American Library, World Publishing Company, 2231 West 110th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44102.

Price: 75 cents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Introduction		*i*
Author's Preface		*ii*
CHAPTER		
I.	*The Plantation*	*1*
II.	*The Planter*	*11*
III.	*Household*	*16*
IV.	*Food and Diet*	*25*
V.	*Health*	*29*
VI.	*Disintegration of the Black Community*	*35*
	The Church	*35*
	The Clubs, Juke Joints, and Saturday Night	*36*
	The Schools	*38*
VII.	*Civil Rights and Community Organization*	*40*
VIII.	*Problems with Assistance Programs*	*44*
	Welfare	*44*
	Commodities and Food Stamps	*46*
	Recommended Changes in the Food Stamp Program	*50*
IX.	*Conclusions*	*51*
X.	*Profiles of the People*	*54*
XI.	*The Will to Survive*	*64*

INTRODUCTION

This year our gross national product may well exceed $925 billion, a figure that most of us find incomprehensible. This same year there will also be hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who will wake up hungry, go through the day hungry, and will lie down at night with their hunger still unrelieved. I find this condition even more incomprehensible.

There are thousands of men, women and children in America for whom hunger is an ever-present experience, who cannot afford a doctor when they are sick and in pain, who go through their entire lives without ever seeing a dentist, who live under conditions of almost unbelievable squalor, and who pass their whole lives amidst the misery and stench of poverty.

As a member of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, I have listened to the testimony of the hungry in America. It is not easy to talk about hunger in this the most affluent of all societies. For those of us who have more than enough to eat, it is all too easy to set aside the question of hunger. When we worry about calories it is because we are afraid we have consumed too many of them, not too few. It is hard to put ourselves in the place of a mother in the Mississippi Delta who is forced to tell her children that there is nothing to eat for breakfast, or of the child who cannot concentrate on what the teacher is saying because of the hunger pangs in his stomach.

The Committee is now going beyond the testimony and the reports to interpret the meaning of these in terms of the values which our society espouses, and to develop an action-oriented program to alleviate—if we cannot eliminate—hunger in America.

This is far from an easy task. We know that there are now about 10 million Americans—one in every twenty—who are undernourished, and malnourished, and that many of these are on the brink of actual starvation.

We know that present remedies—such as the distribution of surplus agricultural commodities and the food stamp program, and school lunches—have been helpful. But we know that they have been only partially effective in some cases. They only help their recipients to stay alive at a level of minimal existence.

We know also that hunger is only one of the several symptoms—such as inadequate housing, the lack of medical care or lack of education and skills—that make up the syndrome which we term "poverty." These, in addition to the specific statistics from which they are derived, are some of the components of our total knowlege of the problem of hunger in America. There are also some unknowns.

The first of these—and the all-essential one—is the answer to the question of whether the people of America are willing to make a national commitment to wipe out hunger in this land. Are we willing to devote the resources necessary to accomplish this? I am firmly convinced that we have the resources to do so—but I am not yet convinced that we have the desire to commit ourselves to the long effort necessary if this is to be done.

That is why a book such as this—at the same time so simple and so eloquent—can serve as a steppingstone for Americans who are eager to cross the bridge into a new world without human want.

Washington, D. C. May, 1969

Charles H. Percy

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The Louise-Midnight area, like all the Delta, is plantation country. About half of the white men in Louise own, manage, or are agents on plantations. The others are small farmers, factory workers in Belzoni (15 miles to the north), or work at jobs such as service station attendants and mechanics. Almost all the black families are tenant farmers on plantations, though some are sharecroppers and small farm owners. Louise and Midnight are towns that were built originally for the convenience of planters who preferred to shop, and to have their tenants shop, at stores nearby that they themselves owned, rather than to travel to Belzoni. The borders of the towns are also the borders of plantations. When U. S. 49, running north through Louise to Belzoni and south to Yazoo City, was paved in the late 1940's, they were, as it is said, put on the map.

Louise is a row of about 15 grocery, clothing, and auto parts stores along the highway, a post office, a plantation company headquarters, a doctor's office, a cafe, a dairy bar, three gas stations, a cotton gin, and a huge bean elevator. Behind the shops on one side of the highway is a paved street where the white townsfolk live. Behind the elevator on the other side is a network of dirt roads, cut by the Illinois Central Railroad, where the black families live. Regardless of the official town estimate of 481 population, Louise looks to have about 300 people within its town limits.

Midnight is barely a town at all; it is not incorporated. It has two stores, one gas station and two company cotton gins. The homes of the tenant farmers come right up to the highway. The town is so small that generally it will not be mentioned in this report. The Louise community can be understood to include Midnight and the surrounding area, most of which is divided into several large plantations. The large plantations have from five to 20 regularly employed tenants. There are several smaller plantations with fewer than five tenant families, and there are many individually operated farms.

I lived in the homes of poor black families in the country between Louise and Midnight for seven weeks during September, October, and November of 1968. With the help of some very courageous citizens of those towns and the receptiveness of the black community as a whole, tape recordings were made of 45-minute long interviews with 97 poor families in Louise and on surrounding plantations and three community leaders. During the course of the project, only two families refused to be interviewed. The 97 families whose interviews were taped have a total membership of 690 people, of whom 500 are children. The average family size is 7.1 persons. Average family income is $1,538 a year; per capita income of the 690 people is $216. The chief suppliers of income are the plantation, Social Security, and welfare.

The number of families whose statements were recorded represent approximately one-fifth of those in the black community in the Louise area, and, in fact, approximately one out of every 37 families, white and black, in the county. Though the study was concerned only in an incidental way with the whole of Humphreys County, the people interviewed on tape account for one out of every 29 in the total population of the county. (Each interview in the text is designated by a ¶.)

Without exception, the black people of Louise are poor, neglected, and deprived of everything that makes life pleasant, comfortable, or simple. This report

is a description of the things that make the lives of the poor in the Delta not so much liveable as possible, and why existence is becoming more difficult in each succeeding year.

The title, THE WILL TO SURVIVE, was chosen, rather than one relating directly to food problems, because it is hard to say which is worse—a man's hunger, or, say, the fact that he almost froze to death in the winter because his house was unsound and unheated. Poverty does not produce situations where a family has some major problems and some minor ones. All problems are major, and all needs are filled only with great difficulty. For the poor man, however, survival implies, above all else, obtaining food, and the poorer he is, the more he is involved in trying to provide food for his family. It is for him a constant struggle and a constant searching.

¶I was raised down there, down in South Mississippi. I was born right on the line of Alabama. But, however, I came here in this country in 1935. Right down here below Louise. Stayed down here two years—farmin'. First year, I made a little money. Second year, I made more cotton and no money . . . . I had used it up. It 'us along about the last of November when I got straightened up, and the winter had done got tough then. I didn't have nothin'; away from my family. That's all I did raise was cotton. Didn't get nothin' out of it. Left there. I went on up the bottom. Up to Ruleville, at Ruleville. Put down up there. I made a little money there—first year. Second year, I made more cotton than I did the first. No money. I pulled up, and I left, and I come back down here. First year, I made a little money down here. Next year, I made a good'un. No money. So I decided I'd move up again. I moved on up. Went to Inverness. I made a little money there. I'us doin' pretty good. I thought it 'us pretty good cause they gave me three dollars a hundred pickin' cotton. That's where I made my money. Picked cotton by the hundred. I didn't get too much out of the crop. Left way from there, yet croppin', and from that year on every crop I would make I'd fall shorter and shorter, shorter and shorter, until there just wasn't nothin' in it for me. I could make the cotton but I didn't get nothin'. And so they cut me off from farmin'. Told me they couldn't give me a crop, but they'd give me day work to do. So I 'cided then I'd try it by the day. After I got to workin' by the day, I found that wasn't no better because they wasn't paying but three dollars a day and takin' Security out of that. They wasn't payin' but a little better than two dollars a day, all day long, not for a few hours. And so just nothin' to it. It went to the bad. It's yet to the bad with me. I ain't doin' nothin'. Nothin' I can get to do.

¶ I think it's terrible here. Mississippi is real terrible. I think the plantation is terrible, too, because all the people have to depend on is the work on the plantation, and most of the people living on the plantation don't ever get a chance to work.

I. THE PLANTATION

October is the first cold month in the Mississippi Delta. In the very early morning hours, a mist rises from each dew and frost-covered plant in the long straight rows of cotton. It drifts up out of the ditches, out of the creeks, out of the swamps. The first sunlight, streaking through the fringe of trees that mark the border between one man's land and another's or between what has been cultivated and what (with all the promise of a country farmed for over 150 years and still holding out more) has yet to be cleared, brings the mist alive, making the asphalt seem to shimmer and disappear in front of a driver, obscuring the dirt roads that branch out occasionally due east and due west, and turning into dark shadows the stumps and trees that grow, five feet deep in water and mud, in the stillness of the swamps.

As the sun rises, the mist thins away and the flat fertile land of the Delta reveals itself. From Memphis, Tennessee, to Yazoo City, Mississippi, a distance of some 175 miles, there is barely a rise in the plain except for the levees that wind beside the rivers flowing toward the Mississippi. Across those miles of endless field —cotton and soybean—trees serve as landmarks ("Go on down the gravel and turn down the road headin' toward that tree yonder"), and towns three miles distant can be located by their water towers or bean elevators. By nine o'clock tractors, mechanical cotton pickers, and bean combines are in the field. By ten o'clock it is hot. The land dries out. Long billowing clouds of dust follow the old automobiles and pick-up trucks as they rumble along the dirt roads.

All day long the heat builds up. The sun shines pale yellow in the sky. Trailers full of cotton and bean trucks take over the blacktops, on the one side, into the fields, and on the other toward the gins and weighing stations where the drivers will see to the unloading of their vans and drink a bottle of Coke.

A haze of heat, dust, crop spray, and smoke comes up in the late afternoon. It coats the faces and arms of the men in the fields and fouls their machines. The sun begins to set near six o'clock. Even after it is gone, wide orange and red streaks of light hang against the horizon like clouds of compressed heat left behind. They are still there when, an hour later, the men head home because it has turned too dark and cold to work. Only rarely, when there is a great rush to get in the crop, will men be kept at work long after dark; then, late at night, the headlamps of their combines can be seen moving slowly up and down the fields, through the chilly fog, while only the faraway lights of town remain lit.

Five years ago everybody who needed to and anyone who wanted to—men, women, and children too young for school—would have been working in these fields in October, picking cotton at $2.50 per 100 pounds. Some of the children would have put down their sacks to catch the school bus; most would have kept to their work. They would have worked through the day, eating for lunch and supper sandwiches that they had stuffed in their pockets. Many of the women would have their babies with them. Each time a bag was filled, it would be dragged to the storage shed to be weighed and that weight logged beside the picker's name. The people

would stay in the fields until well after dark, when at the signal of the agent all of the hands would stand up, straighten out their backs, and stand in line until each's name was called, the pounds each had picked totaled, and the wage, minus the rental fee for the bag, figured and paid out. The trucks would come and take them home.

¶ *How many men work this plantation now?*

They got about six of 'em, steady drivers.

Just as a guess, how many families would have been working here ten years ago?

About thirty of 'em.

Men, women, and children?

Everybody, yes sir. Them that wasn't big enough was out there. They was out there makin' a day.

¶ There used to be a whole lot more people on the plantations than there are now. The machines started long back in '50. I believe it started really back in '53, '54. Then every year they begin to get more and more, more and more, and that begin to cut people down out of pickin', you know. In other words, before that they were pickin' all the crop. Then after machines got in, they started pickin' ends, see. And so now, the biggest of 'em not pickin' none.

Almost all of the land surrounding Louise is divided into plantations. The smallest ones are only a few hundred acres; the largest are many square miles. Plantation land is farmed in two ways: by tenant farmers or by sharecroppers, all of whom are black. A tenant farmer (or what could better be called a tenant family) lives on the plantation in a house provided by the planter. In exchange for this, he is on call day or night, year round, to do any work that the planter requires, and he is paid for his work. Sharecropping, which has been considered virtually extinct for 15 years, still persists in scattered instances around Louise. A sharecropper is given a piece of land, usually less than 20 acres, to farm. At harvest, he splits his crop between himself and the planter. Though the ratio between what the planter collects and what the cropper is left with is generally 60-40, they divide the crop evenly in Louise. To make any cash income at all, a sharecropper must double as a tenant farmer.

¶ This is the way it is on the plantation. You borrow money during the winter to help take care of your family. So when you start work, you're gonna work—now a tractor driver don't make but about six to eight dollars a day, and he gotta pay this man half of this money out of his wages, for what he borrowed back in the winter. And after this, well it's gonna start rainin' and things, well he got to go back and borrow some more money. Well he's just sold there. And he just pay him anything he wants to pay him—just give him anything—because he's there. He owes the man. He can't do nothin'. He got to take what he gets. Or either run off . . . . Yeah, they'll starve you off. I once heard that they say if you can't beat 'em, starve 'em to death.

A plantation, in the real sense, is an authoritarian world, ruled by a planter, where families earn with their sweat and labor the privilege of staying alive. The plantation system easily absorbed the shift from slavery to paid labor. Workers were simply paid too little money to live and went immediately in debt to the planter. The numerous ways of putting a tenant in debt were the planter's tools in exercising his authority. Tenants exhausted their cash at company stores and began to buy on credit. At times, the exchange was simplified by paying labor in scrip for use at company-owned stores. When he needed medical care, a tenant would go see his boss, who would provide a doctor and deduct the expense from the wage. When he needed a loan to provide for his family in the winter, the tenant would go to the planter. With the advent of electricity, the planter paid tenants' light bills and reduced by that much their paychecks.

The planter remained the boss in his land. He settled all disputes between his tenants in his own way. The horrible stories of the treatment of black tenant farmers by the white overseer, now called an agent, are probably almost all true. No sheriff would arrest a tenant without the permission of the planter, and it was often withheld for some planters preferred to exact their own punishments. No sheriff would refuse to arrest a man fingered by the planter. It is quite likely that some Mississippi law enforcement officers never saw more of many plantations than the dirt road leading to the door of the planter's house where they were told to turn around and get out. The sovereignty of the planter on his own land was never questioned before or after slave days.

The transition to a wage economy did change the Delta in some ways. Many landowners found that a practical way to avoid the use of cash was to begin sharecropping their land. It was also possible for a very industrious and fortunate few of the black workers to save enough money from the wages of a tenant farmer or the proceeds from cropping to buy sections of land. Since the 1940's, a number of small farms have been set up in Humphreys County by men raised as tenant farmers. Their owners have often helped to bring relatives off the plantations by giving them pieces of the newly acquired land to sharecrop. The planter, however, retained control, at least into the 1950's, over the independent sharecropper and the small farmer. Farming income is seasonal. If any money is to be made, it will come in the late fall and will be spent by spring. Small farmers require a "furnish," a loan to cover all farm and personal expenses for the six months of the year spent in planting and waiting for the crop. The Farmers Home Administration has loans to serve this purpose, but in the 1940's and '50's black farmers had trouble being approved for them. While many turned to the banks for furnishing, most took the familiar path and received loans from the large planters. The practice continues today though a few small farmers have begun to take advantage of the recently relaxed policies of the FHA.

For the most part, the plantation system and the relation of tenant to planter remained basically the same from its beginnings until the late 1950's. Then, the forces of the first hallelujahs of the civil rights movement, of a northward migration again getting into swing and of a new idea in agricultural efficiency—mechanization—converged on plantation country and began to alter the system in such a way that some day its back will be broken. But in the meantime, it will take a great toll in human suffering.

> ¶Now, I've seen the time when we'd come home from school, and we'd go into the fields, make about six bits, a dollar, picking cotton by the hundred. But in the fields now, there ain't

nothin' doin'. It looks lonesome. Ain't nobody workin' in it 'cept cotton pickers. Machines—that's all it is . . . . I seen the time when we had great big long trailers about as long as this house. I'us pickin' then two-fifty, three, when I was in the prime, sometimes four. I could live. People ain't gettin' nowhere. They're just managing alone. I don't know. See what if there come a snow on these people. I don't know what we'd do—me and all the rest. We'd have to make snow bread or something.

In 1960, before the machines had completely taken over, a plantation of any size would have had ten to 40 tenant families. Their shacks would have been strung along the dirt roads as little neighborhoods a half mile long, where every family drank from a single faucet by the road and often shared common outhouses. All of the people, perhaps numbering several hundred, would work every day that it did not rain throughout the spring, chopping cotton in the summer and picking cotton in the fall. The wage was poor, averaging three to five dollars a day for men and considerably less for women and children.

Today only the skilled men have jobs; manual labor has seen its day on Delta plantations. Poisons sprayed from crop dusting planes have ended the demand for cotton choppers. Mechanical cotton pickers, looking insect-like with their large awkward bins angling out above their tiny wheel base, have replaced hand pickers, except at the ends of the rows where the picker makes its turn and cannot reap cleanly for a stretch about 15 feet deep in the row. Here the women still can get a few sacks. With the reduction of cotton allotments to southern planters and the wider use and availability of machines, soybeans, a crop that cannot be picked by hand, have begun to challenge King Cotton in the Delta. Some planters like to keep their bean fields neater than crop dusters can make them, and here again there is occasional work for the women and children.

¶ Now the people don't live on the plantations like they used to. All the houses are tore down. Maybe on some plantations the people are living out there, and maybe on some about ten or twelve families. Then there are some plantations here that have families there that have never been further than there. They've been there all their lives.

Have they been putting people off the land?

Well, I think the people moved off the land 'cause there wasn't any work to do.

When did the people first start moving out?

About in '63. Way back. Because of the machines and this new stuff they use to kill the grass.

Men too old to learn to handle machines, but who have spent their lives on the plantation, stay on by the grace of the planter and can find no work at all.

¶ Well, I don't do anything now. For the past six years—well I used to farm, but after I got in bad health, I started haulin' and hoeing, but I ain't did a thing like that since they got to the place where they just about stopped picking cotton an hoein'. So I just take it easy now, I reckon.

Do you have any income?

No sir.

At least half of the tenants on the plantations around Louise do almost no work. They are women without husbands, old people, sick people, unskilled people. There is no evidence that there is everywhere a concerted drive on to evict them, yet nothing is being done to provide them with the means to stay alive.

> ¶ *What do you do, Mrs.——————?*
> Well, right now, we're pickin' cotton.
> *About how many months out of a year do you work?*
> Well right now, I'd say about two because they usually put the cotton pickers in to pick the cotton.
> *How much did the two of you make this week?*
> Ten dollars and sixty-two cents.
> *If you did well, would you make closer to $20?*
> Well no, 'cause I'm not a very good cotton picker. See, you'd have to average 200 pounds a day to make $20, and I'm not a very good cotton picker. Some days I pick 80, some days 90. And in the morning you can't go out early because of the dew. They don't want you to pick it when it's too wet.

The unskilled men too young to be tied down by families of their own leave the Delta and the state for the jobs in the North. In Louise, there are virtually no young men between the ages of 18 and 25. Only one or two members of each class that graduates from the black high school in Louise can still be found in the county a year later.

> ¶ *Do you think your children will ever come back from Chicago?*
> They would come back and go to the field if they could make anything. They don't mind, my children don't mind, real work. *But,* it's just workin' and not gettin' nothin' out of it. Now when they was here, I wasn't able to give them anything. I was glad they left.

It is difficult to operate farm machines—tractors, bulldozers, cotton pickers, and combines—and difficult to run a cotton gin. A bean combine, for example, must be watched by a mechanic at all times, or be operated by an especially determined and talented driver. Parts break down; engine belts snap; the machine jams. A ginning operation must run constantly to process the flow of raw cotton at harvest, and something in a cotton gin will break every day. To operate and understand heavy farm machinery is not an easily acquired knack, and planters do not want to employ anyone who does not have it. A heavy-duty tractor (the kind commonly used in the Delta) costs a minimum of $5,000. A combine costs well over $20,000. The obvious risk of putting a barely-skilled or untrained man on a $20,000 machine has meant the birth, though not yet the maturity, of a competitive market for labor.

This does not imply that there is any bidding on the price of skilled labor. The minimum wage is everywhere the same for the tenant farmer: one dollar an hour in 1967, $1.15 an hour in 1968, and $1.30 an hour in 1969. But some planters do try to entice tenants away by promising more work. It is hard, however, to foster competition among planters accustomed to cooperation. No planter in Louise has made any real attempt to improve the tenant homes or to invest

in better machines, e.g., tractors with heated cabs, though these are the current bargaining factors in other areas and are guaranteed to attract the finest hands in the county. Real competition is still reserved for the giant plantations. The small planters prefer to let workers come to them and ask for jobs. For a variety of reasons, including age, family, children and tradition, most tenant farmers do not search around for jobs on the large or newly-organized plantations. The single men do, of course, and they follow the work to Florida, then New York in the winter and spring, and back to Mississippi for planting and harvest. For the skilled tenant farmer, the new status has meant that he is now the breadwinner of the family, that he can, to a degree, bargain with the agent, that his economic utility is visibly equal to or greater than that of any white man, and, importantly, that if he cannot get enough work to do on one plantation, or is kicked off, he can usually find a new job.

The Minimum Wage Law of 1966, which for the first time set the wage for agricultural employees, dealt the death blow to unskilled labor and expendable skilled labor on the plantations. Until that time, the wage of the tenant farmer had fluctuated around three dollars a day, and women and children could work full time picking cotton on a piece rate basis. All of these people, except the children, came under the new law and were entitled to $1 an hour beginning in 1967. Though some planters in Louise do not pay the wage, or pay a straight time salary that falls below the minimum wage, or unfairly calculate the number of hours that their tenants work, most follow, more or less, the dictates of the law and in doing so cut from their work lists all but the essential laborers. In the case of large families, the law has had the unfortunate effect of putting the wife and older children out of work, placing the responsibility for earning money solely on the man, and while increasing his earnings, leaving unchanged the total family income.

> ¶ At first, the machines started throwin' people off the plantation, and after the wage law came along that made plantation owners buy more machines and put more people off.

* * *

> ¶ *What is the most pressing problem of the people here?*
> Finance. Finance is the most pressing problem. The people need work to do. That's the problem: they can't find it . . . . If they leave, the people would have to have money to leave on. Well naturally, they don't have the money. If I was on the plantation and couldn't find any work to do, well I would have to leave here and try to find myself a job. I would have to have money to take me over until I found a job, and if I couldn't find a job right away I would have to turn around and come back before the little money I had run out. That's the main reason that people don't leave the plantations whenever they are displaced from work.

The tenant farmers are poor because they cannot earn enough to live on. Those who stay on the land work by the hour and work only when called upon by the agent. Some labor for "straight time," a minimal salary paid all year round. For most, there is no work when it rains, and it rains frequently in the farming

season. For most, there is no work at all in the winter, and they then borrow heavily from the planter, accumulating a debt that reduces their spring and fall wage below any humane calculation of what it costs to raise a family.[1]

¶ *Do you work on the plantation?*
Yes.
What do you do?
I drive a tractor.
Is that a full time job?
No sir, sure ain't.
Just part of the year?
Part of the year. I'd say just six months out of a year, six or seven good months.
How much can you make during the six months?
Oh, I don't know. About a couple thousand dollars, I reckon. Might, I doubt it.
How do you make it by the other six months?
Well, I just do the best I can.
How many people do you have living here?
Let's see. I got nine. Seven kids and my wife.

Some women work as maids or cooks or sew and quilt for neighbors. A maid in Louise is paid three dollars a day. A quilt can be sold for from three to five dollars.

¶ Before I worked for CDGM I worked as a maid. I would get three dollars a day; go to work at seven, get off at any time, for my thirteen children . . . .

¶ *Do you have any income, sir?*
No sir.
Are you employed, ma'am?
I draws welfare, and sewing, that's all I do.
How much do you make from your sewing?
'Cordin' to the sewing I get. Sometimes I make four to five, six dollars per week. Sometimes I don't make nothing.
How large is your welfare check?
Fifty dollars.

¶ *Where do you work?*
I works here on the farm.
What do you do on the farm?
Oh, tractor driving. Just anything in farm work he got to do.
About how often do you work?
Well, I works pretty often, cause I'm workin' for straight

[1]The 1960 population of Humphreys County was 19,093. In 1966, it had fallen to 18,700. The non-white population was 65.8 per cent of the total. In 1960 there were 3,911 families in the county. According to the Social Security Administration income scale, 2,324 of the 2,493 non-white families were poor, and 484 of the 1,418 white famiiles were poor. Thirty-five per cent of the population had failed to complete four years of school and were thus functionally illiterate. The unemployment rate in the county in 1960 was 5.9 per cent.

time, but I count it for nothin'. I make about $35 a week, straight through the year. . . . No raise, no cut, and really I just account that for nothing. You just can't hardly get through on it. I have all my debts to pay, doctor bills, my house expenses, all that to keep up. Doctor bills, food stamps, all of that.

Did the man who owns the plantation help you with the doctor's bills?

Well, he'll stand for them, but you got to pay him. I've got to pay him out of this weekly salary that I told you about. . . . I have a certain amount that I pays if I have to have a little extra debt. I have a certain amount to pay. I live out of about $25 a week of that money, and I take the rest of that for my little bills . . . . Naturally, you can't pay this debt right away. Pay that and live too, you see. If I had to just pay a big amount, I wouldn't live at all. Really, I get just enough to eat on.

How large is your family?

They's ten of us—five in school.

How many hours do you usually make a day?

I don't have hours. I make from sunup to sundown and sometimes an hour or two at night, this time of year haulin' cotton. Now a straight time salary it would do pretty good—if it paid enough. There's some few, some few men in this county, pays about $50 a week. If I could get the work to do steady enough, on the hour basis, I'd rather by the hour, but if I go by the hour I can't feed my family 'cause I can't get the work to do. See if you're workin' by the hour, more'n generally of us will work cheap—straight time and cheap—then you gets work all the time. It's the only way you can get work to do, but you don't get nothing for your work. But if you go by the hour then they'll swear they don't have the work to do, and you'll sit down and half the time you can't keep yourself fed. You don't get nothin' in the winter at all. You don't get nothin' in the winter.

* * *

¶ Well, my income is poorly. I didn't have no income further than the furnish. I get six months furnish to make the crop.

In an average year, how much do you make above the furnish?

Sometime I don't make anything.

How do you get through the last six months of the year?

Well I just have to do the best I can . . . . If it takes it all to pay what I owe, well it gets it all . . . . Before I got behind—I got behind by havin' years of short crops—before I got behind I was doing pretty good. I was making twelve, fifteen hundred dollars after I cleared up my indebtedness. But now, I haven't paid that in five years. I've been behind that long. We had three bad years. It rained and the crop was very short. So that just put me in bad shape . . . . This year I *might* pay out and I might not.

The small farm owner has been plagued for the last several years with crops that just will not pay the bills. He, too, has been forced by the economics of modern agriculture to abandon most manual labor. He must own a tractor to put in the crop, and most likely will have to hire a cotton picker to get the crop in. Should he, in the face of the constantly worsening market for cotton and cotton seed, choose to plant soybeans, he will have to pay a man with a combine to harvest his crop for about 15 per cent of the market value. Since price supports are based on acreage, the small landowner gets virtually no federal help. As a landowner, he is usually considered to be too well-off to receive any benefits from any programs of the welfare department, including food stamps and commodities. To buy seed, fertilizer, weed poisons, and everything else that is needed to farm he must obtain a furnish to cover all non-equipment farm expenses for the six months from planting to harvest. The furnish includes a small monthly amount for living expenses. Many small farmers cannot from year to year repay their furnishes, at the normal six to eight per cent interest, from the proceeds of their crop.

> ¶ *What is your income from farming?*
>
> My income? Well for the last two or three years, it hadn't been nothin' . . . nothin' to amount to nothin'.
>
> *Do you meet the payments on your furnish?*
>
> Well I didn't pay it last year . . . . Last year I didn't make but eleven bales, and I know the way it was last year we didn't make more than $75-$80 a bale. I'll tell you the truth about how we make it. Our kids what finished school up North send us money now and then. We wouldn't make it without that.

Many are able to break even; only a few clear money above their furnish and equipment costs. While it is true that they can raise much of what they eat, their cash income is so incredibly low that in all things but food, they survive on a level at or below that of the tenant farmer.

> ¶ For the last four or five years, all of us farmers done about alike. Ain't none of us made no money on the farm . . . . We got a tractor there that we pay a note on that costs $5,700 net, nothing but the tractor, $5,700 for that tractor to farm that 120 acres of land, and we have seven years to pay for it, and we have to pay $1,000 a year. And we actually haven't made no money in the last four years. All us farmers are based just about alike.
>
> Neighbor: Look like the little people, the little farmers, he'll have to come off the farm 'cause they can't operate no farm.

There are almost no non-farm jobs for men in Louise. Belzoni is becoming a manufacturing town, but few black men are hired by local industry. The young men, both white and black, in Humphreys County for the most part want nothing to do with farming. They look at the meager return that comes from independent farming, and the indignity and low wage that is the lot of the tenant, and they leave the county. The manufacturers in Belzoni prefer to hire whites. The blacks go to Jackson, Chicago, St. Louis and Baltimore—the farther from the farm, the better.

¶ I have two boys who've left for Chicago.

Do you think they'll ever come back?

No, I don't think so. 'Cause there's nothing here for boys to do. Long time ago the children used to stay home; they could go to the fields and things. Now they don't need you in the field no more cause they've got this new chemistry that kills grass and the machines picks the cotton so they don't have anything here to do. No factories. I think there are two here: a garment factory and I don't know what kind of factory this is over here.

¶ My wife was up there trying to sign up to go to that factory, and when the turn-out came at twelve, three colored women came up and two colored men and that was all. It was just like a school turn-out, there was so many people.

¶ *Do you think that the one that's fourteen will stay here when he gets out of high school?*

I wouldn't think so.

Do you think he'll head North?

To make anything he's have to.

¶ *Do you think your children will stay in Mississippi when they get out of school?*

I don't believe so. Now and then you'll catch one who'll stay, but it all needs to be changed to keep 'em here.

What needs to be changed?

The wages got to go up. They won't stand what I'll take.

¶ One time my wife wasn't working, and I didn't have no job. She just got a job this year. All right. All of 'em was lookin' right at me. There wasn't no food stamps out then. And I had to first just throw myself way behind—different things—just tryin' to make it. See I didn't want to get in debt. My boss told me I could borrow some money. I didn't want to borrow none this year. I didn't borrow none. I borrowed some from him last year, and I had a hard time trying to pay it back . . . . See, here the way he do. When I borrow some money from him, he won't give me no work to do. When he gives me a job to do, he'll take out the money, and that kind of puts me in strains . . . . So I swore I wasn't going to borrow no more money if I had to eat three months of cornbread. Something like that.

II. THE PLANTER

There are three levels of social prominence in the white community of Louise. Lowest are the rednecks, peckerwoods, crackers, i.e., the poor whites who are either small farmers, laborers on plantations, or blue collar workers. They are often as poor as any black man, and they suffer, as he does, the difficulties of continual indebtedness to the planter and the indignity of being excluded from participation in making decisions affecting their lives. Above the poor whites are the agents on the plantations who are responsible for seeing that the work gets done and who are paid relatively good salaries and generally provided with nice homes. They constitute a small middle class in the community, but they, too, are a group with no voice in the government of their town.

The planter governs the community. That he may or may not hold an elected office is unimportant. He exercises effective control just as certainly as does a plant manager in a small company town. Almost everyone works for him. In Louise, and elsewhere in the Delta, the interests of the plantation are the interests of the community. The planters themselves, many of whom are barely middle class by the standards of America as a whole, take on, by tradition rooted nearly two centuries deep, the role and responsibilities of the aristocracy. They act in unity—a unity which sometimes requires the expulsion from grace of one of their own—to further the economic progress of their towns, but most importantly, to maintain what is proper and good in the lives and attitudes of the people in their community. A central tenet of their view of propriety is that the races must be kept separate. To observe this command has been the life's work of many white Southerners, but for most, it has been the belief, governing their lives: it has made sensible the alliance of rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, criminal and God-fearing, that characterizes white communities in the rural South.

There is a mayor and a city council in Louise. The councilmen with one exception are all planters, and the mayor is usually some unfortunate storekeeper who acquiesced under great pressure and accepted the position. For the twelve years prior to this one, Louise had a Jewish mayor, the proprietor of a slowly failing grocery store.

The town officials are elected, a fact unknown to every black man interviewed: every black man in Louise with whom I talked had no idea as to how

the officials got into office. Black residents call the town council "The White Citizens' Council," which it could possibly be, and they do not know whether this body is elected or privately selected. There are two polling places in Louise. Voting in county, state, or national elections is done in two makeshift stalls behind a gas station. Voting for what black people have always assumed to be the "Citizens' Council" is done at the town hall. No black man interviewed had ever walked across the street to vote in town elections. To do so would be an act of extraordinary bravery for very little return, because the man would certainly be attacked and because the "Citizens' Council," in the normal course of its business, does very little that interests or affects the black community. It is the planters' private club, and generally whites of lesser station do not know what it is doing.

The "Citizens' Council" has been credited in the past with occasional acts of meanness such as blacklisting, boycotting, threatening, or terrorizing men who challenge them. In drastic cases, they mete out almost equal treatment to white and black men alike. The president of the "Citizens' Council" is a planter. The vice-president is the town doctor. One problem that the planters have been unable to rid themselves of is that the owner of a sizable plantation outside of Louise has for nearly 20 years been married to a black woman. He has resisted every pressure put on him by switching his ginning business to other towns and by firing at anything that stops in front of his door at night.

Most of the important elected offices in Humphreys County are held by plantation owners, and all appointed officials bend to the will of the planters. The chain of coercive and moral authority is thus preserved in the political as well as the social and economic spheres. One example of what this can mean is the recent conflict within the public school system. There was until the 1968-69 school year a white elementary and high school in Louise with over 200 pupils. In 1967 Humphreys County instituted the freedom-of-choice plan for school desegregation and assigned a carefully-selected Negro teacher to Louise School. Even though no black parent chose to send his child to the white school, the hiring of the teacher caused tremendous uproar in the white community. This, added to the real possibility that some students would change schools in 1968, forced the county board of education to employ the final solution: shut down the white school and bus white children 20 miles out of their own community to Holly Bluff and Yazoo City in Yazoo County. The school building in Louise now stands empty, yet it is refused as a site for a community center or a day care center. In a tiny place like Louise the closing down of a public building for any reason is a disgrace. It was an act demonstrating unbelievable determination and dedication to old values, and it would seem madness, if the people did not accept it so naturally.

¶ *What does your husband make?*

When he's here on the place, he doesn't make but about five, six dollars a day. So that was puttin' us in a strain so he had to go off to get a job.

About how many hours would he work for that five or six dollars?

From six till six.

But he's got another job now?

He's workin' at the gin in Rolling Fork.

What will he do in the spring?

Work here on the place. Choppin' cotton and plowin'.

For five dollars a day?

When he's on the tractor. Now when he's choppin' cotton he gets four dollars.

The planter hasn't asked you to leave yet?

He did. Last week after my husband went off to work, he said if he could work over there he could move. So when my husband came in, he went over to talk to him Sunday morning, and he said he can't fix the house. "I ain't able to fix the house—bad a shape as that house is in. I just rather put hay in it." He told us he would like us to move so he could get hay in it. Two or three weeks, we got to move.

The tenant farmer engaged in civil rights activity has always been extremely vulnerable to the loss of his livelihood and has generally been the first to feel the wrath of the white community, though it is now a little easier to take that risk because a skilled worker can usually find work. Still, a planter with only one tenant and no prospect of running up on another would force that family to move in a minute if he heard that any member of it was engaged in what he considered to be "radical activity," which could range from registering to vote to joining the NAACP. He would do it because it made him mad. A point perhaps not yet overstated is that when people spend their lives depending upon others, the "others" do not feel like oppressors; they feel paternalistic. And, in fact, what made the plantation different from labor camps was that the planter tried to respond to the needs of his tenants as he saw them. Certainly most planters viewed the loan that they extended to get a family through the winter more as a kind act, the sort that men must perform occasionally, rather than as one link in a chain of bondage. The civil rights movement, and especially the warm reception the young Northerners received in the South, seemed to the planter a massive rejection of the decency with which he had tried to live his life. The kindness that might once have played a part in the relationship between planter and tenant is disappearing; it is being replaced by the callousness between management and labor.

One example of the changing times is that of the tenant's vegetable or truck garden. Until a few years ago, every family on a plantation was allowed a small patch of land to grow vegetables for their own use. Many tenants also raised hogs, chickens, and possibly a cow. Today only a few of the planters will allow even their full time laborers to plant one or two rows of vegetables. For the rest a garden or coops or pens for poultry and livestock are impossible, because rows of cotton or soybeans now push up to the tenant's doorstep. In their drive to get the greatest possible yield from their land, the planters may force the tenants to move their toilets right up to their homes, so that every possible foot of land can be seeded and so that the machines can run straight down the rows without having to detour around the tiny, rickety privies. Even where space does permit the growing of a little truck, most tenants are prohibited from doing so because planters fear that weeds from the garden will spread to the cotton and bean fields, which they like to keep meticulously clean by spraying down poisons from the air.

Another, more important, example is the treatment accorded to families living on the plantation where the man is too old to work or there is no man to work. It is in the tradition of the plantation system that a tenant who had spent his life working on the place would be guaranteed a little bit of work here and there as long as he was able and a minimal sort of old age security—

a house to remain in until he died, occasional loans to see him through the winter, and help in paying medical expenses. What the planter could not provide the family or neighbors of the old man or husbandless mother might contribute. Now it is likely that a man has few neighbors and that most of his family has left the Delta. There is virtually nothing, not even make-work, for the old, unskilled, or female to do on the plantation. And now, try as they may, no tenants not working regularly can believe the boss who says, "You can live here as long as you need to." They have seen too many families, believing the same promise, who were told one afternoon to leave by the next morning so that the house into which they were born could be burned and planted over in cotton.

Plantation income in the best of times is relatively unpredictable. Farming is a hazardous occupation, and men can be laid up for weeks with broken arms and legs. Whenever it rains no work can be done, and when the crop is bad everyone suffers. Yet always before, a family in trouble would not go unaided by its neighbors on the plantation, and, too, the plantation owner could be counted upon to help in difficult times if only by offering his tenant a loan. The plantation was a community in which the planter held the ultimate authority and in which each member felt common problems and common burdens. The community is now being destroyed. Each man's plight is different from that of the rest. Class distinctions, between skilled and unskilled, are being created within the ranks of the tenant farmers. The power of the planter is not guarding over them; it is seemingly aimed directly at them.

The planter is out to make money, and, viewed in this way, he is coming of age.[2] The last years in the Delta have seen tenants go homeless, truck patches on plantations prohibited or restricted, people dying or being permanently disabled because the planter would not send for a doctor, plantation huts being allowed to fall into complete disrepair, women and children by the thousands left with no way to earn money, women forced to do work for which they are physically unsuited in order to save their families from being told to move out, and countless other shameful events. This has happened, I think, not because the planters have decided to starve the black man out of the Delta, as some have said, but rather because the planters no longer care, except as it affects their own operations, what happens to the tenants on their farms; or in a larger sense, they do not care whether the black man in the Delta starves or not.

There is nothing predictable now about life on the plantation. No man knows if his home is secure, or if he will be given enough work to support his family. He does not know if he will be placed in a hospital if he is hurt on the job. He has no idea what he will do when he becomes too old to work. If he falls into debt to the planter, he does not know if he will be given enough work to get in the clear. He can no longer expect the planter to give him materials with which to repair his house. If he owes the planter or cannot accumulate any savings, he has no way to leave the plantation. If he can contemplate leaving, he, who has never been 100 miles from Louise, must face a move to Chicago which he has seen on television but does not really believe in. And what will he do in Chicago? The plantation world is all uncertainty, and the tenant farmer is economically and politically unable to make it any less so.

Those who for years, for all of their lives, have carried upon their shoulders

[2]Seventy-two planters in Humphreys County receive cash payments for land in the soil bank in excess of $20,000 a year. Six planters receive cash payments of more than $100,000 a year. The largest planter in Louise receives $133,764. Nine planters receive between $50,000 and $100,000 a year.

the weight of crying, underfed children, increasing debt to "the man," and diminishing return for their labor, have a near total and perhaps unique dependency on the planter who has found himself, over the last years, labeled as an oppressor and who today, it is feared, has decided to live up to the title. The old dependency is a bond that now, when things are terribly difficult for the tenant farmer in Mississippi (and it cannot often enough be emphasized that each year the situation worsens), makes the tenant helpless to stand and fight back and unequipped to handle the role of independent laborer now imposed upon him. As an independent laborer, the tenant farmer is quickly replaceable, if not altogether dispensable; he is no longer a member of the community that was the plantation. The fear of what will be has taken hold; it has sent the young people fleeing North, and the old people wondering where to turn.

¶ *Does he (the planter) ever do anything to fix the place up?*

Well, I moved here with him last year a little before Christmas. He put some window casings in and some windows in this old house. Old house ain't had anybody livin' in it for about five years. There's every kind of insect in it now that's in that swamp down there . . . . I laid down one night, and when I went to bed there wasn't anything wrong with that hand. I woke up the next morning, it had a knot on it. And from that it inflamed some more. It just had a little knot there—just like the end of your thumb—and that place inflamed and got sore, and course it was right on the hand and drivin' the tractors that kept it worked up . . . . And that place was sore when they treated my head about a month ago. Course, I put it to a spider bite.

Do any of your children keep catching colds all winter?

Well, they catch them that way. I feel like they catches them from the houses I live in that's not capable to live in. See, I've got to keep in the heater, when it's cold, a red hot fire. Well, to get the house hot, you have to get it too hot to live in it, see. And you get it hot and in thirty minutes it's cool, and you've already picked up a moist of sweat. That's the way I figure my kids catch so many colds . . . . You can get one real hot settin' up over that heater, and I guarantee he'll catch a cold. Your house is not built right. Just in a few minutes after your fire die out, your house is cold. And supposin' the walls is open —the air blowin' right in on you.

III. HOUSEHOLD

In order to comprehend a man's poverty, it is not always necessary to document what he eats and what he earns. All one needs to do is to see the house in which he lives. In Humphreys County, the tenants refer to their homes as "open houses," which means that the walls are full of holes covered by cardboard, that there is no sealing (no inner layer to the walls), that the window frames hold no glass and are covered with sheets of tin, that the ground can be seen through the floorboards, that both rain and snow come in the roof and that wind blows through the house all night. Most people heat their homes with wood burned in a fireplace or in an old cast iron heater. If they leave a fire when they go to bed, the house is colder than outdoors by the time they are asleep. If they like to keep a fire going all night then they must get out of bed every hour to add wood and re-light the heater and will probably have to run outside into the freezing night to fetch more wood. There is danger involved in trying to stay warm all night. In the old rickety heaters with worn tin chimneys, a fire long unwatched can blaze too hot, sending sparks popping through the flue and threatening the whole house. The tragedy of being burned out has struck many families in Louise.

Since most black people around Louise live on plantations, most of them do not own their own homes. A fact often ignored in better days, it has now become painfully significant. One way in which it affects living conditions is that now, when the planter will do nothing to repair and maintain the homes of any but his indispensable workers, most tenants, having no job security whatsoever, are left wondering whether they dare invest money in fixing up a house that they may soon lose.

It is worth noting that many tenant homes date back 50 years, and that the wood with which they were constructed came from houses which had at that time collapsed. They have seen many generations of many families. When a tenant's home burns or falls down, or when he moves on to a new plantation, he must take whatever vacant house he can find. The home into which he moves may have stood empty for months, years, or even decades. Thus, when a family takes a new house, they must first battle to reclaim the fragile wooden shell from the weeds, rot, rats, mice, rubbish, snakes, and small animals that have accumulated or moved in over the years. One company in the Louise area has constructed 16 very nice tenant homes on its land. The company, however, is not based in Mississippi and bought the plantation only three years ago. The indigenous planters have generally made little attempt to bring the shacks of the day laborer up to any standard of decency.

¶ *Do you think your children are about as healthy as they could be?*

No I don't think they're so healthy on account of I can't give them sufficient food and put sufficient rainments on them like they're supposed to be. You have to have shoes and clothes and a warm shelter. Well, you see, they ain't got that. See we've been here ten years, and I buy paper every year to keep warm, but it don't do any good.

Do any of your floors have holes in them?

They ain't no good. Ain't no good.

What happened to your porch out there?

It's tryin' to get away.

¶ *Is there anything in your house that needs fixing up real bad?*

Just to tell it like it is, the whole thing needs fixin' up if that's what you want to know.

We need a house built, let alone fix it.

I don't know whether you could fix this trap.

The man who owns the place, does he charge any rent?

If he did I wouldn't live here.

What would you do?

I'd go somewhere else.

Neighbor: Ain't worth it.

Ain't worth it.

Neighbor: Ain't worth bein' here as it is.

That's right.

Is your porch in good shape?

Neighbor: It's worser than the house.

Sure enough.[3]

¶ This house doesn't have any cinders under it. This back part is setting on the ground. The only things that's holdin' it up are the blocks on the front part. In the day time you can mostly see how it slants—this part here up and that part there down.

[3]James McBride Dabbs has described Southerners as "piazza people," dwelling in a sort of cool half-life between the unbearable introspective privacy of "indoors" and the irreconcilable injustice of the public life beyond the porch. Porches are, then, inordinately important to Southerners.

The floors in most homes are full of holes. Usually there are areas in the corners of the floor and around the fireplace where it is unsafe to step. Heavy items, such as deep freezers, even if they could be afforded, cannot be installed in some homes because the floors will not support them.

¶ *Do you use this fireplace for heat?*
Yes.
You don't have a heater?
No. Now this place right here (in front of the fireplace), it ain't nothin' but the ground. See it broke in right in here, and the fireplace fell in. It decayed all in here and it ain't nothin' but the ground. It's full of dirt. We filled it in.

¶ *Do any of your floors have holes in them?*
Husband: Look here. Don't you see how it is?
Wife: It's a wonder you ain't falled through none of them.
Husband: House ain't no good.

After the crop is brought in, rats and mice will come out of the fields and invade the tenants' homes searching for food. Snakes and spiders follow them up through the holes in the floors.

¶ *Are you bothered by rats, snakes in the house?*
Yeah, rats runnin' all over the place.
Have they ever bitten anybody?
One bit my wife a week ago on the foot. It was a mice.
It was the night I was trying to get my reports out, and I was sittin' on the edge of the bed and something bit me. I first thought it was one of the kids under there and then I screamed.

¶ *Do you ever have any problems with snakes or rats in your house?*
We have rats. Plenty of rats.
Is there anything you can do to keep them from getting in?
Well sometimes we put down poison for them—some kind of poison we put down—but then we be scared to use that on parts of the children. They might get hold to it.

¶ *Is there anything you'd like to talk about . . . ?*
O yes sir, I sure would love an indoor toilet. I sure would.
I always wished for a house that I could live in and wouldn't be bothered with the rats and snakes comin' in. We had two snakes come in here year before last. The house ain't been too good till last year. We repaired it.

¶ Rats and roaches like to eat me up.

Of the families surveyed 76.6 per cent are troubled by rats in their homes, and 23.4 per cent of the families have killed snakes in their homes.

The sealing of a house, one man said, is like the undershirt on a man. It is protection against wind and cold. None of the houses of the poor black farmers in Louise is well sealed. Some have no sealing at all. In houses where a wooden

inner wall was once built, it has long since begun rotting and falling apart, and only cardboard and tin hold out the wind. "Beaverboard," a thick cardboard, and "brick paper," a heavy wallpaper, are used in tenant houses where wooden sealing never was installed. Neither is particularly durable, and again, torn up cartons provide most of the protection from the elements. The walls in many houses are covered with newspaper to patch the tiny cracks, but nothing really works. In houses this old, the wind will find its way past whatever men put up to stop it.

¶ *Does the rain come in the roof?*

Well no, it doesn't leak. With the understanding—the sealing and the outside walls, in the winter, ain't no account at all. These here, all these swollen places, see that's wind cracks where the wind comes through there. If you didn't plaster the paper over that, you see, it'd come right on in. Well naturally it do come in in places. Paper pushed away and all like that, well the wind did that.

¶ *Are your walls sealed?*

No sir. We're outdoors. We're outdoors. If it was daylight you could just see all those—around the edges there—holes.

They ain't no account, these old houses. They ain't fixed this house in five years.

In summer the rain comes through the roof. In winter, snow will settle lightly on the living room floor and on the beds.

There are always more people than there are beds in a household. In some homes the children must sleep wrapped in blankets on the floor. Where there are beds, the children sleep two, three, and four in each. On summer nights, when the air is heavy and hot, the children often prefer the floor to their overcrowded beds.

¶ *Where do the children sleep? In beds?*

In beds.

Do any sleep on mats on the floor?

Two.

How many are in the beds?

Three in one bed, two in the other. The baby sleeps with us.

¶ *How many rooms do you have to sleep in here?*

Two. It ain't much for 'em to sleep.

So all eight of the children sleep in one of the two beds?

Well, they share.

The children sleep an average of 2.2 in each bed. There are never enough blankets or quilts in the wintertime. The children sleep with their clothes on and with coats and sweaters laid over them. Thirty per cent of the families admit to not having enough blankets in the winter.

Wood, gas, and coal are burned to heat the homes. Wood, the traditional fuel, costs four to six dollars for a load that will last about a week in the winter. The working men chop their own wood; the women and old men buy theirs. A family of women and children living alone with no neighbors close by is entirely dependent on the punctuality of the wood dealer and on whether or not he can pass on the roads. He is sometimes late, and the family stays cold. So do the ones who cannot

pay for the wood at all. Gas heaters are safer, more economical and more trustworthy than wood heaters, but the cost of buying them and installing the tanks is too high for most people.

¶ I got a gas stove and I burn wood in the wintertime, and the house ain't fit to live in. Ain't got no sealing in it nowhere. Just one wall sittin' up there. I buy wood all winter long.

What does the wood cost you?

I pay $20 a month to buy wood. It costs $5 a load, and I burn four loads a month.

¶ And that house. I like to froze last year. Wonder we, me and her, both ain't dead. I like to froze. I went on to the grudge ditch one morning. I prayed a good prayer that morning. I just did make it back to the house. I like to *froze.*

Why is it you say you almost froze? You couldn't buy the wood?

I didn't have the money. And when I did get some wood it wouldn't last a week. Couldn't nobody hardly get in there to bring no wood. And sometimes people, so many people, out of wood that they have to just go around as far as they could.

Water pipes do not run far out in the country, and even those with access to the pipes do not have running water. On the plantations the tenant families most often get their water from a common hydrant, which may be as far as a quarter mile from their homes, and the families are charged by the year for the use of the faucet. Most independent and share farmers have wells, but they are usually so shallow that the water is not good to drink. Everyone collects rain water to wash with. For drinking and washing clothes, the people must buy water by the barrel, which creates another major expense. The barrel itself costs two dollars; it costs 25 cents to fill it and 50 cents to have it hauled to the house. It can cost a family $1.50 (or $5.50 if the barrels are rusted out) to buy the bare minimum of two barrels a week. Well water is used for bathing. To bathe from a foot tub in an unheated kitchen in the middle of winter is an act of courage.

The only black people with inside toilets in Louise are a few who have houses that were built for white families in the town or the tenant farmers lucky enough to live in what the grander plantations once used for the maid's quarters. For every family interviewed who had an inside toilet, there was one who had no toilet at all.

¶ *Where is your bathroom?*

I ain't got one.

Do you have one out back?

Sure ain't. They said they was going to build me one.

Some homes in Louise have no electricity, and some are wired for lights but the family has never been able to afford to have them turned on. On many plantations, the light bills of the tenants are sent to the planter who pays them and, once a year, adds the total bill to the debt of the tenant.

¶ *Who owns the house?*

I'm rentin'.

How much does he charge you for rent?

Eight dollars per month.

Do you have any electricity here? Lights or anything?

There's some electricity here, but it's got to be paid. I got to pay for it to be hooked up, and I ain't got the money to pay for it.

Many families do not have a table to eat on. Almost no families have enough chairs for everyone to sit and eat together. Instead they eat standing up, or sit on old molasses drums, or on the floor. Nor can everyone eat from a plate of his own. If they do not all eat from the same plate, they must wait until the one before finishes or eat out of pans and pickle jar tops.

¶ *Does everybody eat out of the same plate?*

Well I use some tops. Boiler tops. See I use a right smart of boilers. You put them on the fire and they burn up. So I save the tops.

¶ *Do you have enough plates or dishes so that everyone can eat at once?*

No I sure don't.

What do you use for plates?

Bottle tops.

¶ *Do you have enough plates and dishes to eat out of?*

Sure don't. Most I have is pans for the children to eat out of. Don't have any plates, and not many spoons, forks and knives. I never have been able to buy such things as that.

It is the responsibility of the county to maintain county roads and build bridges across the ditches that run beside the roads. Some of the roads and drives to the houses are in such bad shape that, when it rains, school buses cannot get near the houses and mothers must hoist their children up onto their shoulders and wade with them out to the bus or simply keep them home from school. It is a struggle for a black man to get a bridge built to his home and then to get the county to keep it in good repair. Easy access to paved or well-graveled roads is the privilege of the planter.

¶ [Unemployed woman:] There's something else I'd like to say about Mississippi. The roads. The roads supervisor won't fix the roads. It's a mud hole from that road out there down to my house, and my children in the wintertime when it rains can't get out. The small ones well, I put 'em on my back and tote 'em on up to the stop. They won't even fix the roads . . . . I begged that man to put some gravel on that road to fill it up, but he just won't do it.

¶ *Is there anything in your house that needs fixing up real bad?*

Well a lot of the windowpanes is out. I don't think there nair' a one in that room there. When it get real cold, we'll scrap a piece of tin and nail up there. In the summertime it been so

hot we tear it off and tack some old screen on it. These farmers don't do anything to fix up the house any more. It don't look like none of it's like it should be.

When it rains the children can't get out to school. Sometimes they be at home for two weeks. The bus don't come down here. They have to walk out to that road, . . . but where they have to turn in to come down here off the blacktop, well all that's dirt road. Sometimes when they stand in it they can't get out.

There are never enough clothes to stay warm in the winter. On very cold days, mothers keep their children home from school rather than send them out to the bus without an overcoat. Most children have but one change of clothing and often have no underwear at all. Children miss weeks of school because their mothers will not send them improperly dressed, and later drop out of school because they cannot buy decent clothes.

¶ *Do your children have enough clothes to get through the winter?*

No sir. I won't tell you no story. That's my puzzle: clothes and shoes and money. Schoolin' wear. I have three to go to school every day. Sometimes I have to stop them to help me a little on my job.

¶ I'll be lucky to near about give 'em lunch every day. But I don't know how long it's going to last. We're all what you say, naked. We don't have the proper change in clothes. Things like that. Well, it'll get cold, and the lunches'll have to stop. I'm gonna have to scrap clothes. Some way or somehow. These secondhand houses or something. I've just got to have them. We all is.

¶ *Do you have enough clothes for your children?*

I don't have enough. We make do with what we got. We do what we be able.

Children wear out shoes quickly. The poor man cannot afford to buy a pair of new shoes for his children each time the old ones fall apart. Instead he buys, on credit, secondhand shoes that wear out before they are paid for. Some mothers will keep their kids in school no matter what they have to put on their feet. Most children, however, miss school regularly, sometimes for a few days, sometimes for a week and sometimes for a month or more because they own no shoes fit to wear.

¶ *Do you have enough shoes for all of your children to go to school in?*

Well, I haven't been able to get no shoes yet. Sometimes the girl she'll send us some money for shoes, but she hasn't done it yet.

¶ *Have you ever had to pull a child out of school because he didn't have shoes?*

I had one last year.

How long did he have to stay out?

About a month.

¶ *Is there ever a time when you have to pull kids out of school because they don't have shoes?*

Sure. I have to stop mine sometimes three and four days at a time. And when I get a pair of shoes, I get a used pair. I have got them, and sometimes it'll be a couple of weeks payin' for 'em down at the secondhand store in Louise. Sometimes you can charge them, but you can't get more than one pair charged at a time. They got to see if they'll get paid for that one 'fore they'll charge you with another pair. Then you get a pair, and the kids wear 'em to school, and the soles liable to come off that same day. . . . It's pretty tough in this state.

¶ *Do all your children have shoes?*

Oh, I need to buy a pair now.

Have you ever had to take your kids out of school because they didn't have shoes?

Yes.

How long would they have to stay out?

About three or four days.

¶ You take last year. They's out of school on parts if they didn't have sufficient things to go in.

How long were they out?

They's out I reckon about a month 'fore I could get them straightened out into first going. 'Fore I could get 'em started to going.

¶ *How is your house heated?*

It's heated pretty good in the winter until the door comes open.

Do you have enough clothes for your children?

No, I sure don't.

Do you have enough for the winter?

Sure don't.

Are there enough shoes for the children?

No. They sure ain't got no shoes. Nothin' but these tennis.

Are there ever times when they don't have shoes to go to school in?

Sure is. Sometimes I have to keep 'em at home until I can get them some.

How long would they have to stay out?

About a week or so.

The children of 64.3 per cent of the families cannot regularly attend school because they have no shoes.

There are no federal or state standards to regulate the living conditions on the plantations, e.g., there is no agency empowered to say whether or not an outhouse

shared by three families is sanitary, or whether a planter who will not provide a tenant with any toilet at all is acting in the interest of the public health. In 1960, only 21.4 per cent of the dwelling units in Humphreys County were sound: 58 per cent had no inside water; 73 per cent had no flush toilets; 79 per cent had no bathtubs; 43 per cent had no access to public water or an individual well; 57 per cent had no access to a public sewer, septic tank, or cesspool. There is no program of inspecting the homes that planters provide for their tenants to insure that they are fit for habitation.[4]

¶ Yes sir, the house is got to be cured.

[4]Fifty-one of 73 families interviewed did not have enough blankets for the winter; children in 45 of 70 families missed school because of lack of shoes: 65 of 83 families responding did not have enough clothes for the winter. Only 32 of 70 families interviewed sat in chairs at a table when they ate; 25 of 85 families did not have enough dishes for everyone. Seventy-two of 94 families interviewed had holes in the floors of their homes; 77 of 92 were bothered by rats. Sixty-one of 91 homes were heated by woodstoves, 30 by gas heaters. Of 67 houses, two had "inside water," 15 had wells; families in 25 of the 67 houses got water from hydrants; 25 families bought water. Of 90 families interviewed, seven had inside toilets; 76 had outside toilets, and seven families had no toilet at all.

¶ *How many days a week do you have fresh meat?*

Just one. On Saturday.

How about fish?

Oh we seldom ever have fish. Fish man used to come by, but he stopped comin' cause the people stopped buyin'.

Do you ever eat eggs?

Yes sir.

How often will you have eggs?

Well about once a week.

How much milk do you buy in a week?

Well we don't buy by the week—just when we take a notion with the cash and got the cash. Every time I get the check, I get a little milk.

What did you have for your meals today?

Wife: Not hardly anythin'.

Husband: Had some pintos. I'm gonna tell it like it is. No meat in 'em.

Is that all you had to eat today?

Yes sir.

IV. FOOD AND DIET

The abysmal poverty of the people turns their lives into a never-ending search for food. Getting something to eat, getting something to feed the family, is the overriding concern of the poor farmer; all other things are neglected for the sake of buying food. Groceries, in a more real sense than money, become the medium of exchange. Produce and home-produced meat are swapped for basic services such as hair cutting and auto repair work. It has been said that the case for the existence of "hunger" in the Delta has been overstated. For a family to go hungry for a long period means that they have no access to any federal food programs and that all of their neighbors and friends who would normally share what they had are in a similar situation. For a family to go hungry means that the entire community is going hungry. It means that there does not exist the means to bake or buy a loaf of bread to stuff down the mouths of the children. Most families can beg or buy that loaf of bread. But the real question is whether what people eat is adequate to support decent human life, or whether the normal diet of the people in Mississippi, in Louise, is one which the more comfortable in this nation are willing to let other Americans exist upon. Indeed, there are people in the Delta who are never free of the pain of hunger, as represented by shriveled children with swollen bellies. And certainly the very presence of cases such as these, and they are by no means rare, is horrifying enough to justify any display of fury and indignation which they arouse.

Far from the "meat and potatoes" of the "average" American, the staples of the poor farmer in Louise are pump water and pinto beans. In good seasons, pinto beans will alternate with other vegetables, string beans, sweet potatoes, turnip greens, and occasionally with chicken backs or necks. In the winter, pinto beans will alternate with white bread and molasses. Most famiiles serve two meals at home: one in the morning and one in the late afternoon. For breakfast they serve either bologna sandwiches or rice or grits, smoked sausage, bread and molasses, or, possibly, bacon and eggs.

¶ We had some beans, some pinto beans. We had pinto beans for dinner. For breakfast it was toast and an egg, I think, and some bologna.

¶ I think we had some peas. Sure did. That's what we had. We had some green peas what she put up in the deep freezer. That's all. You know we don't have money enough to have a little of this and a little of that and the other. We don't have money for that. Sometimes we just have one thing and some bread. That's the truth.

¶ We had mashed potatoes and bread today. This morning we had eggs and light bread.

¶ Greens, collard greens, baked potatoes and cornbread.

¶ We had some peas.

Most people can afford to eat meat only on the weekends. They eat fish about once every six weeks. Perhaps the children will be given a little fruit every other week. Because the price of eggs has gone up so high, most families are only able to serve them about three times in two weeks.

¶ *Are you ever able to buy fresh meat for your family?*
Sure do. Sometimes I do.
How many days a week would you eat meat?
Sometimes I eat it two days a week. Sometimes not at all. I don't eat it that often.
Do you ever buy fish?
No, sure don't buy no fish at all.
How about eggs?
Sometimes . . . Just when I happen to have them.
Do you ever buy fresh fruit?
Yes, sometimes I do.
Are you able to buy enough milk for your children?
Sometimes I get a quart; and sometimes I get two quarts.
Are you usually able to buy a quart every week.
No, sir, I sure ain't.

¶ *Do you ever buy fresh meat?*
No.
How about fresh fish?
I don't know. I haven't had that in so long a time.
Do you ever buy eggs?
Well, no. [She explained they get some eggs from chickens.]
Are you able to buy enough milk for your children?
I buys a little bit, but I can't buy it all the time.
How often do you buy it?
About three or four times a month.
How much do you buy when you buy it?
About a pint.
What did you have for your meals today?

I had some string beans and white potatoes.
Do you usually have the one meal a day?
No, two. Just two.
What did you have for breakfast this morning?
I had an egg.

¶ *What did you have for your meals today or yesterday?*
Well, we had butterbeans. I don't hardly eat no breakfast.

¶ *Do you ever have fruit?*
Very seldom. Every Christmas mostly.

Only the children in Head Start regularly eat a meal between seven in the morning and five at night. It is a treat for a child to be given the 15 cents he needs to buy a hot lunch at school. It is not unusual for a child to have bread and syrup in the morning, or no breakfast at all, and wait until dark to have bread and syrup for supper.[5]

¶ *Your children in school, do they get lunch every day?*
Wife: Not all days.
Husband: I have seven children goin' to school practically every day. Two of 'em goin' to that little school around there. It's the kindergarten school—The Friends of the Children—and the others are goin' to the public school . . . . Some mornings we don't be able to get them anything. Sometimes my wife will fix them a lunch to carry along with them. We won't be able to give them anything here in the winter.

¶ *How often can your children in school buy lunches?*
Wife: To tell you the truth, you just can't manage.
Husband: That lunch. That really is a problem.
Do they buy milk at school?
They buys milk when they haves the money. It's four cents.
How often can you give them the money?
Not too regular, cause most times we don't hardly have the money to care for them. We just give them a nickel or things like that.

[5]Of 93 families interviewed, 10 ate meat daily; seven ate meat three or four days a week; 19, two to three days a week; 40, one to two days a week; three families had meat one or two days a month; nine families ate meat "rarely;" and five families "almost never" ate meat. Of the 91 families interviewed, 86 had fresh fruit one or two days a month, "rarely," or "almost never." Of 90 families responding, 17 had eggs one or two days a week; 13, two to three days a week; nine, three or four days; 15 had eggs daily. Three families had eggs one or two days a month; 21 had them "rarely;" 12 families "almost never" had eggs.

Of the 89 families responding, four bought three or more gallons of milk per week; thirteen families bought two gallons a week; twenty-five bought between one gallon and one quart per week; nine bought up to a quart a week. Four families bought up to a quart per month; five rarely bought milk; and twenty-nine families bought no milk at all.

Of the 70 families interviewed, 20 (representing 73 children) were able to afford lunch at school daily for their children; eight families (representing 33 children) were able to give their children lunch at school three or four days a week; the 103 children of 20 families ate lunch at school two or three days a week; fifty-six children of ten families ate lunch one or two days a week; the nine children in one family ate lunch at school one or two days a month; fifty-four children belonging to eleven families "rarely or never" ate lunch at school.

¶ *Are any of your students who can eat no breakfast, buy no lunch, and who work in crowded homes able to do well in school?*

A student would have to be especially dedicated and intelligent to get good marks under these conditions. [Assistant Principal of a black high school in Belzoni.]

The coming of winter carries with it the threat of starvation for many families in Louise. The least affected by the ending of the crop season are those, of course, who have regular non-farm jobs and those who receive welfare, Social Security, or veterans' checks, or are paid "straight time" on a plantation. But for the tenant, sharecropper, and small farmer, there is, from mid-November until April, no money coming in. To get through the winter he must borrow from the planter and buy on credit from the stores. He will often have to share food with his neighbors; any hogs or cows straying loose on the roads are considered fair game by the first hungry man that comes along.

It is one of the luxuries of the small farmer that he can raise a garden. Throughout the autumn, he will pack away peas, beans, and tomatoes in his deep freeze to have something to fall back on in the winter. Most farmers raise hogs, and they will slaughter a shoat or hog late in the fall so that the family may enjoy a little meat occasionally in the long cold months. Some tenant farmers are accorded the privilege of planting a small garden and some are allowed to raise hogs. The greater number of tenants, however, are not allowed gardens, or have such restrictions placed upon the size of them that too little can be grown to make it practical to invest in a deep freeze. Many tenants are forbidden to raise livestock, though the cost of raising hogs prohibits most from wanting to in any case. Very few poor farmers can afford to own a cow because federal and state agencies require each cow to have a barrage of expensive vaccinations to insure that it is free of disease. The black residents of Louise do not eat well, they do not eat much, and they do not eat often.

¶ *Does anybody in your family have high blood?*

I have a touch of it.

How about sugar diabetes?

Well, my little boy, what I was tellin' you about, he was born with this sweet blood the doctor said, and he has epileptic spells, and they sent him to Jackson and they gave him medicine for it.

Do any of your children catch colds and keep them pretty much all winter long?

Yes sir. I got some that way now. My baby . . . .

Do any of your children develop sores or scabs on their arms and legs?

Lord. There's some broke out here. My baby got them worms. The doctors says it's ringworms, and she's kinda breakin' out around her neck.

Have any ever had their stomachs bloated out?

Yes sir. The doctor said it's worms. He keeps sayin' it's worms.

Have any of the other children with something wrong inside of them ever seen a doctor?

I got another girl in there. The doctor said she had thin tissue. When she was six months old (she's fourteen now), I like to lost her. Said she had it so long that the food she's given like to pass right back through her. Said her intestines like to grow together. I have a lot of trouble out of her for that.

V. HEALTH

The health of the people of Louise is incredibly poor. The community is ridden with sickness, disease, and chronic illness. While people's low income severely limits the medical care they may receive, many find themselves often living in the doctor's office. ("I'm just a doctor victim. I stays in the doctor's.") Barely a household is free of a case of high blood pressure, which shows itself in the swollen ankles of the women, results in a weakened heart, fainting spells, "nervous breakdowns," and demands an abstinence from pork. Throughout the winter the children are plagued by colds that turn occasionally into pneumonia. Cases of asthma are not rare. Running sores and scabs dot the bodies of most children in the summer. While often a symptom of a dietary deficiency, they are caused in the main by unsanitary conditions which turn tiny cuts into painful infections. Diabetes is a common disease. Cases of tuberculosis and amoebic dysentery are not hard to find. Many children have a variety of internal parasites.[6]

¶ This baby right here, he'll cough and go out of breath, and you can't disturb him. He'll go out of breath. I don't seem

[6]Over 57 per cent of families interviewed complained of heart disease or high blood pressure; seven per cent had diabetes; 9.3 per cent reported that a member of the family had asthma; 2.1 per cent had tuberculosis; 51.8 per cent reported frequent or continuous colds; members of 59.7 per cent of all families complained of sores or scabs on their bodies; 21.4 per cent of the families had family members who were continually tired or listless.

to know what makes him do that. If you make him over-average mad, if he thinks you scold him some way or the other, he'll just go right out of breath. Sometimes it don't look like he'll get his breath back no way. That child there, she complains right smart about her stomach, and I taken her out to Belzoni to the doctor. Well the doctor said she might have worms and he gave me some worm medicine for her, but I don't know if she was taking it like she should have 'cause I was trying to go to school in order to pay him . . . . Sometimes they [sores] just break out all over in the summertime. I've got another boy here who looked like he just never would get well of his sores.

People visit doctors most often for "high blood" pills and for cold medicine for the children. For matters more or less serious than these, the expense of treatment is beyond the reach of the poor man; he would prefer to suffer through the illness or resort to home remedies. There is not in the Delta the hearty farm family of American folklore, living simply but comfortably and enjoying robust good health; instead there are people blighted by low income, inadequate food, and disease.

There were many complaints in the interviews that people were unable to get doctors to come to their homes, even as in the cities.

¶ We ain't been checked by a doctor in so long I can't tell you what condition the family's in.

About 13 per cent of the black community in Louise has never seen a doctor. Also, about 49 per cent of the people have never seen a dentist. Due to the cost, people only see dentists when their teeth need to be pulled, and when that point is reached, many people choose to pull their own teeth.[7]

¶ *How many of your children have ever seen a doctor?*

I've got one in the family. It wasn't from sickness though. Had a little fat boy of mine. He went out to the outside bathroom one day. When he got ready to come back in, he went to zip up his pants, and he caught hisself in the zip. I taken him to the doctor. It was on a Wednesday; he takes Wednesday off, and you can't get him back to that office. So when I got to his office, he was gone. I never did try to go to his home to get him. We have a pretty favorable doctor up there in Midnight. He's real old; he'll practice till a certain hour in the evenin' and then he's through. Well, I went up there and his hours was up. Well I just kep' a goin' then. I went to Belzoni to take him to the hospital—I couldn't afford to wait because he's sufferin' —and they got it off.

There were numerous complaints about the federally-supported hospital in Belzoni. The people said patients, even emergency cases, not able to produce

[7]Twenty-one of 36 respondents were too sick to work; 44 of 85 heads of households reported that some or all of their children had colds all winter; 49 of 82 said that their children had sores; 15 of 70 had children who were sleepy or listless all day; 45 of 81 respondents reported that a member or members of the family "often felt like fainting."

One hundred forty-eight of the 690 people in the families interviewed had never seen a doctor; 532 had never seen a dentist.

cash have been denied admission to the hospital and directed to hospitals in Vicksburg and Jackson where some cost reductions are granted to indigent patients. Stories were told of suffering and death resulting from the drive to these cities, each 70 miles away.

> ¶ I worked there at the hospital a long time. I worked over there about six or eight years. Now the hospital has changed a whole lot cause when I was over there we was gettin' $14 a week—go to work at seven, get off at five . . . . They take in black patients. Some, but it is so high over there that black people just can't pay it, and if you go in there and don't have the money, well, you have to go somewhere else . . . . I know a cousin of mine, on the Fourth of July, she had a miscarriage, and they carried her over there, and they wouldn't take her in. They had to rush her to Vicksburg and operate on her at once. Now, that could have been a life saved. At this hospital, you have to have money . . . . When I was there, they kept them [babies] separate . . . . The black babies stay in the nursery for a while, and then they bring them up and puts them in the diet kitchen, you know, on the colored side. Now that's what they were doing when I was there. I don't know what they're doing now.
>
> As far as the wards are concerned, the hospital consists of, I think, 34 rooms that is used by patients, and eight of those rooms is used by black patients . . . . I wouldn't say they handle them any different, but it's seldom they handle any black patients. If you go to the hospital to have anything done, they will always refer you to another hospital—Jackson or Vicksburg.

The cost of medicine is one of those expenses that nags endlessly at a poor man. The shots or pills needed to check diabetes, the pills needed for high blood pressure, the non-prescription pills and syrups needed to fight the colds all winter are items which cut unbearable holes in the budget of the black man in the Delta. It is a bitter joke for a tenant farmer to pay $10 for an examination that shows he has "high blood" and must pay four dollars each month of his life for pills. The money just is not there. Rather than follow the doctor's instructions, he will buy, if he is able, a month's supply of pills and make them last six months.

> ¶ *Do you have to take medicine regularly for your sugar or high blood?*
>
> Sure does. Course I'm not able to buy the sugar pills. I take the shots or either take the sugar pills. And I'm not able to get the sugar pills . . . .
>
> *Because they're too expensive?*
>
> Too expensive. And the doctor put me in on health department sugar shots, and the lady wrote and told me to come up there, and said the government said I'd have to pay 50 cents a week to take this treatment. And I wasn't able to pay 50 cents a week. And I didn't ever go back, and that was last year. So I have to go to the doctor in Midnight, and I haven't been there in three, four months, near about four months, to get a sugar

treatment cause I got light bills, burial club . . . . I get a little money and it goes.

Some people treat serious diseases with home remedies. They do so out of habit, certainly, but they are no more able to afford professional treatment now than when the practices began. Those who need medicine the most can afford it the least.

¶ *When they were babies, did either of them have large stomachs?*

No sir. Well, you take that boy. When he was a baby he had a large navel, but he didn't have a large stomach.

You mean stuck way out?

Yeah, a navel you know would stick out way in front of him. Well, a lady gave my wife a remedy; told her to take a fifty-cent piece and bandage it, you know, tie it around him. That's when he was young, and it seems it went back in place.

How old was he then?

He's about eleven months old, I imagine.

Most babies in the black community of Louise are born in the home and are delivered by a midwife with the occasional assistance of a doctor. The number of miscarriages and infant deaths is startlingly large. (The infant death rate in 1964 in Humphreys County was 2,941 per 100,000 live births, compared to the national norm of 1,700.) Recent medical research indicates that it is during the second through the twelfth month of a child's infancy that his death may most characteristically be attributed to the fact that the nourishment which he received before and after his birth was insufficient to provide for his growth. When a woman is undernourished during pregnancy, her baby may be undernourished at birth. There have been four infant deaths for every 100 live births accounted for.[8]

¶ *All of these children, were they born here at home or in a hospital?*

Well, I got three was born in the hospital. The rest of 'em was born here in this house.

The ones born here in the house, were they brought in by a doctor or a midwife?

Well, I used to have trouble, and I needed a doctor's help.

Have you ever had any miscarriages?

I sure is. I've had twenty-six and I've only saved ten.

This is you?

And I only saved those with the doctor's help.

Husband: We lost a lot in one year like that.

[8]Of the 690 people interviewed, 107 are women who have borne children or at one time been pregnant. They have had a total of 607 live births. Of these, two were born in a clinic, 60 in a hospital, 16 at home attended by a doctor, 481 at home attended by a midwife, and 48 under unspecified conditions. Sixty-one of the women, who have had a total of 311 of the live births, have had a total of 140 miscarriages and 24 children lost in infancy. On the average, every mother has had 1.31 miscarriages and lost .22 children in infancy. The fetal death rate is 247 per 1,000 live births. The infant death rate is 39.5 per 1,000 live births. It must be noted that the 607 births span a large number of years, and presumably health conditions have improved somewhat with the passage of time.

¶ *Has your wife ever had any miscarriages?*
Three.
Has she ever had any babies that didn't live?
Well, we had one that lived about three hours after she was born, then died.
So out of the five pregnancies you got the girl?
We got the girl.

¶ *Where were your children delivered?*
All of mine was in the home.
By a doctor or midwife?
By a midwife.
Have you ever had any miscarriages?
Husband: Many of them.
How many have you had?
About five.

Many women in Louise eat corn starch when they are pregnant. Some keep the habit and continue to eat as much as they can get after childbirth as a means of filling themselves up. The same is true of baking soda. And the same is true of clay.[9] There was a time when most women in Louise ate clay and starch while they were pregnant. Now, one out of every four eats starch, and one out of every three eats clay. The best clay is said to come from the hill country around Canton or Yazoo City. Farmers passing through will pull off the roads and shovel the dirt into bags for their wives and friends. When a woman cannot get hill clay she may take a bagful out of the side of an irrigation ditch. She lets the clay dry out, or may bake or freeze it, and she will later break off little chunks to suck. Sometimes you can see a woman at work in the fields after mealtime pick a piece of dirt off the ground and pop it into her mouth.

At the hospital in Belzoni, there are beds for one out of every 534 people in the county. In Humphreys County, there are five doctors, one for every 3,740 people. There are two dentists, one for every 9,350 people. There are four nurses, one for every 4,675 people. Where the poverty of the people is so great, their health so poor, their ability to afford medical care so hampered, and the availability of medical services so limited, there is a crying need for public health programs. The Mississippi State Board of Health does not have the budget or the manpower to provide fully all of its designated services. For the 18 counties in the Delta, there are only 10 medical directors, i.e., doctors, for the county health departments. One doctor serves as the director for six separate health departments, and one of these serves two counties. The director of the Humphreys County Health Department also directs the Yazoo County department. The Humphreys County department is staffed by two nurses and a sanitarian. In the areas that most directly benefit the poor, maternity and infant care and immunization against communicable diseases, much has yet to be done. It is estimated that 35 per cent (more than twice the national average) of the children in Mississippi from one day to nine years of age have not received basic immunizations, i.e., polio, diphtheria, smallpox, and typhoid fever. It can be inferred that the percentage is quite high in Humphreys County. One problem is that in Mississippi, where for ten years there has been no compulsory school attendance law, many children, especially those of poor families, miss

[9]Of the 77 women interviewed, 20 ate starch "at least during pregnancy," and of 76 interviewed, 25 ate clay.

getting their shots because they either do not attend school at all, or attend it very irregularly. Shots are given to all children in the Head Start centers.

> ¶ *Have any of your children been to see a doctor?*
>
> I know those she [a sister] left are going to have to go. They needs a check-up . . . . See she had tuberculosis and she left here about two weeks ago, and they was comin' around to check the kids, but they got on the wrong road.
>
> In other words, they been lookin' for us, but they got throwed off and didn't find here. It was the Public Health Department that was lookin' for 'em, but they didn't find this place.

Maternity and child care services in Humphreys County barely exist. None of the people talked with in Louise could recall ever having heard of any lectures or courses being offered in child care. When medical problems arise during pregnancy or during a child's infancy that force a mother to go to the health department in Belzoni, she will be referred to a private physician for treatment that she often cannot afford. The department supervises 14 "granny" midwives in the county. Many mothers are assisted in their delivery by women who call themselves "midwives" but are under no supervision from the county. There are no nurse-midwives in the county.

What is desperately lacking in Humphreys County is free or inexpensive medical help, and enough dentists, free or inexpensive hospital care, and enough hospital beds, and free medicine. There are at this time no programs, federal or state, operating in the county aimed at fulfilling these needs.

VI. THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The community of the poor in Louise was built around the plantation. Plantation life was both secure and terrible. To ease the painful, and to maintain and strengthen the bonds of community, the people had their churches, their weekend gathering spots, and their schools. That these institutions were able to sustain the spirit, and, in a fashion, the economy of the poor community when conditions on the plantation were at their best is in itself a miracle. But now the security provided by the plantation system has collapsed. Neither the old institutions themselves nor the forces created by them are capable of handling the overwhelming social, political, and economic problems faced by the poor of Louise today. The following is a description of the part that these several forces have played in holding together the poor community in the past and why there cannot now grow from the primary institutions, the church and the schools, the true leadership needed to build a new framework to replace that of the plantation.

The Church

It has been said that services at the small country backwoods churches provided for the black poor a release for the pressures that must build up in men living in continual poverty and subjected to constant racial slander. The emotional outpourings, from whatever sources they flow, of congregations at church services around Louise are certainly dramatic, exciting, and exhausting. Three Sundays out of four, at any given church, only the children will meet in the morning for their lesson, and, in a few churches, the older folks will gather in the evening to sing and pray with the deacons. The fourth Sunday, though, is "pastoral day." It is the day that the travelling preachers, hailing from Belzoni or Vicksburg but spreading the word to congregations a hundred miles apart, complete their circuits and return again to hold services.

In and around Louise there are a dozen little churches, calling themselves New Hope, Big Mount Zion, Love Feast, and other biblically inspired names, and every Sunday there will be a pastoral day at one of them. The considerable anticipation that precedes a preacher's visit turns the fourth Sunday into a true holiday, and it is perhaps so as not to mar the pleasure of the occasion that few members of a congregation will give in to temptation and attend another church mid-month. Also, most congregations have considerable pride in their preachers. Where religious excitement is so real to a people, and feeling the touch of the Master's hand is an accepted phenomenon, the preacher has a clear role—that of bringing God to the people and raising the spirits of the congregation to a pitch where they may see God—and it is according to his ability to perform this duty that he maintains his reputation and holds the devotion of congregations. During the long hours of each service, the preacher will slowly spin out his story as the faithful get the spirit in them and shout and moan and dance, struggling with each other and with the passion inside them. When the right pitch is reached, when the sorrows and ecstasy of the folk have poured out, then the preacher will end his tale. The church, alone in a cotton field and miles from the highway, will have sheltered a spectacular resurgence of the spirit of the people.

The church has played a singular role within the black community. It is quite certainly the single most important institution. It is the center for community news and information, which means that it has served as a place where political issues can be debated and community policy decided. The church has been the medium through which civil rights workers have stated their intentions,

and it remains the place where the most people can be reached the most quickly. Things can be accomplished very rapidly with the church's blessings, and only with difficulty with the church's opposition.

It has been rare for preachers to take definite stands against all changes in the *status quo,* but it has been equally rare for preachers to rise up and fight to improve the lot of their people. For the most part, they have remained neutral and disinterested in times of political or civil rights turmoil unless personally attacked for their inaction. It has been the deacons of the church, elected by the congregation, who have formed the worldly or political arm of the black church. They have in the past taken active stands in civil rights, offering the use of the church building for community meetings, working to organize their communities, and, in a very real sense, often providing the elected leadership of the black community.

Because its deacons are responsive to the wishes of the congregation and because the church holds the allegiance of so many, it should now be playing a principal part in striving to create a unified black community out of the fragments left by the demise of the plantation system, and it should be speaking for and helping the poor who make up each congregation. The black churches of Louise have shown themselves to be immobilized on behalf of any social, economic, or political issues. Part of the problem is that over the last several years their congregations have been changing and getting smaller. Pastoral services would once have lasted throughout the afternoon, and there would have been a prayer meeting that night and once or twice more during the week. The Sunday School would have filled a third of the church, and the congregation would have overflowed the pews. Now pastoral service is a morning affair; the crowd is not large enough to sustain it all day long. The Sunday School class is conducted in a corner of the first few pews, and the whole congregation can barely fill the rest. The church organization does not include as many people as it once did. Nor does it now reach the same people. Once everyone attended church. Now the congregation is filled mostly with women and children, the young men having left and the working men perhaps feeling out of place among all the wives. This, too, has meant a change in the effectiveness of the church as a force in shaping community policy. For where once men could be reached directly through the church, now only women can be. And where once women bore the dual role of bringing up the family and working as long as the men in the fields, and saw themselves as figures of extraordinary strength with the responsibility of concerning themselves with the public welfare, they now, no longer being wage earners, have seemed to relinquish to their men, in a subtle way, the second responsibility of community concern. The transition is far from complete, but, as it does occur, the church, as has sometimes been suggested, becomes less relevant to the lives of the people. It still supports their spirit, but it cannot channel that spirit into matters of this world.

The Clubs, Juke Joints, and Saturday Night

Many black men in Louise and Midnight are members of the Masons or Elks. As far as the whole community is concerned, the clubs do very little, but they do allow their members a chance for a little fun once a month and hold dances that draw the youngsters from all over the county. What is important, however, is that their meeting halls, virtually the only large, black-owned buildings in the small towns of the South, have been available for use as community centers, Head Start centers, and halls for civil rights meetings. In Louise, one of the two Head Start centers leases the Mason's Hall. In Belzoni, the NAACP holds meet-

ings three times a week in the Taborin Hall of the Elk's club, which at one time also housed a Head Start center.

The clubs, juke joints, or roadhouses have sometimes been as cooperative with their facilities as the professional societies. Head Start centers, in crying need of space to handle countless children, have been forced to move into private clubs where every morning the teachers would arrange and decorate the room, and every evening patiently re-package the toys and remove the children's paintings from the walls. The roadside beer and sandwich establishment is perhaps the field most fully exploited by the black entrepreneur. Because men like a place to eat their lunches and gather after work, because there has to be some place to go on Friday night, and because these facilities are denied, or not provided in the right style, by white businesses, juke joints have cropped up in the black communities. They swarm with people on weekend nights. Many are men yet dirty from the fields, worn out after a week of heavy work and anxious to mix and relax; such a man wants to remember (as W. J. Cash says of the white Southerner) that he's one hell of a fellow. The girls come to dance, the boys to show off, the married couples because it is the only place that they have had to go to for most of their lives, and the old men to watch. Groups of people wander in and out, usually without buying anything. The ladies are dressed in whatever might pass for a party dress. Occasionally, outside amidst the cars jammed together, a fight will get started among the few boys. In Belzoni, the police force claims several Negro officers (with no power to arrest a white man) whose job is to roam the night spots and to keep things quiet. In Louise there is a "colored law" (who lacks the authority to arrest anyone) whose job is to snoop around the roadhouses and dairy bars to find out, for the white folks, what his neighbors are up to.

> ¶ There's not a colored law in the state of Mississippi that's my friend. If a friend of mine becomes a cop, he's not my friend. If he's a law in Mississippi, I don't know him.

Saturday is payday, and Saturday night is the real farmer's night. The most accurate method of taking a census in a community like Louise would be to make a head count in town on Saturday night. From all the surrounding country, men and women come to "make provisions." Most hardware, clothing, and groceries are bought on Saturday night. It is an occasion more widely recognized than any other. Everyone wears not his age-old Sunday dress, but just the nicest, cleanest clothing he can put together. Young people and children beg or borrow money from their parents so that they can buy something in town, and along the street they can be seen walking slowly, peeping into shop windows, flirting with one another. The old men lean back against the store fronts in their straw chairs, watching the world go by, or make conversation on the street corners, often negotiating over the price of a bottle of sealed or unsealed whiskey. The whites are out too with their slicked down hair shining from beneath their finest cowboy hats. The planters show off their big new cars and wave and yell at friends and workers as they drive slowly down the street. Everything, and most everyone, is pleasant. Acquaintances are renewed. People that folks were "worried about" show up on Saturday night. It is the night for cashing the check, paying off debts, buying fruit for the children, and getting special things for Sunday dinner. Anything that interests anybody will be widely discussed on sidewalks, and everyone gets an excellent chance to pick up rumors. In the big towns, country boys come in on

Saturday to get drunk and make noise. In the little towns, they come to shop, and talk to friends.

The stores stay open until the last man is off the street. After they lock up, Louise is dark and quiet, except for the steady rumble and pounding as cotton is baled at the gin where the tenant hands have been at work since early in the afternoon.

The Schools

By all accounts, the quality of education has changed little over the last few years. On the side of the good, however, it is in the schools that first begins that network of friendships and acquaintances which enables everyone in the county to know everyone else. Associations here develop that make it possible for the county to be what the small town cannot, what economists call a market, where goods and services and labor can be peddled and located. Were the towns of Louise and Midnight to burn down one night, the only loss to the major part of the population would be convenience to certain stores. These towns serve as the geographical center of the community, but they are unessential to the economic and social life of the area. What is necessary to these is the knowledge of every man's skills—who is a trustworthy tractor driver, who can make a good quilt—the knowledge of every man's habits—which men get too drunk to work on Monday, where certain white men will be at a certain time of night—the knowledge of each man's situation—who needs help, who will jump at the chance to pick a little cotton—and the knowledge of who are the troublemakers, killers, and bums.

Negro teachers and school administrators have been outrageously reluctant to assume any position of leadership in their communities, or even an interest in the affairs of the families whose children they teach. Holding, like Negro policemen, jobs created by the dual system of government yet being expected to serve their white superiors and not their own community, Negro teachers and principals live in fear of the white establishment.

In Midnight, there is a black elementary school and in Louise a black high school, which had over four times as many pupils as the white school, when the latter existed, but fewer than twice the number of teachers. What teachers there are, however, have probably not registered to vote for fear of jeopardizing their jobs. They, in the natural positions of leadership that fall to the teacher and professional, have consistently resisted all pleas to involve themselves in the struggles of their community. Of course, across the South there have been many exceptions to the general apathy of the public school personnel. Many college professors and administrators, and some high school teachers have worked hard on behalf of civil rights. Some county school systems in the South have released schools for summer Head Start centers at the insistence of black principals. Some public school teachers have worked with children in OEO day care centers. In Humphreys County, a teacher sits on the county committee of the Friends of the Children of Mississippi (FCM) Head Start System. Still, the involvement of teachers in community action has been less than even that of the preachers who can point to members or prospective members of their ranks in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Congress of Racial Equality of the early 1960's, and in local groups like the Delta Ministry (a project of the National Council of Churches), located in Washington County (Greenville) which borders on Humphreys County. The teachers, hamstrung by

being employees of the county and set apart by their complicity in a disgraceful and unconstitutional educational system, have themselves withdrawn and forgotten the needs of their people.

It has thus become clear that no new arrangement of community development will spring from the old leadership of the black community, the churches and the schools. It can also be seen that the institutions and routines that were built around the plantation system will not now be useful in creating something which will sustain those people who have been displaced from the plantation as it undergoes its transition toward modern efficiency. The last years of civil rights turmoil have brought great hope to the black men in Mississippi. In Louise there has been developed a new program, Head Start, which was not born of the plantation system, and which has drawn for its local leadership upon a too-long-neglected source—the independent black small farmer.

VII. CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Louise and Midnight were passed over, as were many little towns, by the civil rights activity in the Delta in 1963 and 1964. Belzoni was not:

> ¶ When it first started, COFO [Council of Federated Organizations] came here and set up a voter registration drive. That lasted about a year. After that we organized the NAACP. We organized the NAACP in 1967, and that was when the biggest push in the civil rights movement came in Humphreys County. We've put on quite an effective boycott against the stores and brought suits against the schools, in fact against the whole county . . . . Rev. Lee was killed back in '55 and Gus Courts was shot . . . . I believe he was shot for pushin' for the right to vote . . . . They had some kind of autopsy on Rev. Lee and they found the pellets in his jaw, shotgun pellets, but they said it was dental fillings so that was as far as it went . . . . They (Sunflower and Sharkey Counties) had more activity in them than Humphreys County has . . . .
>
> *Has anything been done in Louise and Midnight?*
>
> No, not yet. Some people in Louise joined the NAACP, but no one down there is really active. So Louise sort of stands off by itself. The people are kind of scared of what might happen. [Willie Hazelwood, Director of NAACP, Humphreys County.]

A few men and women in Louise harbored civil rights workers from Sharkey County and became active in the precinct affairs of that county's Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), but it was not until 1966, when one column of the Meredith March Against Fear came proudly down U. S. 49 through Belzoni, through Midnight, through Louise, that the people first began going in numbers to the courthouse to register to vote. One man tells it this way:

> ¶The Meredith March came right down the highway here. There was a long line of them, singing and shouting. People came running out of the fields to see and wave. A lot of them started in marchin'. At school they tried to keep them in, but the kids ran out and got in the line with them and started marchin'. Some of them went all the way to Jackson. Mr. —— boarded up his drink machines so they couldn't buy a pop. In Louise all of the stores closed. There wasn't a white man in them streets . . . . A lot of us registered behind the Meredith March. I did. A whole lot of people did.

The boycott effort in Belzoni has united the black community there in a way that nothing else ever has, but it has yet done little to Louise and Midnight. The Negro police officer in Louise was added to the force primarily because the white merchants wanted a way to learn about and to stop any attempts at spreading the boycott to those little towns. The state of political organization in Louise, however, is not what it is in Belzoni. There are perhaps fifteen members of the

NAACP in Louise and not all of these attend meetings in Belzoni or in Sharkey County.

Louise has two precious Head Start centers. The confusing and sorry history of the CDGM, MAP, FCM conflict is well illustrated by the battle in Humphreys County. In 1965 the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) was funded by OEO to administer Head Start centers in 22 counties, including Humphreys. Two centers were set up in Belzoni. CDGM's concept of how a preschool center should be run was novel at that time. It felt that the people who best knew how to care for children were mothers of children, and almost all of its centers across the state were staffed by poor, previously unemployed women, trained by CDGM in the techniques of bringing words, music, colors, and sounds alive in the minds of three-to-five-year-olds. In this way, poor women who had never in their lives earned more than $3 a day chopping cotton were given the opportunity to earn a decent salary. It was, and remains, an outrage in the white establishment's view of things that money it does not control is placed in the hands of black people. In October, 1966, OEO bowed to pressures, charged CDGM with mishandling of funds, and terminated the grant. But the centers in Humphreys County and in several other counties did not close down. In buildings offered free by their black owners and by churches, women worked without pay to see that the children, even if they could no longer regularly get a hot meal at the center, got loving attention each day. To raise funds for the approximately 75 centers operating on a volunteer basis, a group called Friends of the Children of Mississippi was established.

To fill the void left by CDGM, an organization with more compromising policies, Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), was formed and funded by OEO. In its beginning, MAP was more rigid in determining the qualifications of its personnel, especially for its county staff, and many women who had been resource teachers, teacher guides, and center directors with CDGM found that they could not be hired by MAP, and determined to keep working with what, in any case, were overflowing numbers of children. In January, 1967, CDGM was refunded, but did not include Humphreys County which was to be exclusively MAP. The old CDGM centers in five counties including Humphreys (plus a sixth that had not been CDGM) refused to be administered by MAP and organized themselves under the name of Friends of the Children of Mississippi (FCM). Financed, barely, by stop-gap grants from a foundation and the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church, FCM was able to provide some assistance in keeping the centers going and bringing in a bit of food and clothing for the children. FCM maintained through most of the next year two centers in Belzoni and set up one in Louise. MAP moved into Belzoni in the spring of 1967 where, in competition with FCM, it opened two centers and into Louise where it opened the second Louise center.

For 17 long months, FCM functioned in what was officially a MAP county. The MAP centers, when they were opened, were well equipped, the children well fed, and the teachers paid. The FCM centers were furnished with handmade toys, the children had no milk, and the teachers had no money. In a final reshuffling, after pleas for a settlement "in the name of the children" from citizens and organizations all over the country, FCM was funded for four of the six counties, (including Humphreys) served by both FCM and MAP.

In Louise, the results of the conflict can still be seen. What was at one time the MAP center is a large, well-constructed building, panelled on the inside and filled with new toys, plastic cushions for the children to sleep on, and piles of

story books. Three doors away the old FCM center is only now recovering from its year and a half without money. The building is tiny and cramped, the walls are full of cracks, and all last winter the wind blew steadily through the one-room building. The center has three units of 17 children each that must be accommodated in that space, or in a tiny play area separated from U. S. 49 by a wire fence. The toys are mostly handmade. The children play with tires in the yard. There are barely enough plates to feed all of the children at once. During the last week that I lived in Louise, money was finally allocated to build an extension to the building that will allow for two more units of children. Slowly, a trickle of new books, new equipment, new plates, and new toys is beginning to arrive at the center.

> ¶ I'm a county teacher guide for FCM. I work with the teachers and the children. Help train the teachers, and work with the children. We try to get the children interested in things. We let the children pick different alphabets and put them together. We make puzzles. We're trying to teach them themselves. We make puzzles and put them together. We have songs about my eyes, my nose, my mouth. We're trying to get the children acquainted with themselves, and after we get them acquainted with themselves then they'll know—we're trying to let them know—that they're just as important as anybody else. And to really let them know that they are important, they first have to know about themselves.

Head Start has had an especially wonderful effect upon the Louise community. When the first visions of the life-giving power of federal assistance were stolen away, the people, rather than recoiling in bitterness, determined to make good themselves the OEO promise of a place where withdrawn and underfed children could be made to laugh and to play together, and to learn to understand and enjoy the world of people and things: a place run by poor men and women elected in community meetings, a place staffed by poor men and women (carefully selected by the center council), a place where children could eat a hot lunch, and, most important, a place of their own where everything and everybody connected with it would be decent. It has been the first step in community action ever taken in the long history of the black people in that plantation town.

To keep the center going, they used their sparse resources. Near the end, when small salaries were being given out, the center was forced to move into a smaller building. Two units of children were cut; their teachers were left jobless. The remaining teachers divided their salaries so that even those hurt in the cutback received an equal share of what little there was. When OEO finally approved FCM's budget and the center was required to come up to federal standards of adequacy, the people in the community contributed money to seal the walls, to put linoleum over the holes in the floor, and to buy a shield for the gas heater.

The nomination and elections for members of the center committee defined which men in Louise would be responsible for the affairs of the community. Almost all of those elected are small farm owners. They have taken their role seriously, and having once been proclaimed leaders will continue to be leaders in whatever concerns their small town.

When FCM first was established in Louise, the white community put up a stiff fight to get rid of it. Tenants were forbidden to work for the center or to

drive children there. The welfare checks of the teachers and cooks were threatened and generally cut back, even though FCM could not afford to pay salaries. Women on the plantations were told not to send their children to the "civil rights school." Men were refused employment because their wives worked for Head Start. But all of this, for the most part, has ended. In place of resistance there is nastiness. For example, the town has not moved the "65 MPH" sign on the road out of Louise past the center. Tourists' cars continue to roar by as the children pile out of station wagons that bring them to school. But the larger struggle seems almost won. It has been a meaningful one, intended not so much to prove, as simply not to be deterred from, a belief that the poor best know what's best for the poor.

> ¶ It seems that we did more for the county last year, working volunteer, than we did when we were workin' for CDGM, because the reason I say this is that we got a lot of children in school that didn't have birth certificates, we got a lot of children clothes and shoes that hadn't ever been in school, and we found lots of families that was fastened up in the house that people didn't even know was in the county; and we helped a lot of children with doctor care . . . . Some of them would be just lined with sores and their little stomachs would be pushed out. So I think FCM has done a wonderful job. We had some little children that when they walked in the door couldn't even stand up. We worked so long without any money that really what we were working for was not a salary. There was one thing that we wanted to prove: that we could do something if we was allowed a chance. That's why we worked two years for nothing. We just wanted to prove that we could do it and do a good job, and we did do a good job.

There are now in Louise five units of children in Head Start centers. In all of Humphreys County there are approximately twenty-six units, for a total of 450 children. This is the maximum number allowed for in the budget. There are approximately 800 children of poor families between three and five years of age in the county for whom there is no room in the centers.

¶ *Could you make a guess as to how much you spend on food in a month?*

I spend so much. I don't spend no more'n I have. I spend all of my check, and sometimes I have to go back and take up debt before the month is out.

VIII. PROBLEMS WITH ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Welfare

While most agencies of the county government, such as those concerned with roads and agriculture, are controlled and administered by the planters for the planters, there is only one agency, excepting the public school system, concerned mainly with the black community and that is the welfare department. Though in many matters the welfare department abides by standardized regulations and becomes an overly objective bureaucracy, heartless and pitiless, it is frequently used as a tool to manipulate the black man and thus in that aspect becomes too personal. It gives the planter, then, yet another avenue of control over the black and the poor. In Humphreys County, as in the rest of the state, one encounters reports that welfare checks were cut off in the early 1960's as a means of stopping black people from registering to vote. More recently, it is said, early participants and staff members of the Head Start programs in Humphreys County had their checks stopped or reduced to force them out of the project. Head Start center personnel, who received their salaries only in spurts, have seen their welfare checks reduced each time a little money was paid out and the cuts not restored until long after the money stopped coming. The boards of supervisors in Mississippi, which in the Delta is to say the planters, have no legal authority over the county welfare departments, but do have their considerable influence to wield against them. Those tenants on the supervisors' plantations in Humphreys County having any claim to eligibility receive welfare benefits that seem guaranteed for the elected term of their boss. This guarantee, which acts as an incentive for good work, also serves the planter as an assurance that none of his tenants will cause any trouble.[10]

It should be noted that things are improving. It only rarely happens now that county welfare departments will ignore an explicit rule set down by the state. The right of an applicant to appeal the decision of the county agent to a state board is more widely known and understood. The county, however, controls the speed with which it handles cases; the difference between an application's being approved one month or the next can be the difference between subsistence and acute hunger. A more vital point, and one which will be returned to later, is that while eligibility for welfare and the size of the check are established by a schedule of income set by the state, the county welfare agent has the responsibility for determining an applicant's income. It is very difficult to ascertain the annual income of a tenant farmer who works irregularly and by the hour, and who most likely keeps no records; so the welfare department can set a man's income at almost any point that it likes without being challenged. The agent often gets from the planter his figures for the income of his tenant, which again gives the power over the check back to

[10]In an OEO, HEW, USDA listing of the 255 most needy counties in the nation, Humphreys County ranks 54th. In a recent report by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition, HUNGER, USA, a list of statistics on "hunger counties" showed that 71.5 per cent of the population of Humphreys County were in proverty, but only 12.1 per cent of the poor were on welfare.

the planter. The county welfare department also administers either the surplus commodities or food stamp program of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and handles these programs in much the same way, and to the same ends, as it does the welfare checks.

The welfare system, as has often been remarked, has certain built-in shortcomings. Though the federal government contributes the major portion of the welfare budget in Mississippi—83.3 per cent in the case of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) payments—the state still has too little money to give substantial assistance to welfare recipients. Payments in the categories of Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD), Aid to the Blind (AB), and Old Age Assistance (OAA) are usually $50 a month. Though $600 a year is a very small amount, it is still almost three times as large as the per capita income of the poor people in Louise. Most recipients of APTD and OAA, however, support families with their checks. The amount paid out for Aid to Dependent Children is clearly inadequate for actual child support.

Maximum ADC payments in Mississippi are based roughly on the formula of $25 a month for the first child and $10 a month for each other child under 18 years of age. The state sets the standard of living scale for families of all sizes, and the above-mentioned maximum payments are approximately 27 per cent of what the state estimates to be a minimal standard of living. But most families cannot claim the maximum allowance. For a mother and three children living on a plantation where their home is provided, the state establishes the living requirements at $125 a month. If the mother earns approximately $72 a month as a maid, the size of her ADC check will be figured on the basis of the $53 that she falls short of the standard. The established payment is $15 a month, about 28 per cent of the difference. Three children are supported on $18 a week from the mother's earnings and $5 a month apiece from the welfare department.

The states with the greatest percentage of poor people, and thus the smallest budgets, are the least capable of providing decent welfare assistance. And, in racially divided Mississippi where the white man runs the welfare department and the poor are predominantly black, the possibility of fair administration of the system, especially on the local level, is quite remote.

* * *

¶ *What do you do?*

I works by the day.

On the plantation?

Yes.

Do you work all year round or are there parts of the year when you don't work?

Well, I chops a little bit, and I picks a little cotton.

Do you work about every day?

No sir, not every day. I make about two or three days a week.

Could you give me an idea of what your income is in a month or a year?

Well, near as I can get at it, about $75 or $80.

A month?

No, I don't make that much a month. I make that much in the run of about two or three months.

Are you getting food stamps?

No. They said I was makin' too much. I couldn't see how I was makin' too much for food stamps.

Commodities and Food Stamps

The federal government has two main programs to assist low-income families in obtaining adequate amounts of food: direct distribution or surplus commodities, and the food stamp program. The commodity distribution program has existed since 1949. Its purpose is to prevent the waste of agricultural surpluses, created mainly through the price support operations of the USDA, by distributing free the surplus, unmarketable goods to the poor. The basic commodities, cornmeal, corn grits, rice, flour, non-fat dry milk, peanut butter, and rolled wheat, are given out each month in counties that have requested and been approved for the program. From month to month, the basic goods will be supplemented with several of the 15 other staples purchased by the USDA. People in households receiving federal welfare assistance and all persons deemed to be needy by the local welfare agency are eligible for the program.

In 1964, the food stamp program was begun. It was intended to remedy some of the problems of the commodity program, such as the difficulties and the expense of distributing large quantities of food, the low nutritional level provided by a diet of surplus food, and the burden it placed on poor people who have no ready access to transportation and little storage space in their homes but who had to transport and store a month's supply of food at one time. Also, the program was created as an answer to the complaints of merchants who felt that the free distribution of certain foods hurt their businesses. Under the food stamp program, a person declared eligible by the welfare department will, according to his income and size of his family, pay a set amount each month for food coupons distributed by the welfare department. These coupons are worth a certain amount more than is paid for them and can be used just like cash in the purchase of food at cooperating stores. Thus, the food purchasing power of the poor man is increased, and he may select his own groceries at the store of his choice.

Counties may elect to sponsor either program; no county may have both unless the Secretary of Agriculture declares an emergency. The food stamp program is slowly phasing out the commodity program in counties where it existed, and is beginning to be administered in counties that have never had any food program.

Until August, 1968, Humphreys County used the surplus commodities program. Of the black families in Louise, 89.2 per cent were on the program. The remaining families were generally denied participation because they owned too much land or their income was considered to be too high. One family was denied because they had fixed up their house; another was reported stricken from the rolls because the father had been blacklisted by a planter. Almost 95 per cent of those who got commodities had to buy some food to supplement them. The rest of the families were not able to buy groceries and lived solely on the surplus food. Not everyone ate all the foods that were distributed. Many mothers said that the powdered milk made their children sick, and almost no one used it for anything but cooking. Only a few ate the powdered eggs. Everyone viewed the raisins, only recently distributed, with suspicion because a great many boxes in the first month's shipment were infested with bugs. If people had a choice, they would not eat the canned "luncheon" or "commodity" meat (mostly composed of pork) which was usually given out. Members of 53 families could not eat it because they had high

blood pressure, and their doctors had warned them against eating pork. Much of the commodity food was stored away for use in the winter.

In August, 1968, Humphreys County started the food stamp program. In setting it up, the county followed guidelines that were designed to clear up some of the difficulties other areas had encountered, notably: that the poor have little transportation, that prior indebtedness to stores often makes it difficult for a poor man to free enough cash to make an initial purchase of stamps, and that a time lapse between the end of the commodity program and the beginning of the food stamp program can be disastrous to poor families. Stamps are sold twice a month in Louise, and every weekday in Belzoni. The first month's stamps were half-price. The transition from one program was made smoothly. However, in Louise, participation in the food programs dropped by 20.1 per cent.[11] The reasons for this can be seen by examining several examples of food stamp costs per month.

The average black family in Louise has about seven members and an income of about $1,538 a year, or $128 a month. The stamp price to that family every month is $54 for stamps valued at $98, for a bonus of $44.

The family must each month pay $54 cash for stamps. This is the amount that the Department of Agriculture feels a family of this size and income would "normally" spend on food. Normally, however, that family had been getting surplus commodities and spending perhaps $20 each month to supplement the free food. The extra cash outlay, even though netting a $44 "bonus," is too much for many families to make, and so they do not buy the stamps.

For two ladies living together, eating nothing but commodities and whatever their neighbors contribute, and *who earn no cash income*, the price in 1967 was one dollar for stamps worth $30 (a $29 bonus).

Where are they to get the $1 a month needed to buy stamps? And how are they to eat on $15 a month? Sixty-nine percent of the families in the black community of Louise now get food stamps. Many others heard about how much the stamps might cost and never bothered to apply. One out of every ten who applied was rejected as having too high an income.

The welfare department in Humphreys County has the responsibility for determining each applicant's income, and thus who is eligible for the program and how much each must pay for stamps. Farm workers earn money in spurts and only in certain seasons. There is no standard income for the tenant farmer, skilled or unskilled; there can be great differences in the calculated income of one tenant and another. What this can mean in the cost of stamps can be seen below in two cases taken from this survey.

Number in Family	Monthly Income	Stamp Price	"Bonus"	Value of Stamps
8	$210-229	$78	$38	$116
8	130-139	58	48	106

To avoid relying on the applicant's information, the welfare department usually demands of the tenant an affidavit signed by the planter, telling what the em-

[11]Eighty-three of the 93 families interviewed had received surplus commodities when the county participated in the program; only four families got all the food they needed from commodities. When the county adopted the food stamp program, nine of the 97 families interviewed were rejected; 67 families had bought the stamps, and 21 did not apply. Only 31 of 47 respondents had purchased the stamps every month, however. The stamps lasted an average of three weeks.

ployee's income is. No official will question the judgment of a planter concerning his tenants; it is the opinion of many poor people that their bosses state that their income is too high.

The income of men holding non-farm jobs is generally a little easier to calculate. If a man with a family of three, working in a factory for $165 a month, is raised $5 to $170 a month, he will have to pay four extra dollars for stamps.

Number in Family	Monthly Income	Stamp Price	"Bonus"	Value of Stamps
4	$150-169	$52	$22	$74
4	170-189	56	22	78

The value of stamps that a given family receives fluctuates as their income rises and falls. In the poor community of Louise, however, incomes are so low as to put families at a level of bare subsistence. Everyone needs everything equally badly. It might be wondered why, in setting a stamp value schedule in an assistance program for the destitute, the USDA should determine that families with the same number of mouths to feed should be given different limits on the value of stamps that they may buy.

Though a person may purchase stamps at the beginning and at the end of the month in Louise, and at any time in Belzoni, he must always buy either a whole month's supply or a half-month's supply, and he must buy the same supply every month. It is very difficult for a poor man to amass that amount of cash at one time. He does not earn his money all at once, but irregularly, by the day. Most poor people in Louise have been accustomed, partially because of the commodity program, to buying food only as they need it. If they have developed any normal pattern of expenditures, it certainly does not allow for spending a great amount of cash for anything on any given day. If no money is available until the third week of the month, a man will have to do without stamps altogether for that month or purchase an entire month's supply for the last week.

Some tenants borrow the money for stamps from their bosses and try to pay them back out of their month's wages. On some plantations, it is said, the planter himself will purchase the stamps for his tenants and sell them to his workers as he sees fit. The real problem in Louise arises as work begins to slack off in the winter. Most tenants have absolutely no income in the winter months. There is no provision in the Food Stamp Act for lowering the cost of stamps in areas where the income of most people is seasonal, though this is recommended by the USDA. Even if the prices that the tenant farmers in Louise are charged for stamps are decreased to the minimum, they will probably not be able to afford them. It is likely that most tenant farmers will rely on the planters to pay for the stamps. The food stamp program will then serve to reinforce the old plantation-planter-dominated system that the poor must be helped to escape from.

Food stamps, in the amounts presently allotted, do not last most people all month. On the average, they carry people in Louise through for about three weeks. The families for whom the stamps do last all month are those who have no choice but to make them last. Everyone must spend his stamps sparingly. Using the stamps, people may, for the first time in years, buy an occasional piece of fresh meat. But people would rather use their food stamps to purchase foods that will go a long way: rice, grits, meal, beans, flour. There is nothing to indicate that more, or even as much, meat is eaten now than when the commodities program gave it away.

¶ Everything I buy since we got stamps has gone up. I don't know nothin' that the price has stayed the same . . . .

Can you buy more with the stamps now than before with cash?

Well you can't. Cause the prices was down before you started gettin' stamps, and by you gettin' the food cheaper you could buy just as much and maybe more than with the stamps because the food's all gone up. Even the bread, the light bread, a loaf has gone up.

The most striking effect that the food stamp program has had in Louise has been to cause stores to raise their prices for food. This was a common complaint in the interviews. The cost of some items has doubled. The items that have gone up the most are those that were distributed free under the surplus commodities program.

¶ *Has the price of food gone up since stamps came to the county?*

It sure has.

Has any specific thing gone up?

Not just one thing. It looks to me like everything's gone up.

One example is that eggs one week reached a peak of 80 cents a dozen from a low there in the country, of 40 cents. The merchants themselves were benefiting from the "bonus" provided by the stamps.

¶*Did you happen to notice if the price of food went up after stamps came to the county?*

Yes sir, I sure did. It climbed a good bit up. We talks about it every day . . . . Now this evening—I made $3.10 today picking cotton—I know something in there I'd been payin' about a dollar for, the grocer he told me a dollar nineteen. A bag of smoked sausage. But I'd been payin' a dollar for it, and before the food stamps got here we didn't even pay that. I think we'd been payin' about 95 cents. But I paid for it, and on the way home I told the fellow I was drivin' with that pretty soon it'd be $3.15.

In one way or another, people using stamps pay more for food items than people using cash. There were reports of instances in Louise of merchants openly reducing cash register receipts when they learned that their customers were not paying with food stamps. It is reportedly a common practice to tax each item in a string of groceries and then tax the total, when the customers are paying with food stamps. USDA regulations made all this illegal, but they lack any means for enforcement.

The smallest food stamp denomination is 50 cents. Merchants must make change for purchases made with stamps, either with a 50 cent stamp or with an official "due bill" for the amounts under 50 cents. He cannot make change for stamps in money. Some merchants in Louise refuse to render "due bills." If they owe a customer 49 cents in change, they will instruct him to pick up two loaves of bread and a bar of candy. The customer often finds himself buying

things he does not need, or when he does not need them. No merchant will give a "due bill" for an amount under 10 cents. Pieces of candy and boxes of matches are used for change instead. In fact the price of matches has been raised to two cents for ease in making change. If a customer does receive a "due bill," he must use it later at that same store. The stores in Louise do not price their goods competitively; a merchant is not inclined to price a can of soup three cents lower than others charge, because his customers must spend their stamps in multiples of 50 cents, or are tied to him by "due bills."

Many poor people in Louise, three months after the beginning of the food stamp program, still ate for breakfast and supper the rice and meat that was left over from that distributed through the commodity program. Commodity food formed a large portion of everyone's diet, and supplemented what could be purchased with food stamps. Some people who could not afford stamps still ate nothing but surplus food. It is wrong to replace a program from which everyone benefits with a program, even a better one, from which only some benefit.

In the face of the gradually declining ability of the black community of Louise to make do, the price of food, since the initiation of the food stamp program, has risen sharply and has absorbed much of the "bonus" allotted in the purchase of food stamps. The hardest hit are those who cannot afford to buy food stamps. They are caught in the price squeeze that stamps have created; yet they are too poor to buy them and benefit from the "bonus" that they provide. Those who need food the most pay the highest price for it.

Recommended Changes in the Food Stamp Program

Federal food programs should be taken out of the hands of welfare departments.

Food stamp offices should be staffed by the poor.

No statements of an applicant's employer should be necessary for participation in a food program.

For people with no income, there must be free food stamps.

Food stamps should be sold much more cheaply, and if it is our hope actually to put an end to one of the miseries of poverty, food stamps should be distributed free to all of the poor.

Small increases in income should not produce large increases in the food stamp cost to a family.

Families of equal size should be allotted roughly the same value of stamps.

Food stamp costs should adjust to seasonal income changes.

If sold, stamps should be sold in smaller than half-month supplies. The purchaser should not have to pay for the stamps all at once. Perhaps a participant should be allowed to buy stamps as he needs them according to a set price to value ratio until he reaches the maximum set for him.

Greater values of stamps should be allotted to all participants.

Some means must be developed of stopping merchants from raising their prices to snap up the stamps and from refusing to give "due bills" in denominations down to one cent.

Stamps should be printed in smaller denominations for making change.

Stamps should be sold more often in more convenient places.

Counties should be required, or at least allowed, to administer both the commodity distribution and the food stamp programs at the same time.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

Over the next ten or fifteen years, the black community of Louise and of Humphreys County will gradually become more vocal in its opposition to the political and social order reigned over by the wealthy planters; and it can eventually be expected to have the power to control all of the local elected offices. In time, when almost all employees on plantations are skilled, they will quite likely organize themselves and be able to bargain successfully for a living wage. These will be the final results of the dissolution of the old plantation system. They will only come about after all of the hundreds of economically expendable men, women, and children in Louise have died, or moved away; only after all of the young men have gone north; only after many successive years of increasing poverty and worsening conditions. The complete transition will involve many years of the meanest possible existence for people. It will be a horrifying period of wasted humanity.

Until now, it has been possible for most of the poor black people of Louise to make some sort of living. The per capita income of the poor people there is slightly more than $200 a year. There is absolutely no flexibility to the budgets of people living at this level. If someone gets sick, it means that money that should be spent for clothes goes to pay doctor's bills. If someone gets sick and someone's shoes wear out, then money set aside for food is otherwise spent. These things of course do happen, and they require a constant reshuffling of funds that are never quite sufficient to meet the needs. Men must always struggle to find money to handle emergencies as they happen and to provide a buffer against future bills. This is necessary for survival.

It is an extraordinary demonstration of human perseverance and creativity that families do manage to survive. The poor men of Louise have explored every possible means of earning money with little initial capital. In the late summer evenings, when work on the plantations has ended for the day, there will be men in the forests chopping and sawing down trees to sell as fuel for heaters in the winter. Some women make dresses, and some make quilts. Men hire out their trucks to haul water barrels from Louise to people's homes. A tenant not called to work for a week on a plantation might spend his time fishing and peddle his catch to his neighbors. A man who can fix a car can usually find work to do. Some farmers sell a few vegetables, and sometimes milk and eggs to neighbors. Others, if they own machines, hire themselves out to harvest the crops of other small farmers. There is always a market for homemade whiskey, and many do their best to exploit it. Even in a town the size of Louise, there are dozens of little jobs that men must do—work at service stations, paint and repair white folks' homes, clean the streets, mind the stores, and many more—which usually go to white men but still have been held, at one time or another, by almost every black in the area.

One reason that everyone knows everyone else in the county is that, over the years, everyone has worked together. There is a continual flow of labor around the county, and a very reliable grapevine that spreads news, hints, and rumors of jobs from Yazoo City to Rolling Fork, from Holly Bluff to Belzoni, from Anguilla to Isola, from Inverness to Silver City, and to every working man's home in Louise. And men's reputations build, so that planters come looking for combine operators, farmers know where to find mechanics, and girls preparing for graduation know where the dressmakers are. The men in Louise call this job search, "scrapping." When things are rough, they have to scrap up something to do. It would be my guess that scrapping brings under $100

additional each year to a family, but these are the dollars that make it possible for most to stay alive.

> ¶ We don't have no medical care here, or nothin', and I'll tell you, what we scrap up, we've got to try and live. It's either that or sink. The only way we could swim is what little we scrap up. Now I didn't say make a living. I said we do that to try to live—keep from starving. That's what I mean.

Each year it gets harder. The techniques for "making it," which could never do more than supplement farm income, show themselves to be more and more inadequate for supporting a family as the direct income from the plantation decreases.

There is just no real money to be made on the plantations today, and money is necessary now for survival. The vast numbers of unskilled work a few days scattered throughout the year, and they hold down the incomes of the skilled by draining off countless little jobs and performing them for almost nothing. To make the final resolution of this situation come about sooner and less painfully it will be necessary to draw labor off the farm, make a variety of home industries more profitable, and improve the lot of the small farmer so that he can compete with the plantations.

For over a year, the U. S. Department of Labor has been running a large project in the Delta, called the Concentrated Employment Program, which coordinates all of the federally-funded and state-managed programs in the area related to basic education, vocational and technical training, and employment. The project is aimed at approximately 13,000 unemployed in the Delta, of whom it might possibly train and place in full time jobs considerably fewer than half, and its scope is such that it cannot include the tens of thousands of men and women in the Delta who are very much underemployed. The idea of bringing related programs together to eliminate duplication and to intensify the activities of each is a promising one. Several men and women in Louise are taking basic education or vocational courses through the project. The problem, and it can be clearly seen in Humphreys County, is that there are too few non-farm jobs available. To relocate men to industrial centers is a difficult process, and it is often foiled by the people's unwillingness to be moved. To bring significant outside industry into the Delta is a task that will require years.

It might be considered whether the above two approaches to the problem are the best ones. Perhaps we should take a lesson from FCM in Humphreys County. This program provided the technical assistance needed for the poor to manage and to staff pre-school centers devoted entirely to improving their own situation. The program has pulled together the entire poor community and has developed leadership within that community by capitalizing on the leadership potential of the men who are independent of the plantation. Why could not the same approach be followed in creating small industry in the area? With technical assistance, the same farmers who manage a pre-school center could manage a small factory were the capital loaned to construct it. And certainly, with technical assistance and loaned capital, the small farm owners of Humphreys County could organize and manage agricultural cooperatives which would allow more economical use of machinery or would make it possible for each farmer to divert acreage to crops other than cotton, if their combined production of the experimental crop might bring a profit. Disintegration of the rural poor communities, which sends thousands fleeing to the cities, leaves far greater numbers unable either to go or

to stand and fight. Future programs devoted to coping with the collapse of the stability of the agricultural institutions should be developed with certain considerations in mind:

Programs which most successfully address themselves to the needs of the poor include poor people in all decision-making capacities on the local level.

The situation in plantation areas has now reached a point where the entire economic system of the plantation must be replaced for thousands of people. While it can be good to train and relocate people for industrial jobs and to import industry to create new jobs, both methods are slow, costly, and reach too few people. It would be far more useful, and might even be more simple, to build up a new economy from the grassroots through the development of a variety of agricultural and business cooperatives providing jobs, income, and property (share) ownership to the poor. Plantation communities can be salvaged. It is wasteful to contribute further to their breakdown by relocating their inhabitants or by ignoring the possibility of real social development. Replacing a system whereby a man works land owned by a planter with a system whereby a man works in a factory owned by a manufacturer is a dubious gain.

Existing state agencies, such as the welfare department and the state department of education, should be urged to take part in programs but should not exercise dominant administrative authority, especially on the local level, over programs designed to benefit the poor.

The notion that rural poor communities have, at this point, a sufficient level of organization and leadership to put together proposals for projects or to learn about all of the available programs should be abandoned. Provisions must be made for people to go into poor communities, ferret out what leaders can be found, and propose to them initial projects in community development. "Recruitment and outreach" must be a vital part of all programs.

Initiative on the part of the poor in developing any sort of local business enterprise, from cooperative stores to quilt-making, should be greatly encouraged, and it should be made easy for people to obtain small sums of starting capital quickly.

Help must come from the federal level because clearly the state of Mississippi is itself too poor and too tightly controlled by affluent whites to take any serious steps toward rebuilding the communities of the poor. The keys to solving the problems of the rural poor communities are loans of capital, technical assistance, and opportunities for the poor to manage their own destinies. The alternative to solving these problems is to stand by while thousands go unemployed, underemployed, homeless and hungry in the Delta, or drift northward to swell the bloated ghettos of our once-great cities.

X. PROFILES OF THE PEOPLE:

§ The head of the family is a very old widow who at the time of the interview kept three of her grandchildren and now keeps four. They farm four of their 72 acres and rent out the rest. The little money from the cotton and her Social Security check bring in $892 to $2,192 each year, depending on the crop. Three of the children have never seen a dentist because the cost is too high.

§ The mother of eight is a tenant but works as a teacher at one of the Head Start centers. Her $77 welfare check was stopped when she began work for FCM even though she had received her salary only three times at the date of the interview. She can no longer afford food stamps because the cost was raised to $82 a month. On the day of the interview she ate pinto beans, cornbread and Kool-aid for supper. Their home burned two weeks before the interview, and the house they are now in is bare. The children sleep on the floor. The family income is $1,129 a year.

§ The husband is a tractor driver on a plantation. The wife is a teacher for FCM. One of their seven children has asthma. The children are covered with sores and have regular colds all winter. The family income is $2,008 a year.

§ The husband has been laid off on the plantation. He is unskilled and had been tending the few cows, but they are being sold, and his job is gone. They can no longer buy food stamps. The children sleep four in one bed, three in another. The family income is $1,300 a year.

§ The mother of five—three at home—farms her own 120 acres which she bought 25 years ago from her wages as a tenant farmer. The farm which is supposed to support three families, a total of 14 people, has lost money for the last four years. The families share the work and the debts. A boarder at the house who has returned after seven years in New York works and contributes some money. Their income is $950 a year.

§ The daughter of the woman above and her five children. She attends an adult education school. Her house is a shell; her walls have no sealing. She has no toilet. Her income from school, APTD, and ADC checks is $1,292 a year.

§ The husband does most of the work on a 120 acre farm to support two of the families mentioned above and his own wife and two children. All that they owned was lost in a fire five years ago, and they have been recovering ever since. His wife is director of Head Start center. The family income is between $2,400 and $2,900 a year, depending on the crop.

§ The husband drives a tractor on a plantation. They have eight children at home. They cannot buy food stamps because their welfare check was stopped and the cost of stamps simultaneously raised. Their home is in poor shape. Their income is about $1,000.

§ Both husband and wife are too sick to work. They keep two children and four grandchildren. The mother was hospitalized after a heart attack and they owe $180 for her bills. She has raised 10 children and had 16 miscarriages.

Their whole house is collapsing; they cook over an open fire. Social Security and ADC checks provide $948 a year.

§ The mother lives with her grandchild. She did not apply for food stamps because she feared the cost. APTD and ADC checks provide $768 a year.

§ The father is a skilled and very needed worker on a plantation. He earns about $50 a week year round. His wife is director of a Head Start center. Their house, like all the others on the plantation, is old and unsound. Total income for the family of eight is $3,580 a year.

§ The husband does hand labor on a small plantation for three dollars a day. He applied for food stamps but was told his income was too high. The day of the interview they ate butterbeans for supper. Income, including Social Security, is between $846 and $976 a year.

§ The family farms their own 80 acres. For supper on the night of the interview they had peas. The father has had a heart attack; the son, for reasons unknown, is often too weak to get out of bed in the morning. He owes $5,300 on farm equipment. From his furnish, ADC, and APTD checks, he makes $1,084 a year.

§ The household is made up of a husband, his wife, their child, and a boarder. They farm their own 40 acres, thus their applications for food stamps and commodities were rejected. The farm has been in debt for five years. Their total income from the furnish is $600 a year.

§ The family farms their own 80 acres. The wife is a driver for FCM. They repaired their house in 1963 and as a result were cut from the commodities program. During the months not covered by the furnish, they get by on what their children in Chicago send them. Their income this year was between $1,300 and $1,900.

§ The father services and installs butane tanks for gas heaters. His wife is a teacher for FCM. They have a relatively nice home for which they pay $25 a month rent. But the windows have no panes; their toilet is outside; and two of the children have to sleep on the floor. The income for the 10 people is $3,512 a year.

§ The father works on a plantation. The mother is a Head Start teacher. They own some land which they have rented out. They do not buy food stamps because of the cost. The income for the three people is $1,550 a year.

§ The father is a highly skilled machine operator on a large plantation. The mother has raised six children, had two miscarriages, and lost one child in infancy. She cannot afford medicine for her high blood pressure. Their porch steps have collapsed. Income for the family of eight is $2,924 a year.

§ A mother and three children are supported by a $41 a month ADC check. She is charged $22 a month for food stamps. The family almost never eats meat, fish, or eggs. For supper they usually eat beans or canned spaghetti. They have no toilet.

§ The mother supports her 10 children by working as a maid for three dollars a day. She must pay $16 a month for food stamps and $8 a month for rent. She buys medicine for her blood pressure and diabetes on credit. The income for the family is $936 a year.

§ The husband is too old to do much work on the plantation. His wife works for FCM. Their oldest son is too disabled to work. Their application for ADC was rejected because their income was too high. The mother has raised three children and had five miscarriages. Their income is $1,928 a year.

§ The father does hand labor on the plantation. His wife sews. Their granddaughter and her two children live with them. Income for the family is $700 a year.

§ A mother and her adult daughter. They do whatever work they can find. The daughter will be enrolled in a CEP program this winter. Their neighbors contribute food. Their home sits on the ground and on a slant. Their income is $334 a year.

§ The family of six is supported solely by the father's earnings from the cotton gin in the fall. Their income is $334 a year.

§ A woman alone, unemployed. She will sometimes cook a meal for a white family and earn a little money. She missed buying food stamps because she had doctor's bills. She eats mostly what her neighbors contribute. Her income might be as high as $260 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation. The six children rarely eat meat, fish, or fruit. On the day of the interview, they had mashed potatoes and cornbread. Two children sleep in one bed, four in the other. Their income from farm work is $1,632 a year.

§ The father is a skilled tenant farmer. He is paid a straight time salary of $35 a month and $9 per day worked. On the day of the interview, the family ate three meals: sausage for breakfast, dry beans for dinner, dry beans for supper. None of the 10 in the family has ever seen a dentist. Their income is $1,635 a year.

§ The father is a tractor driver and supports his wife, 12 children, and a grandchild. The mother eats clay and starch to satisfy her appetite. One child was born with diabetes; another now has intestinal worms; another is blind and retarded; one died when he was four months old. The mother has had five miscarriages. Including an APTD check, the income for the 15 is $2,992 a year.

§ The father is a skilled tenant farmer. His seven-year-old son cannot enter school because he has no birth certificate. The family does not get food stamps because of their expense. There are two rooms—a bedroom and kitchen—for the eight in the family. Their income is $1,920 a year.

§ The father works straight time on a plantation for $35 a week. He works about 80 hours a week, six months a year, 20 hours a week thereafter. He was hurt on the job and could not buy food stamps one month. His eight children can never buy

lunches at school in the winter; they all have colds all winter. Their house offers barely any shelter against the elements. Their income is $1,820 a year.

§ The household is made up of a 23-year-old woman and her two children. The mother is unemployed. She pays six dollars a month for stamps; after they run out, the family lives on beans. They cannot afford wood to burn in their heater. They get a $25 a month ADC check.

§ The father is an unskilled tenant farmer. The mother is a cook at the Head Start center. They have raised 17 children. The father has not seen a doctor since 1942. Total income for the family of eight is $900 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor. The family cannot afford food stamps. For supper on the day of the interview, the 13 in the family ate beans. The walls of the two bedrooms are not sealed. Rain comes in the roof. The family income is $1,081 a year.

§ The father farms his own 40 acres of land with a furnish from a planter. After the six months covered by the furnish, the family borrows from the planter to stay alive. Total income for the family of four is $480 a year.

§ The father farms his own 80 acres and actually clears money on his land. Because of this, he was rejected for food stamps. He has eight children at home by his second wife, and helps to support four more by his first wife. Only one of the eight has ever seen a dentist. The family income is $2,550 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor; he does not earn enough ($910 a year) to buy food stamps so he prefers the commodities program. Three of his children have had intestinal worms; all have colds in the winter and skin infections in the summer. They eat their meals on the floor. Their toilet is inside because theirs is the old cook's house.

§ The father is a skilled tenant farmer. He did not apply for food stamps because he feared the cost would be too high. On the day of the interview, the family ate only green peas and rice. Three children sleep in a bed; four sleep on a cot. Total income for the family of 11 is $1,960 a year.

§ The household is made up of an unemployed 23-year-old woman and her four children. They cannot afford food stamps. They never eat meat, fish, or eggs. They drink about three or four pints of milk a month. None of the five has ever seen a dentist. They own no blankets, no stove, no furniture except a bed and a chair. Their house has no electricity. The ADC check provides $54 a month.

§ Both husband and wife are elderly and unemployed. They left the plantation last year because their home was collapsing and they could not get wood to burn. They get $74 a month from Social Security.

§ The husband is a saw operator at a lumber mill. He was not allowed to get commodities or food stamps. He has just installed a toilet inside his home and he is laying pipes for inside running water. Income for the family of eight is $3,380 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor. The mother works for FCM. Most of their five children have colds all winter and running sores on their bodies in the summer. The family income is $1,780 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor. He can buy food stamps, but they last him only two weeks. The family gets its water one-half mile away at the county barn hydrant. Total income for the family of four is $1,800 a year.

The father suffered a stroke and cannot work. The mother is a maid. Their house is made of cinder blocks, but still they are bothered by rats and snakes coming in. Total income, including ADC and APTD checks, is $2,900 for the family of 10.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation and supports a wife and two grandchildren. Rats have eaten holes in the sealing on the walls; the roof leaks. The family income, counting Social Security, is $1,764 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation. His eight children do not eat lunch at school in the winter; they taste fruit "every Christmas mostly." Rats have eaten away the paper sealing on his walls. The income for the 10 people is $900 a year.

§ The father is old and too disabled to work; the mother is a part-time maid. Their 23-year-old daughter and her three children live with them. The daughter has had two miscarriages and lost one child in infancy. The family income, including welfare, is $1,753.

§ The farther drives a tractor and supports his wife and four children and four of his sister's children (their mother died; they were transferred to another sister who developed TB, and were sent to live with him). None of the children ever gets milk to drink, and the five in school never eat lunch. The two-year-old has asthma. The family owns no blankets, few clothes, and almost no shoes. Four children sleep on one bed, two on another, two on the floor. The family has no toilet. Total income for the 10 people is $1,514 a year.

§ The father is a skilled tenant farmer. His home is very nice. The eldest of his nine children works also, but does not contribute his earnings to the family; the family was rejected for food stamps because he lives there. The mother has had one miscarriage, and three children died in infancy. The family income, including ADC, is $2,584 a year.

§ An old couple who farm 40 rented acres. Their total income is $440 a year from the furnish and the crop.

§ The family farms their own 100 acres. The price that they pay for food stamps was raised $22 per month when the father began attending an adult education school that pays him $30 a week expenses. They buy almost all of their food on credit. They own almost no clothing and all of the children do not have shoes. They are badly in debt. Income is $1,140 a year for the six people.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation. The family could afford food

stamps only once. Total income for the five people is $1,170 a year.

§ The household is made up of a mother and her 13 children, her father and her three brothers. All of the adults do occasional hand labor on the plantation. The two younger brothers and the 13 children have never seen a doctor. All 18 sleep in three rooms. The family income is $2,400 a year.

§ The father farms 37 acres of which he rents 17. His oldest child has been crippled for four years for unknown reasons. Total income for the family of seven, counting all checks, is $1,342 a year.

§ The husband owns, and sometimes works at, an auto repair shop. He was denied commodities because he owned a car, and he did not apply for food stamps. With him live his wife and an adopted child. He is very old and sick, and buying pain killers takes most of his $360 a year income.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation. The floors of his home are full of holes, and he is bothered by rats. His mother-in-law, living with the family, spends $10 to $12 a month for pills for her high blood pressure. Total income, including all checks, for the family of 10, is $1,612.

§ The husband was driving a tractor on a small plantation for four dollars a day, but he found a better-paying job at a cotton gin, and his family is now being evicted from their home. None of his six children, except for an 11-year-old girl who has rheumatism, has even seen a doctor or a dentist. Income of the family of eight is $1,860 a year.

§ The family farms a rented 27 acres. The mother also works at an adult school. Her nine children have colds all winter and sores on their bodies all summer. The 13-year-old has rheumatic fever. Their floors have holes in them; the sealing on the walls is rotting. Income for the 10 is $2,456 a year.

§ The mother works on her father-in-law's farm. She has nine children. With her lives a 63-year-old aunt who keeps the family from getting food stamps because she cannot produce her doctor bills. The children eat on the floor out of pans. Wind blows through the walls; windowpanes are missing. Their income is $2,412 a year.

§ The mother is unemployed and was hospitalized recently with heart trouble. The family almost never has meat, fruit, fish, eggs, or milk. The six children in school never eat lunch. From inside their house you can see the ground below and the sky above. Total income, including ADC, for the seven people, is $732 a year.

§ The family, an elderly couple and usually about three grandchildren, farms their own 180 acres. The mother has raised nine children, and has had five miscarriages. Their income is $600.

§ The father drives machines on a plantation. His wife sharecrops 13 acres. Two of their five children had hernia operations in their second year. They have an inside toilet because their house was built for a white man. The family income is $1,540 a year.

§ Husband and wife are both too old to do much work. They could not get commodities because a planter "blackballed" them. There are large cracks in the walls of their home; there are no panes in the windows. They receive $720 a year from Social Security.

§ The father does hand labor on a plantation. None of his 11 children has ever seen a dentist. They eat from jar tops on the floor. The 12 people are supported by $700 a year from Social Security.

§ The father is too old to work. All 11 children are bothered by sores and continuous colds. The 17-year-old girl has asthma. The mother likes to eat clay. Welfare and Social Security checks total $1,540 a year.

§ The mother is unemployed. Two of her nine children work in the summer when school is out; the family will not be able to get food stamps for the next few months because they need to buy shoes. One son has epilepsy. One has asthma. Their present house is in very poor condition. Their old one, a better house, burned down in the spring. The family income, including ADC and APTD, is $2,380 a year.

§ The household is made up of a husband and wife, their three children, and the mother, two brothers and a sister of the wife, and the three children of one of them. The husband does mechanical work in the shop of a plantation. They get their water from a well a quarter mile away. Income for the 12 people is $2,320.

§ The mother is unemployed. She has been hospitalized recently for a bladder operation and she is now recovering. Her seven children get colds in the winter and sores in the summer, and some are sleepy and listless all day. They can no longer buy lunches at school. The family has no toilet; their porch is collapsing. They get $67 a month ADC.

§ The household is made up of two brothers and their wives, 10 children, and the mother of one of the wives. One brother works on the plantation; the other attends an adult school. Between them, the two wives have had five miscarriages and lost one child in infancy. The children eat on the floor. Two sleep on the floor. Income for the 15 is $3,472 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation. His 12 children eat their meals on the floor and sleep up to four in each bed. Income for the 14 people is $2,160 a year.

§ The mother of five attends an adult school. One of her five children has asthma. None of them has even been to see a dentist. None of the walls in the kitchen are sealed. All seven in the family are supported by $1,702 a year.

§ A 73-year-old man alone. He does odd jobs on a friend's farm. The farmer built him a little house to live in. It is sound but has no electricity. He has never been to see a doctor. He receives $50 a month welfare.

§ The household is made up of a mother, her mother, and eight children. The mother does a little hand labor on the plantation. Six of the children have never seen a doctor; seven have never been to see a dentist. Three children sleep with

their mother and two with their grandmother. Income is $1,108 a year.

§ The father, 60 years old, does hand labor on a plantation. He has not been able to afford food stamps since the first month. On the day of the interview, the family ate mashed potatoes for breakfast and butterbeans for supper. The oldest of the five children is blind. The father has a bad heart and diabetes but cannot afford to buy medicine. Income for the seven people is $700 a year.

§ The father is a non-tenant machine operator. He was kicked off a plantation because his wife was a block organizer for a store boycott in another town. He was not allowed to receive commodities and he cannot afford food stamps. He refuses to pay rent for his house until his landlord repairs the porch and the windows. He supports his wife and child on $1,200 a year.

§ The father attends a vocational school; his wife works. Because of the money from school, the family made roughly $6,000 in 1968. He was rejected for commodities and he does not get food stamps because he got tired of responding to the welfare department's inquiries about his income. He is trying to send one of his sons through college.

§ The father is too old to work. He needed doctor's treatment one month and has not been able to afford food stamps since. There are three in the family supported by Social Security and welfare checks totalling $1,104.

§ The father farms four of his father's 30 acres; he is furnished by a planter. The family's food stamp allotment lasts them two weeks after which they begin skipping meals. The five children in school are able to buy lunch about once a week. None of the six children have ever seen a dentist. Total income, including a veterans check, for the family of eight, is $432.

§ The father is a skilled tenant farmer. On the day of the interview, the family ate dry cereal for breakfast and pinto beans for supper. The two children in school can buy lunches most days; their mother will keep them home if she cannot give them the money. She has raised six children, had three miscarriages, and lost two children in infancy. The family income is $1,680 a year.

§ The father works very infrequently on a plantation. He has not purchased food stamps since the first month. The three-year-old child has had worms three times in the last year which parents have gotten rid of by spreading turpentine on her stomach. The family has no toilet. Their income is $900 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor on a plantation. His seven children in school almost never eat a lunch. He usually cannot buy food stamps. His two children eligible for Head Start were not enrolled because they did not have enough clothes at the time. Total income for the family of 12 is $1,260 a year.

§ The household is made up of a father, his working son, his daughter and her five children, and a younger son. The father cannot do mechanical work; his son supports them. None of the six children has ever seen a dentist. "Wind comes through the whole house." Income for the nine people is $1,690 a year.

§ The mother is a maid. Her two eldest sons found two week's work this summer.

One son sends a little money from Chicago. Including a Social Security check, income is $1,380 a year.

§ The father is a skilled plantation worker. His 16-year-old daughter has asthma. The mother has raised six children, had two miscarriages, and lost one child to disease at eight years of age. Income for the four is $832 a year.

§ The mother of three is too old to farm her 120 acres of land and has rented it out. Because the family owned the land, they could not get commodities, and though the husband died last year, they could not get stamps. They eat meat once a week; they never eat fish, fruit, or eggs. The family has no toilet. The four people live on $2,240 a year.

§ A mother and her adult daughter. The daughter is a driver for one Head Start center. They could not get commodities because their income from sharecropping was too high; they cannot get stamps because the FCM salary is too high. The two women have raised a total of six children and had a total of 11 miscarriages. Including Social Security, their income is $2,642 a year.

§ The family sharecrops 6 acres. Including all checks, they make an average of $108 a month out of which they must pay $50 for food stamps. There are five children in the household.

§ The husband and wife are too old to work. The mother has never birthed any live children, but they have raised several "sets" of other people's. They are now raising two. The husband is quite ill; the wife suspects he has cancer. From Social Security and welfare, they get $1,795 a year.

§ The father drives a tractor. The mother has a bad heart and diabetes. One of their four children has rheumatism. There are no screens for the windows. Total income for the six people is $1,930 a year.

§ The mother of three is unemployed. Food stamps do not last the family but two or three weeks and after that they do not eat much but bread and syrup. They are supported by an ADC check—$43 a month.

§ The father is a machine operator on a plantation. The house is in extremely poor condition. The cracks in the walls are very large. Including all checks, the income of the four people is $2,810 a year.

§ Husband and wife farm 17 acres of rented land. Because they had land, they were rejected for commodities and OAA. Usually neither can afford the medicine needed for heart condition. Social Security provides them with $84 a month.

§ The father works on a plantation and sharecrops 15 acres. The 11 children catch colds all winter. The walls of their house are not sealed. Total income for the family is $775 a year.

§ The household is made up of eight children, their mother, and their grandmother, neither of whom are employed. The mother has recently been in the hospital for heart and kidney ailments, and that expense means that the family will

be unable to buy food stamps for some time. One child has asthma. None of the eight children has ever seen a dentist. They eat their meals on the floor. Social Security and ADC provide the 10 people with $92 a month.

§ An old couple and their six grandchildren. They cannot afford food stamps. Five of the children have never seen a doctor or a dentist. The wife has high blood pressure but cannot afford medicine. Social Security provides them with $1,668 a year.

§ The 64-year-old father works on a plantation. One of his sons quit school because he did not have decent clothing. Their daughter cannot hear well. The wife has high blood pressure. One of her children died after six years of heart trouble. Total income for the three at home is $1,700 a year.

§ The household is made up of a mother, eight children, and one grandchild. The mother was badly injured doing heavy work on the plantation, and rather than stand for her needed operation, the planter evicted her. Because of her medical bills, she cannot afford food stamps. Two children have quit school to earn money. All must eat from pans on the floor. Neighbors contribute money and food. Their total income, including ADC, is about $1,708 for the 10 people.

XI. THE WILL TO SURVIVE

The poor people of Louise have virtually nothing; yet their wants, as they articulate them, are quite simple and are things taken for granted by most Americans. They want to work. They want to be able to log enough hours in a week to make a good income. They want to be able to give their children enough food so that they will survive their childhood and grow up to be strong. They want for them something better than a daily fare of bread and molasses. They want a way to keep their children from having intestinal worms, sores on their bodies, colds all winter. They want homes that can be kept warm and dry in the winter and do not have rats in them. They want to be treated with the respect that they have earned by working, all of their lives, as hard and as often as they could. And most of them do not want to leave Mississippi or Louise—their state and their community.

> ¶I have a hard way to go along so far as my living affairs. If I could get me a job that was worthwhile to where I could live, where I could school my children, then I could overlook some other few things that's happened. I would love to be able to get my kids clothes, keep 'em in school to where they could get a fair learning. And I would love to live inside my house, too, well, decent. Other outside affairs, the worldly part —it don't bother me so bad. We have a heap of unfair things to go through with. Right now, I wouldn't make any complaints against them. I would like to make my complaints long toward

1

my house and what I would call my wages affairs, what I work for, my earnings, and so I could see to my own family. That's where I stand right now . . . ."

Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

$1.50

CIVIL RIGHTS IN RECENT SOUTHERN FICTION

By
James McBride Dabbs

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. Atlanta, Ga.

Copyright 1969 by James McBride Dabbs

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author has been helped by conversations with Walker Percy, William Styron, Wilma Dykeman, Willie Morris, C. Vann Woodward, Cleanth Brooks, and Robert Penn Warren, and by letters from Brooks, Robert Coles, and Eudora Welty. For these he is grateful. He is also grateful to the following publishers for permission to quote from the works cited:

Alfred E. Knopf, Inc., *The Moviegoer,* copyright 1960-1961 by Walker Percy.

Farrar Straus & Giroux, *The Last Gentleman,* copyright 1966 by Walker Percy.

Brandt and Brandt, *The Winds of Fear,* copyright 1944 by Hodding Carter. Published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Harcourt Brace and World, *Delta Wedding,* copyright 1946 by Eudora Welty.

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, *The Far Family* by Wilma Dykeman, copyright 1966 by Wilma Dykeman Stokely.

Houghton Mifflin, *Black Cloud, White Cloud,* copyright 1963 by Ellen Douglas.

McGraw-Hill, Inc. *The Voice at the Back Door,* copyright 1956 by Elizabeth Spencer.

World Publishing Co., *The One-Eyed Man,* copyright 1966 by Larry King.

Random House, *The Invisible Man,* copyright 1952 by Ralph Ellison.

Random House, *The Cherry Pit,* copyright 1965 by Donald Harrington.

Seabury Press, *I Play Flute and Other Poems,* copyright 1968 by Jane Stembridge.

University of Tennessee Press, *News From the South,* copyright 1966 by Stephen Mooney.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION i

THE 1940's 1
- Lillian Smith 1
- Hodding Carter, Jr. 7
- Richard Wright 10
- Ralph Ellison 15
- Eudora Welty 21

THE 1950's 29
- Elizabeth Spencer 29
- Thomas Hal Phillips 36
- Jefferson Young 38
- Lucy Daniels 41
- Peter Taylor 44
- Harper Lee 48
- Carson McCullers 51
- Flannery O'Connor 59

THE 1960's 65
- Walker Percy 65
- Ellen Douglas 74
- Wilma Dykeman 79
- Shirley Ann Grau 85
- K. B. Gilden 89
- Donald Harington 94
- Larry King 99
- William Bradford Huie 104
- Jesse Hill Ford 109
- Ben Haas 117
- Ann Fairbairn 124
- Robert O'Neil Bristow 128
- Some Other Writers 131

CONCLUSIONS 142
FOOTNOTES 145
BIBLIOGRAPHY 149

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the relationship between recent Southern fiction writers—with a glance at the poets—and the civil rights movement. Its main period is the last twenty years, though I shall discuss some books written before that. I have omitted non-fiction; the writings are too numerous to be considered in a brief study like this. For the civil rights movement is only the race question brought into clear consciousness, and the race question has been the basic question in the South since the region began to recognize itself. With this question admitted to consciousness, discussion in articles and books has been prolific.

Fiction is another matter. For fiction is a work of the imagination, a prose poetry, and Wordsworth's definition of poetry is applicable to it: "Poetry is emotion recollected in tranquility." It is easy to discuss contemporary events, though difficult to keep the discussion objective. It is not easy to be so removed from them as to see them in their eternal outlines, pictures of things as they

abidingly are; yet this is what the poet—and the fiction writer—tries to do. Not many such writers are therefore tempted to use the hot material of today; they tend to let time cool things down to the point where they can be handled dispassionately. We need not expect, therefore, to find a great number of writers using the materials of the recent civil rights movement.

It is hard to say just when civil rights for the Negro became a movement. All depends upon how you define movement. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 against segregation was a climax. In 1948 President Harry Truman's executive order had made segregation unlawful in the armed forces, and the earlier report of his Commission on Civil Rights, in 1947, was a landmark. I think it was this report that brought to the attention of the nation the problem of segregation and the need to resolve that problem. But even before this there had been the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), and even during the thirties there had been several Supreme Court decisions enlarging the rights of the Negro to equality of education.

From time to time during this period, there appeared works of fiction which showed the Negro in a new and more sympathetic light: no longer now simply the laughing buffoon, or, paternalistically, the loyal retainer, but a human being caught in the tragic web of life. One thinks immediately of William Faulkner, the greatest name here. We shall say more about him later. These writers heralded a new day in race relations in the South, a day still only dawning, when race relations will

have disappeared and been replaced by human relations. To what degree they brought on, or even hastened, this dawn, it is hard to say. Faulkner was primarily a creative writer. Lillian Smith, who, in 1944, wrote *Strange Fruit,* was also an educator and a crusader. There can be no doubt that through her writings and her life she led many Americans to rethink the racial problem and to adopt new attitudes toward it. She thus hastened the dawn.

But people like Faulkner and Lillian Smith were also products of the same large movement they helped to carry on. They appeared at a particular time in the history of the South and of the world: after World War One, a time of endings and beginnings. The halcyon pre-1914 days were gone and the world was adrift in stormy waters. In the South, the old static society was gone too and no one could foresee the future. Writers like Faulkner, Lillian Smith and several others, were close enough to the older South to remember how it felt to live then, yet far enough away, sufficiently detached, to be able to consider the Southern scene dispassionately. It tended to become poetry to them; it was emotion recollected in tranquility. At the same time, because it was so rapidly fading, they had a compunction to capture it now while they could still remember it.

Since the Negro is a part of the South, perhaps the critical part, any attempt to see the South with new eyes would include the Negro. It was this tendency to see the Negro with new eyes, which included the Negro's tendency to see himself with new eyes, that helped to bring on that movement

later to be called the civil rights movement. We shall therefore have to consider those Southern writers who, whether writing before or during the days of the civil rights movement itself, prepared for or aided that movement by their fictional treatment of the Negro.

Because we are concerned here with understanding the South, its problems and its resources, we shall limit this entire discussion to Southern writers. By Southern, I mean either born in the South and living here through influential years or living here long enough to understand Southern attitudes. Such a limitation automatically excludes a man like James Baldwin.

Now, it would be possible to take such writers as these, writers who have helped to create the new image of the Negro as a human being, or who have, more specifically, shown the Negro—and to a lesser degree, the white—as involved in the civil rights movement, and merely consider the nature of this creation or the degree of this involvement. But this would be a relatively shallow thing to do, and would be misleading; for it would lift the race problem out of the total tissue of Southern life and by so doing would give to it an importance that it does not deserve. For, though the race issue is entangled with all life in the South, though it is indeed that issue without which the South would probably not have become the South, it is not the whole of Southern life. It is only a part, though a critical part, of a much larger and more complex structure. The totality of this structure is the South itself.

I shall make no attempt to present here the

whole structure. It is not necessary and it would take too much time. But I shall discuss two general and basic attitudes, and then discuss the race issue against this background. Though white and black in the South are both Southern, they are not equally Southern; in some ways the black is more Southern, in others the white. I shall try to point out this difference where necessary.

There are two basic attitudes or themes; around these may be centered most of the others: the tragic theme and the theme of loneliness. These are, as one would guess, related: the tragic man stands alone, and he who, inviting loneliness, attempts to stand alone is inviting tragedy. But the tragic theme shades into the Christian theme which is one of universal interdependency, the temporal mark of which is suffering—the Cross. Furthermore, each of these basic themes has its counter-theme. The counter-theme of the tragic is the humorous, and that of loneliness is sociability. The tragic theme is more inclusive and objective. It includes almost equally whites and Negroes, and appears in certain definite historical events. The theme of loneliness is more subjective and is more apparent among whites than among Negroes. Let us take the more general and objective theme first.

The historian C. Vann Woodward says that the South is the one American region that has suffered a great defeat, has undergone a long period of poverty, and has experienced a general sense of guilt. The first two characteristics are objective; the third, partly the result of the first two and partly the result of the racial situation which underlay the first two, is subjective. I do not know

to what degree Woodward included Negroes in his judgment. In the largest sense they can be included. Though Negroes seemed to have been on the winning side in the Civil War, the end of Reconstruction proved them largely losers. Furthermore, they had suffered a great and abiding defeat through being enslaved, and this defeat, though modified, was extended through segregation. As for poverty, they have been the most poverty-stricken class in the South during the last century. And as for guilt, though it is stronger and more general in the white, who built and maintained the guilt-ridden situation, it also exists in the black, the primary sufferer; and this for the reason that the situation closed to him the world of freedom, wherein humanity is developed, and so produced in him the sense of guilt because he could not be what he was meant to be. (This may not be fair, but it's life.)

The Southerner, in addition to secreting the kernel of guilt, made other, and often contradictory, responses to his harsh history. He concluded, naturally, that we live in an imperfect world, an evil world, a world of sin. At times he accepted this world in the challenging spirit of the Christian, who sees life as a discipline and God's hand within it all. At times he merely took it, often in the passive mood of self-pity—"Our fathers lost the War so what can we do?" the white would say—more rarely in the sterner mood of stoicism, proud to bear whatever burdens life might lay upon him, recognizing across the gulfs of class and even race those other brave men who endured. Walker Percy points out how prevalent this stoic

mood has been in the South, and says that the Southern soldier as late as Belleau Wood might carry in his pocket a copy of *The Meditations Of Marcus Aurelius*. This attitude, Percy continues, also existed among some Negroes. There was, for instance, Lucas Beauchamp in Faulkner's *Intruder In The Dust*. The extreme of the acceptive attitude was despair. Men drank, gambled, fought their lives away. Whites and blacks have done this. Many of the grotesques of the South belong to this group.

As a counterweight to this Christian-tragic-stoic-nihilistic complex, there is the general sense of humor, equally apparent among whites and blacks. A part of this humor is the expression of an easy-going, non-bookish, outdoor people, who observe life and like to comment upon it—tellers of tall tales; a more important part is the indirect expression of the almost unbearable difficulty of life, an attempt to divert attention from the insoluble problem, to release without violence the ever-present tension of the racial conflict. The laughter of the Negro often hides a broken heart, the laughter of the white a disturbed conscience.

There is another aspect of the tragic sense of life in the South: the burden of time, especially of past time. In the South the past continues; it is now. This is partly because of the relatively static life we have experienced during much of our history; it is, more importantly, because of the unresolved problems of our past. "Our fathers have eaten sour grapes and our teeth are set on edge." The past is a powerful source of strength to those who have accepted and conquered it; to those who

have not it is a heavy burden. And this past in the South is localized in places where men have lived for a long time and to which they are bound. First, physical places. Beyond this, social places. I believe it was Poe who said, "Certain dank gardens cry aloud for murder." The old places, the old codes, the old feuds. And the old families. Much of the stability and joy of the South, and much of its suffering, has come from the strength and the extent of its family structures. It is true, the weight of past time lightens as the Southerner moves into the modern world; but he is still confused by the lights and shadows of the past.

We come to the theme of loneliness. This is a more subtle theme, more difficult to explain, and less clearly evident in Southern life. "I think Southerners are the loneliest people in the world," a young Virginian remarked to me once. It was probably significant that she was white; and, though she didn't say so, she was probably thinking mainly about white Southerners. It is probable that this sense of loneliness is not so strong among Negroes; in a few moments we shall see why. The loneliness of the white may be in part the expression of his strong Southern feeling that the South is alone in the nation, cut off from the nation. Faulkner once remarked that Mississippians felt this strongly. In spite of all their protestations, they really wanted to be a part of the nation, and felt cut off from it. Civil War historian Bell I. Wiley notes that as the war grew progressively more hopeless, Southerners increasingly came to feel that they were cut off from the world and condemned by the world. They entered the

war feeling that the world would support them, because, as James Hammond of South Carolina said, "Cotton is king." But cotton turned out not to be king, the world did not respond, and the South felt increasingly alone.

It is possible, then, that my young Virginian was expressing this general Southern sense of aloneness in the political world. But there is more to it than this. Southerners are noted for the opposite of loneliness, sociability. They have always been noted for it. Visitors commented upon this long before the Civil War: the extreme Southern interest in social gatherings, parties, amateur theatricals, picnics, long visits, diversions of all kinds. One visitor ascribed this to the boredom of life on the great plantations. Maybe so. But this life may have been boring—if it was—not mainly because of its simple routine, its lack of diversions, but because of its lack of sufficient meaning. Maybe even while working, Southerners were playing too much at life: even at their best, romantic about themselves and human nature; playing roles that were insufficiently human. Not that they played roles, but that too often they played roles unworthy of men. Adolescent roles. They were therefore bored, and they tried to hide this boredom by a great show of social life.

Harriet Martineau, it is true a Victorian abolitionist and no great friend of the South, noted this highly social, vivacious quality of Southern life. She sensed underneath it, however, not boredom but a heavy-hearted unhappiness. As if the vivaciousness were a front to hide the unhappiness.

This may be what it is. Perhaps we should ex-

pect to find, far beneath the surface of such an agreeable, pleasant social life a sense of loneliness. Perhaps these are the two poles of the same thing. We are very social because we are very lonely; and we are very lonely because we are too determinedly social.

This tension—in my opinion too great—between our private and our public lives appears in many ways. It appears generally in the contrast between our highly social culture and our highly private religion. Allen Tate remarked years ago that the South needed an inclusive catholic religion to match its culture. It appears in the contrast between our vaunted individualism and our actual social interdependence. It appears in our words and our silences. We are a rhetorical people—our whole political history proves it; but we are also a people prone to ineffable silence. A Northern sociologist once remarked, "you have to live in the South a good while before you understand the silences." For one thing, they are often a sign not of assent but of dissent. When the Southerner falls silent, it may be that he is becoming puzzled, distrustful, fearful, and on the verge of anger. We make a great show of our personal relationships, but these are largely the froth of sociability; as to our intimate personal life, we are often like the old aristocrat, Major Buchan, of Allen Tate's *The Fathers,* who, when interrogated by a young acquaintance, "Sir, may I ask you a personal question?" thunders, "Sir, you may not!" The trouble here is not that the personal life of the Southerner is too deep to be expressed, it is rather too shallow for him to trust it. The Major would

have said that his personal life lay between himself and his conscience, or himself and God; but what he sensed was that it lay on the edge of the abyss, and one had better avoid the abyss.

Considered in this aspect, Southern culture is a piazza culture. (*Piazza, porch, gallery, dog-run*—call it what you will.) We built piazzas because the weather suggested it. But as we sat on them, and as the "fortunate" ones among us observed the "hands" working in the fields, we became piazza people. Ideally, the piazza is a half-way point between the entirely private world protected by the walls of the home, and the entirely public world stretching away on all sides. Ideally, piazza people should possess the strength gained from years of deep companionship within the home and the ease and savoir-faire of men of the world. Ideally, they should have a religion to support their culture, and a culture to soften and humanize their religion. But the South, having built its material world upon a basic and evermore flagrant injustice, could not find real support for this world within the deep privacies of its being. It therefore avoided these deep privacies and heightened the laughter on the piazza in order to hide the vacancy within. In such a world, so purposefully social, asking a personal question became a threat rather than an invitation to human sharing, and "Sir, you may not!" thunders the Major. Here lies the deep root of that anomalous Southern situation: a friendly, personal people filled with deep and strange reserve.

I suggested earlier that the sense of loneliness, of privacy, indeed of privation, is not so deep among Negroes as among whites. The reason

would seem to be two-fold. First, the Negro did not create and maintain, but only suffered, the divided and unjust world of racial discrimination. His inner life, therefore, was less weakened than was the white's by the presence of this doomed outer world. Indeed, he could carry with him, into the privacy of his thoughts, some reassurance from the outer world. Second, he learned from the culture less of the extreme individualism of Puritanism than did the white. He was more truly a social being; his social life, even while more volatile and emotional, had deeper roots. His religious life, too, was more social; he translated easily the images of shared joy and sorrow from the social world to the religious. Together they would cross the River and together move over into Campground. He was not trying through his volatile social and religious life to hide an inner emptiness; he admitted his private weakness and dependency and his willingness to strengthen this by social images.

These basic themes of tragedy and loneliness, and any other themes, are tied up with the relation of blacks and whites. This is the core problem of Southern life. And the basic question in regard to it is how whites and blacks have existed side by side, with how much cooperation, how much conflict. To put it in other words, to what degree has the race situation in the South been integrative, to what degree disintegrative? The forces of racial conflict are relatively clear, the forces of cooperation vague and hidden; yet both are here, and any complete picture of the South will show something of both.

What we have been doing for several pages now is setting up standards, rather general and vague, against which to measure, in a sense, the Southernness of the writers we shall consider. It isn't absolutely necessary to do this. We could simply show how certain writers, called Southern because of living or having lived some time in the South, have used the civil rights issue in their fiction. But we gain a truer picture if we also try to show the Southern nature of the writers we study. Now, a writer can be Southern and simply be shallow; he can be a local colorist. On the other hand, a Southern writer can be so deeply human that the basic themes of the South are almost unrecognizable in his stories. Yet they will be there. "It is not possible," said W. B. Yeats, "to pick up the world except by the handle of the community." William Faulkner picked up the world about as completely as any Southern writer; yet no one has questioned that Yoknapatawpha County is South. We shall be asking, then, both how Southern and how human is the world of those several writers who have been concerned with the civil rights movement.

Having mentioned Faulkner, let us comment briefly upon him here in the introduction. Strictly speaking, he shows no literary connections with the civil rights movement. For the most part, he could not. He came too soon. I shall not, therefore, consider his work in detail. But not at least to mention Faulkner in any consideration of the Negro's place in recent Southern literature is like playing *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out. It is also, according to Robert Penn Warren, to overlook the core position the Negro has in Faulkner's

work: "The Negro is the central figure in Faulkner's work."[1] He is central also to the South for, as Warren says, it was the institution of chattel slavery that defeated the South's attempt to create a true community. Warren also quotes Ralph Ellison to the effect that "Faulkner began with a stereotype of the Negro and ended by creating human beings." "But this," says Warren, "is true of everything else in Faulkner—as in any artist." And this is the mark of Faulkner's greatness. He began with the South, its people and its places, and ended with a picture of man's universal condition. The chief Negro characters he uses to do this are Dilsey, in *The Sound And The Fury;* Lucas Beauchamp, in the story "The Fire and the Hearth," and the novel *Intruder In The Dust;* Sam Fathers, in "The Bear"; and Joe Christmas, in *Light In August*. The last three are of mixed blood, Joe Christmas so mixed that he doesn't really know whether he is white or Negro, though in the story he acts mainly the role of Negro.

But, though Faulkner passes beyond the individual to the deep human core of that individual, his characters, white and Negro, are patently Southern; and the general theme which unifies his work, the theme of human tragedy and the burden of time, is revealed in its Southern dress and circumstance. It is the pervading presence of this powerful Southern theme, together with realistic Southern details, that makes Faulkner preëminently the Southern writer.

With these introductory remarks, we come to the main group of writers. We have placed most of them by decades: the 1940's, the 1950's and

the 1960's. This does not mean that there is any clear line of development in their interpretation of race relations. Some radical interpretations came early, some conservative interpretations late. Of course, any complete use of the civil rights movement could not come till fairly late. We could have placed these writers strictly according to the time of the appearance of their significant works. This, however, would have given an undue importance to the particular year, and also, taken strictly, would have necessitated several discussions of a single author whenever that author had written more than one book important to us. Within the decades, we have placed the writers again not strictly according to time but with regard to clarity and interest.

THE 1940's

Lillian Smith

One of the first Southern writers of our period —though not *the* first—to use race relations in a work of fiction was Lillian Smith, whose *Strange Fruit* was published in 1944. This was before the civil rights movement really began, and, indeed, the action of the book occurs about 1920. Therefore, we find no hint of civil rights in it. But we do find portrayed rank injustice toward Negroes, ending in a lynching, and we find a bitter and active resistance to this on the part of at least one Negro. At this early date, Miss Smith tackled miscegenation and reaped notoriety as a reward.

Though both sides of the South are shown, the integrative and the disintegrative, the emphasis is upon the disintegrative. We are more keenly aware of the bitter racial division than of any common ground. There is, of course, and most strikingly, the common ground of sexual desire and indeed love. There is no doubt that Nonnie

Anderson, the light-skinned Negro girl, loves Tracy Deen: she is happy in her pregnancy and looks forward to bearing his child, though she knows he will never be able to accept her publicly. Nor is there doubt that Tracy loves her. He simply isn't strong enough, either to rid himself of the common opinion that love between white and black is only lust, or to withstand the pressure of religion exerted against him by his mother and his pastor. So, having got religion because of his domineering mother, he breaks off his relationship with Nonnie. But Nonnie has a brother, Ed, home briefly from Philadelphia in the hope of taking Nonnie back North with him, and bitter against the South and the whites. He murders Tracy for what Tracy has done, flees the South, and leaves the innocent but stupid Henry, himself devoted to Tracy and by no imagination his murderer, to be suspected and lynched.

The love affair and the lynching mark the extremes of integration and disintegration. Miss Smith has shown how a most powerful integrative force becomes, indirectly, a powerful separative force. Indirectly, because the lynching of Henry has nothing to do with the relationship between Tracy and Nonnie. So far as the white men of the town were generally concerned this was natural and could continue. The lynching of Henry followed the murder of a white man. As for the respectable white women and their ignorance of Tracy and Nonnie: "Darkness fell on the hearts of the women of Maxwell. Dread of knowledge seeped about their ignorance of their men's lives like cold swamp water, staining complacency,

chilling sheltered spirits. . . . They did not know. . . . They did not want to know. . . ."[2]

What chiefly impresses us in the book is the racial division in the South. This was almost certainly Miss Smith's intention. "My deep concern in writing," she says in one place, "is not simply race relations but the curious and dramatic and subtle ways men have of dehumanizing themselves and others."[3] In the South these ways appear most clearly in the field of race relations. It is in this field that men have worked hard to destroy their natural social nature and to dehumanize themselves by separating themselves from one another. Such activity is especially tragic in the South because historically Southern whites and Negroes have lived close together as children. This is the root of that dream of oneness which Miss Smith has discussed in *Killers Of The Dream*. And she has described *Strange Fruit* in similar terms. "It seems to me," she said, "a book about human beings journeying also back to childhood, always back to the room where they were born, seeking to find, wherever they travel, that which they left there so long ago."[4] So Tracy, unable to find in his domineering mother the strength he needs, rebellious against her but too weakened by her and by his war experience to stand on his own feet, seeks comfort and reassurance in Nonnie. So Nonnie always sees in Tracy the chivalrous little boy who once protected her against an evil-minded white comrade. So Nonnie's sensible, respectable sister, Grace, trying rather vainly to understand herself and her staying on in Maxwell, says, "That's the way you feel about the place

you were born. Always looking for it, always staying or coming back, searching for the you that you left there".[5] Much of this *you* had been covered over by the culture. Miss Smith shows this in several rare moments when Henry, now a typical, subservient yard-boy, comes alive in his affection for Tracy. And, in regard to Tracy's nurse, she says, "Yes, the colored nurse you've loved so passionately goes away—to another job maybe or to another child. And you're supposed to forget all about her."[6]

But the total effect is chiefly of two societies, the white society in the center in clear light, the Negro society on the outskirts, along the edges of the pine woods or the deep swamp. Describing her own remembered childhood town, Miss Smith calls it "A little white town rimmed with Negroes, making a deep shadow on the whiteness."[7] Beyond the town lies the darkness of the swamp which stands in sharp contrast to the hot glare of August. It is figuratively the darkness of ignorance that encloses the minds of the white women. It is actually the darkness that both frightens and fascinates Nonnie. Yet though these two societies seem separate, even here it should be said that they both live in the same physical world, and, especially as children, have reveled in the same details. Miss Smith makes this very clear in her emphasis upon the scenes that both Tracy and Nonnie remember.

There is another similarity between the two societies: the stress on family. This is more evident in the white society, partly because it is more important here, partly because Miss Smith spends

more time on the intricacies of white society. But the Negro Andersons, of whom Nonnie is one, have strong and complex family ties. They were held together and shaped by their strong mother; Ed returns from Philadelphia to a South he dislikes because of his love for his sister, Nonnie; Grace, with the ideal of white respectability, pleads with Nonnie not to ruin the reputation of the family. And, of course, the terrible weight of the family is shown in Tracy's life.

The family is important in both societies partly because it is the chief carrier of the past. This appears sometimes as the power of custom to hide life's tragic moments. Laura Deen, sitting in her room, mindful of her brother's body in the hall awaiting the funeral, thinks that "she should go and take up the task of weaving the small threads of Maxwell custom into a cover for death's nakedness. Something to hide life's failures under. Something to hide the obscene triumph of death under. . . ."[8] So the South hides the harsh realities of life under accustomed words and deeds. We shall see this idea developed more completely by Eudora Welty.

The strength of the past also appears in the tragic memory of lost childhoods, and in the continuing burden of poverty. For Maxwell is the poverty-stricken South of a lumber town in the early 1920's. The richest man in town, Mr. Harris, owns the mill. Its organization is purely paternalistic; there is only the faintest hint of future labor organization. And religion is constantly used to deaden the worldly hopes of the people. For the whites, an occasional lynching is added to break

the boredom and to keep the Negroes under control. These were the years in which Negroes were fleeing to the North for better jobs and so leaving Southern farmers—and timber men—in the lurch. *Strange Fruit* illustrates Miss Smith's belief that the poorer whites of the South gave their destiny to a few wealthy whites upon the condition that they themselves could "take care of" the Negroes. This led to an occasional lynching, the effect of which was to gloss over the bitterness of the poor whites and to insure a labor supply for the wealthy whites.

Strange Fruit is notable because it put the racial cards on the table by admitting the deep involvement of whites and blacks in love and hatred and the rank injustice the whites were perpetrating, most clearly upon the blacks but also upon themselves. The division in the South stands out most clearly; but here also, for those who searched, was the unity. Indeed, Miss Smith laments the division because she was so keenly aware, both as dream and reality, of the unity.

Hodding Carter, Jr.

The same year that Lillian Smith published *Strange Fruit,* Hodding Carter, Jr., later to become well-known editor of the *Delta Democrat-Times,* published a small novel on the race issue, *The Winds of Fear.* This involved the usual complement of characters: the moderate newspaperman, Kirk Mabry; his liberal son, Alan, just back from the South Pacific minus a leg; Alan's flanceé, Susan; a rednecked sheriff, Cancy Dodd; the floozie who corrupts him; the mean nigger, Catfoot, the bootlegger, who is protected by him; and a respectable Negro teacher, Professor Monroe. The newspapermen are finally instrumental in unseating the sheriff, not because of his racism but because of his connivance with Catfoot. But even as this is happening, the sheriff, messing with Catfoot's woman, is killed by Catfoot, who then is killed by the sheriff's deputy.

The scene is Carvell City, in the Delta, some distance from the River and the city. The action

takes place during World War Two. It begins when a Negro soldier, passing through, demands his seating rights on a bus, is arrested, tries to escape, kills the old sheriff, and is killed in turn. It continues in the fear of a federal investigation, and in the strain of having many Northern Negroes in the nearby army camp. "The winds of fear" are partly the fear of rapid change. "The white man is afraid to try anything else," Alan thinks, "because he is afraid of the taboos; the Negro is afraid to try because he is afraid of the white man."[9] And Professor Monroe says things are happening too fast for the whites. "They're scared because of the war. Because we're asking for too many of the right things and going at it in the wrong way."[10]

The characters of the story state real Southern themes, but these are often incompletely worked out in the story. For instance, Susan, thinking of her fiancé Alan, concludes that "He'd been away too long and too free himself to understand the inherited conformity of a small town. Especially the conformity of its women."[11] But though this idea is expressed, it isn't deeply built into the story.

So with some other ideas. Take the idea of the personal South. Says the author: "The people of Carvell City disliked and mistrusted Japanese and Germans and to a lesser extent Italians, not primarily because they were something called Fascist or Nazi but because they were Japanese and Germans and Italians. Carvell City had never debated such vexing imponderables as the causes or the justifications of wars. They considered violence a

frequent necessity in resolving a difference of opinion or an insult or a threat. The War represented all three."[12]

The same idea is expressed by Edna Mabry, the editor's wife, herself a Northerner. "Southerners seemed to think almost altogether in terms of personal loyalties and personalized traditions and personal courage in contrast to the more logical East." [13]

Physical action and the probability of violence is also stressed. "Words and ideas are something to be backed up with force here," Alan observes.[14] This is what Henry Boling had said; and it was Henry who, with the town on the verge of riot following the Sheriff's murder by Catfoot, rides in from the plantation, and simply by his bearing subdues the mob.

Yet words, too, are important. In the South, Alan realizes, everybody walks a chalk line, most careful of what he says. Indeed, we're all in bondage to words, for words demand action.

The paradox of this—though the idea is not stated—is that the South is also rhetorical, playing with words, using them for their own sake. Perhaps what saves the Southerner from continual disaster is that he learns to smile, however slightly, when he is being rhetorical.

And, finally, regarding the strength of Southern culture, Susan realizes that if her fiancé Alan flees from the South—as he is tempted to do—he will be fleeing from himself, an impossible task, for the South has made him and he will take it with him wherever he goes.

Richard Wright

Richard Wright gives us a Negro's view of the Negro's situation in Mississippi and Chicago in the 1930's and '40's. The Mississippi scene is presented autobiographically in *Black Boy*; the Chicago scene fictionally in *Native Son*.

In spite of the sharp difference in tone between the quiet Carter and the bitter Wright, *Black Boy* closes on a note expressed in *The Winds of Fear*. Just as Alan, of the latter book would never be able really to leave the South, since he would take the South with him, so Wright's Black Boy, moving to Chicago, knew that he too could never leave the South. "For my feelings had already been formed by the South, for there had been slowly instilled into my personality and consciousness, black though I was, the culture of the South. So, in leaving, I was taking a part of the South to transplant in alien soil, to see if it could grow differently . . . perhaps, to bloom."[15]

Neither Wright's autobiography nor his novel

has anything to do with civil rights. They came too soon. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the story is that Bigger Thomas preceded by twenty-five years the recent revolt in the ghetto and expressed some of the attitudes that have only recently become general. It is to the credit of Wright that he could name so early the explosive forces. The scene in Chicago is essentially post-civil rights, as that in Mississippi is pre-civil rights.

The Mississippi picture Wright draws, in *Black Boy,* shows race relations in the South as entirely divisive, not only between whites and Negroes but also within the Negro community itself. In my opinion, he has overdone this divisiveness. The dark lines are true, but there are lighter lines which he has omitted. Probably these lighter lines, these marks of interracial unity, are less visible in Mississippi—and the Mississippi valley, the Old Southwest of the early nineteenth century—than along the Atlantic seaboard. To the degree that this is true, Wright cannot be criticized for omitting them: he was simply telling it "like it was" in Jackson, Mississippi and nearby communities in the nineteen thirties. But James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison have both criticized Wright for the unrelieved darkness of his picture. It is true, they are thinking primarily of the imagined picture of Bigger Thomas, in Chicago, isolated from ordinary communalities, deprived "of the accumulated folkways of behavior and consciousness, of Negro comity and faith that . . . sustained the spirit of his people through its oppressions."[16] The deprivation is actually more complete in Chicago, the community ties actually fewer, as Wright himself

realized. Commenting upon the migrations of Negro sharecroppers and field hands North, he has said elsewhere that they were entirely unprepared for this change, for they had been estranged from the religion and folk culture of their race, and were consequently filled with loneliness and anomie.[17]

My criticism is that he had made the scene in the South almost equally bleak. Not only in the unjust demands that whites made upon Negroes, but also in the rigidities of the Negro community itself. Even within the Negro church, which Wright saw as purely moralistic and tribal: "This business of saving souls had no ethics; every human relationship was shamelessly exploited. In essence, the tribe was asking us whether we shared its feelings."[18] But Wright seems to have felt that these faults in the Negro community were solely the creation of the white community. The Negro, he says, lacks sentiment, loyalty, tradition, because the white man has not permitted him to learn these values. Commenting further upon this spiritual poverty, he marks the "strange absence of real kindness" among Negroes, their "unstable tenderness," and he wonders whether these traits don't have to be struggled for, won, and handed down from generation to generation.[19]

Without denying that sentiment, loyalty, and kindness depend upon tradition, one wonders whether Wright hasn't overlooked evidences of this tradition in the South. For certainly the claim of the South is that there is a tradition of kindness, and that perhaps Negroes are the chief bearers of this tradition. A part of the truth is that Richard

Wright was a brilliant, perceptive individual, seeking always the truth, and even if he had been white would have made many of the same criticisms. He could not live, he said, in a world where perceptions meant nothing, authority everything. Yet this was the world—with some modification perhaps—that white Southerners lived in. He saw religion as "the hunger of the human spirit for that which is not and can never be, the thirst of the human spirit to conquer and transcend the implacable limitations of human life."[20] But many a Southern white also rebelled against a moralistic, formalistic religion in favor of a life-long search for the truth. Wright was deeply conscious of suffering in life, but could not be persuaded to oversimplify it by seeing it as the result of original sin. But many a white has felt the same.

Both the Chicago and the Mississppi pictures drawn by Richard Wright should be pondered especially by those who want to prettify the picture of race relations. But if the Southern race situation is as bleak as he shows it in *Black Boy,* there is little hope for the South, or indeed for the nation.

As for the Chicago slum situation and Bigger Thomas, its representative, it is significant that Wright realized as early as 1940 several of the key aspects of the present revolt in the ghetto. Most important is Bigger's search for identity, and his feeling that he finally became somebody when he committed murder. Up until that moment, he had been a mere cog, with no will of his own, no freedom. Finally he had decided and done something for himself. Though it was murder, he had

done it, and he would not permit himself to be saved from the chair by his communist friend Max, who tried to prove that society, not Bigger, was the criminal.

Apparently part of the motivation for the present riots is the desire to be noticed, to give body to Ralph Ellison's "invisible man." Beyond this, the violence is a return for the long violation the white has inflicted upon the black. Wright states this clearly in his autobiography. After he had been deeply humiliated by fellow white workmen, he says, "I was a non-man, something that knew vaguely that it was human but felt that it was not."[21] This is the essential violence the white has perpetrated against the Negro.

Ralph Ellison

The life of Ralph Ellison is both similar to and very unlike that of Richard Wright. Both were born in the South: Wright in the deep South, in Mississippi; Ellison on the very edge, in Oklahoma, but his college education was at Tuskegee, in the Deep South. Both left the South after youth or early manhood, one with no education, the other with a college education. Wright went to Chicago, Ellison to New York. From these vantage points, they wrote their books. We have just considered two of Wright's: the remembered story of his own upbringing in Mississippi, and the imagined story of Bigger Thomas's experiences in Chicago. Ellison put his experiences into one book, *Invisible Man,* fictional in form but to some degree autobiographical in material. Most of the action occurs in the North, but Southern influences continually appear. I would call *Invisible Man* one of the wisest expressions of Negro life in America.

To compare the two men as writers, Ellison is

the more urbane, Wright the more direct and passionate. This is in part a class difference. The more quietly nurtured and better educated Ellison suggests more similarity between whites and Negroes than Wright does. Each portrays life as he has lived it. The important question is, to what degree does the quieter, more coherent life revealed by Ellison underlie and make significant the brutal, divided life revealed by Wright? Which is a truer picture of race relations in the South and in the nation? Though it was Wright who first turned Ellison toward fiction, Ellison felt that Wright stripped the Negro too bare of cultural relationships and left him too lonely and nameless. Both, however, dealt with the nameless seeker after selfhood, the man overlooked by white society, the "invisible man."

Invisible Man was published in 1947, near the beginning of the civil rights movement. With most of the action laid in the ghetto of Harlem, it is, again like *Native Son,* a preview of urban racial troubles, with demonstrations, a black Brotherhood, and a small riot. It skips the civil rights movement proper for the later urban violence.

In its beginning, it is the story of a Negro's development from boyhood in the Deep South, through student days at a place like Tuskegee. There he gets into trouble by being honest with a rich Northern trustee, is expelled, and goes to New York to try his luck. Learning how the college president had deceived him, he turns bitter, tries various things, finds a strong, motherly Negro woman who looks after him in his illness, incidentally gets involved in a demonstration over the

eviction of an old couple from their slum home (this during the Depression), works for a while for the Brotherhood, representing here the Communist Party, and is nearly killed in a race riot, which he realizes too late the Brotherhood, with no good will, had planned.

The central theme of the story is the Negro's search for identity. It begins: "I was looking for myself . . . But first I had to discover that I am an invisible man."[22] Accepting his invisibility, he becomes an "underground" man, living in a deserted coal cellar, which he keeps brilliantly lighted, so that at least he will have form to himself, though he is invisible to others.

Marcus Klein argues that the story shows the Negro as hopelessly invisible and lost, and that the hope expressed at the end is merely the unsupported hope of the author.[23] I should argue that this hope is not entirely unsupported even in the story. In Ellison's own life it is probably supported by his own boyish experiences in Oklahoma, where he lived on reasonably equal terms with white neighbors in the relatively unstructured and future-oriented society of a border state. In the book, it is supported by certain memories and experiences of the hero. It is supported by his association with the motherly Negro woman, who takes care of him in his illness. "It's you young folks what's going to make the changes. . . . And I'll tell you something else, it's the ones from the South that's got to do it, them that knows the fire and ain't forgot how it burns."[24] Again by certain memories of the South, where at least everybody knew you "but coming North was a jump into the

unknown."[25] For instance, by his memory of Brer Rabbit, which from time to time flashed into his mind in his disturbed life in Harlem (but this was annoying to him because through it "he had hit upon an old identity"). And by a song from the past that took possession of him as he was preaching the funeral of Tod Clifton, shot down by the police: The funeral procession had been singing "There's Many a Thousand Gone," and an old man had attracted the hero's attention: "It was as though the song had been there all the time and he knew it and aroused it; and I knew that I had known it too and had failed to release it, out of a vague, nameless shame or fear . . . It was not the words, for they were all the old slave-borne words; it was as though he'd changed the emotion beneath the words, while yet the old longing, resigned, transcendant emotion still sounded above, now deepened by that something to which the theory of Brotherhood had given a name."[26] And by an image of the past, for it was the memory of such an image that moved him to defend the old evicted couple: the pitiful memory of his mother hanging out clothes on a wintry day.

At one time the hero tries consciously to accept these humiliating memories of the past. "I felt memories welling up within me . . . Images of past humiliations flickered through my head, and I saw that they were more than separate experiences. They were me; they defined me."[27]

At another point, he suggests that the Negro has been to a degree purified by suffering, and owes the wisdom gained thereby to white America: We must take up the burden, he says, "be-

cause we were older than they, in the sense of what it took to live in the world with others, and because they had exhausted in us, some—not much, but some—of the human greed and smallness, yes, and the fear and superstition that had kept them running."[28]

This is Ellison's hope rather than the main burden of the story, for, though he suggests the wisdom that may come from suffering, he does not insist upon it. Perhaps he is uncertain what the Negro in America can or will do.

One of the most fundamental criticisms of American life made by the hero is that we are all in danger of becoming invisible men: mere functions of the machines, not rounded human beings, atoms moved by uncomprehended forces. This was one of the things Bigger Thomas rebelled against. So, in *Invisible Man,* union men became functions of the union, Brotherhood members functions of the Brotherhood.

Seeking to discover himself, the hero poses a question that lies at the heart of the Black Power movement today: to what degree shall the Negro separate himself from white America? Ellison's hero sees the possibility of being more than the member of a race. "Did I mean that I had become less of what I was, less a Negro, or that I was less a being apart; less an exile from down home, the South? To become less in order to become more. . . . It was a mystery."[29] Later, he ponders how deeply white and black America are involved with each other, and decides he needs to run no longer from other whites and blacks, "but only from their confusion, impatience, and refusal to recognize the

beautiful absurdity of their American identity and mine."[30]

"And here's the cream of the joke: weren't we *part of them,* as well as apart from them and subject to die when they died? I can't figure it out; it escapes me . . . so I remained in the hole."[31]

It is in this mood of the linked destiny of whites and Negroes that the hero says at the very end, "I've sometimes been overcome with a passion to return to that 'heart of darkness' across the Mason-Dixon line, but then I remind myself that the true darkness lies within my own mind, and the idea loses itself in the gloom. Still the passion persists. Sometimes I feel the need to reaffirm all of it, the whole unhappy territory and all the things loved and unlovable in it, for all of it is part of me. Till now, however, this is as far as I've ever gotten."[32] This is the same idea Richard Wright expressed near the end of *Black Boy*.

In brief, then, Ellison's story deals with many unhappy facts and some happy hopes. Though on the whole it shows whites and Negroes opposed to each other, it suggests a possible harmony when and if we can learn to accept our common tragic destiny. "Our fate is to become one, and yet many."[33]

Eudora Welty

Richard Wright is direct, Ralph Ellison indirect, Eudora Welty the cream of indirection. On the surface she wrote practically nothing about civil rights, and she explained—in this case, very clearly—her silence. In her fiction, the Negro is little more than a silent background. But silence is the core of Miss Welty's writing, and the Negro, also silent, is near that core and a pervasive presence.

Eudora Welty lives in Jackson, Mississippi. She has written most strikingly of Delta folk, and the encompassing scene of the Delta. Perhaps more than any other Southern writer, she gives meaning to place. Even the air of the Delta shimmers with the faintest dust and becomes at times a dream world.

Of course, Faulkner is noted for his use of place; after all, he created Yoknapatawpha County. Faulkner's places, however, are burdened with the involved tragedies of the past. Miss Welty, too, carries the past, but more lightly. It is the present moment, the object seen in today's light,

that most concerns her. Whereas tragedy touches the writings of Faulkner, it is, according to Louis Rubin, the sense of pathos that pervades Miss Welty's writings. Her world is "too wistful for comedy, too distant for tragedy."[34]

As a rule, the Negro appears in Miss Welty's writings, as so often in Southern writings, as a continual faint presence, a cloud low on the horizon, better, a nearby shadow, lurking along the streams and bayous of the Delta. He appears of course in the kitchens of the white folks, sometimes as dictatorial as old Partheny, at Dabney's wedding, in *Delta Wedding,* usually occupying more humble positions. The relation of the whites to these servants is paternalistic. To the field "niggers" it is still paternalistic, but more stern and objective. There is one short story of Miss Welty's where the white appears as guilt-ridden for his treatment of the Negro. This is "Keela, the Outcast Indian Maiden." But this is unusual. The usual weight of the black upon the white's spirit is far more subtle than this.

Miss Welty is also capable of showing the Negro in his own world, separate from the whites. The treatment is as clear-eyed and exact as that she gives the whites. "Powerhouse" and "Livvie" illustrate this.

So far as I know, only in one case has Miss Welty even touched on the civil rights movement and even here that part of the action is hardly essential. This is in the short story "Demonstrators," which appeared in 1966. There had been a young civil rights worker in town. A Negro man and his common law wife fatally stab each other

in front of a church, where a civil rights meeting has just been held. The significant action of the story concerns the white doctor who treated the two. Seated afterward in his car, waiting at the crossing for the night freight to pass, he has suddenly a long-lost sense of well-being. Apparently Miss Welty is saying that beyond all our personal and social tragedies, life goes on—life, and the passage of time, and death. The poor girl was stabbed through the Freedom banner she was wearing.

In an article in the *Atlantic* in 1965, entitled "Must the Novelist Crusade?," Miss Welty had said, no, "for we *are* our own crusade." She wrote this article in answer to charges of her own detachment from the race struggle in Mississippi, where her critics were in effect saying, "All right, Eudora Welty, what are you going to do about it? Sit down there with your mouth shut?"

So, in "Demonstrators," she gives passing notice to the civil rights movement, but mainly to put it in its place as the surface motion of a deeper life. Usually she is concerned with the mystery of this deeper life. If I am not mistaken, its mystery in the South, especially the white South, Miss Welty's South, is entangled with race relations.

This appears most clearly in her novel *Delta Wedding,* as also in the seven stories included under the title *The Golden Apples,* which, according to Louis Rubin, really form a novel. *Delta Wedding* is the story of the gathering of the expanded Fairchild family, at Shellmound, the plantation home of Battle Fairchild, for the wedding of his daughter Dabney to the overseer of the

plantation, Troy Flavin. Even the name, "Shellmound," is suggestive: a fragile solidity, the whisper of ancient seas—"the fairy Shellmound world." The action covers a week; its general concern is a picture in depth of these so happy people, the Fairchilds. It is this depth that concerns me. What is it? Is there anything really there?

Most of the Fairchilds move happily over the surface of life. It is an extraordinarily complex surface, touched by numerous lights and shadows. But some of them probe this surface, wondering what it means. Troy Flavin, an outsider from the hills, more direct and practical, is a quiet critic of this complex play. So is the young Laura, a cousin who has been brought up in Jackson; so too is one of the daughters, Shelley, who confides her deepest suspicions to her diary.

The basic question is, what does this extraordinarily subtle and complex play of light and shadow over the surface of the Fairchilds' family life mean? Specifically, is it play for its own pleasure, or is it a diversion to hide some vague terror in the depths?

It is Rubin's opinion, and I agree, that it is essentially a diversion to distract the attention of the participants from the hidden terrors of the depths. Visitors to the South have always noted our interest in diversions: dances, theatricals, parties, games. Wilbur Cash has lumped this under hedonism. But is this simple hedonism? Is this pleasure for pleasure's sake? Or is it a carefully contrived pleasure, carefully maintained, to blind us to the mystery and terror of life?

Mainly the latter. These people are fleeing from

themselves. If they were only the Fairchilds, or only the wealthy planters of the Delta, it would be interesting but not very significant. But what if these are the white people of the South: or, more limitedly, for we have Flannery O'Connor to consider later, the middle class white people of the South? What if we are all using the family life—always important in the South—and the complex neighborhood life related to it, not really to express ourselves but chiefly to hide ourselves, and chiefly from our own eyes. Even Miss Welty doesn't limit this picture to the Fairchilds. In the seven stories of *The Golden Apples,* there is the town of Morgana, a quiet Mississippi town, where apparently the daily habits and customs of the citizens serve mainly to keep out all outsiders, or to push out those who are outsiders in spirit—the rebellious, the see-ers, the artists; or, even more important, to keep out any recognition of those terrible forces that control our lives, time and death. To keep out, also, the violence of life; to cover it over with the multitudinous details of family life and neighborhood custom.

Laura, the visitor from Jackson, questions and then refuses to question the Fairchild happiness. She found herself "with a picture in her mind of a great bowerlike cage full of tropical birds. The Fairchilds' movements were quick and on the instant, and that made you wonder, are they free?" Laura felt certain that they were *compelled* — their favorite word. "Flying against the bad things happening, they kissed you in rushes of tenderness. Maybe their delight was part of their beauty, its flicker as it went by, and their kissing

of not only you but everybody in a room was a kind of spectacle, an outward thing. But when they looked at you with their lighted eyes . . . you trusted them, that nothing more inward preoccupied them, for you adored them. . . ."[35]

But if something did preoccupy them, what was it? My guess is, it was nothing. Nothing.

Shelley Fairchild comments more explicitly in her diary upon this too-sustained happiness of her family. (There is a myth of Southern happiness, you know. Not only the Negroes, but all of us. We have insisted upon this to hide our deep unhappiness. The outward happiness counterpoints the inward guilt.) Having spoken of the solid family front the Fairchilds present to the world, Shelley adds, "Does the world suspect that we are all very private people? I think one by one we are all more lonely than private and more lonely than self-sufficient."[36]

Perhaps—and I repeat—"Southerners are the loneliest people in the world;" and this is why we are so social: to cover the loneliness, which increases with the sociability.

This loneliness is sensed as separateness, and separateness, as Virgie Rainey of *The Golden Apples* realizes, is the horror. The community of Morgana exists to keep people from realizing this horror. But separateness is also a lure, attracting the few artistic individuals.

Shelley's uncle George Fairchild of *Delta Wedding* is the one of the older generation of Fairchilds whose sense of the mystery of life, of beloved Southern things opening up strange, perhaps terrible vistas, pierces at times the protective screen.

He is seen by his Virginia sister-in-law Ellen as "infinitely simple and infinitely complex." She says of him, "He loves things so much that they might float away and he not care . . . Little Ranny, a flower, a horse running, a color, a terrible story listened to in the store in Fairchilds, or a common song, and, yes, shock, physical danger . . . roused something in him that was immense contemplation, motionless pity, indifference."[37] George sees things at times in their universal significance. This is frightening to the other Fairchilds, who see everything in its relation to their family.

Miss Welty does not say plainly why we need the protective screen of family. But one of the things we are protecting ourselves against is the knowledge of violence; the violence that lies wrapped up with tenderness like bulbs in the layered life of the South; and *Delta Wedding* says clearly enough that the chief perpetrators of violence are the Negroes. There is George stopping the fight between the two Negro boys and getting cut in the process; and Troy Flavin's shooting the knife out of a Negro's hand.

Enclosing the violence of the world, of course, is the implacable flow of time and the inevitability of death. For these there is little comfort. But the Fairchilds were filled with comfort; their whole aim was to make life agreeable. The perceptive Shelley saw this. "Laughing and crying went rushing through the halls, and assuagement waylaid them both. In contrast, the Bayou, in its silence, could seem like a lagoon in a foreign world, and a solitary person could walk beside it with inward, uncomforted thoughts."[38]

But the white Southerner has been generally unable to face this inner "uncomforted" world. And the reason he cannot, the reason he has felt in moments of silence so lonely there, so deprived, is mainly the result of the unjust situation in which he has held the Negro. When one withdraws to his private world, away from the laughter and the light, he finds either God or nothing. But how can we find God there—a God of our whole life private and public, a God with power to sustain us in that life—when our injustice to the Negro prevents us from taking him with us into our most private and inward thoughts? So we have nothing; we stand at the edge of vacancy, we lean over the abyss. In that situation, unable to take a human being by the hand, we are terrified, and flee back to the airy rooms and piazzas of our fairy world of Shellmound.

The South has suffered from military defeat and occupation, long poverty, frustration. But most of all the South, especially the white South, has suffered from the black wedge it drove into its own heart, between its public and its private life, splitting these two apart, and thereby making its public life too bright, its private life too dark.

As I said, Miss Welty has little to say about civil rights, but much about that dark world in which the present political struggle is rooted.

THE 1950's

Elizabeth Spencer

Miss Welty led us into a strange zone of silence, where, it may be, one hears what he wishes. With that silence ringing in our ears, we return to the more open, everyday world of the South. We shall find in one of Elizabeth Spencer's novels a rather successful balancing of what we called earlier the integrative and the disintegrative South. But the title of this novel carries a faint echo of Miss Welty: *The Voice At The Back Door,* out of the vast silence of the surrounding night. We have moved forward in time eleven years from *Delta Wedding;* it is now 1956; I am passing by temporarily several earlier writers of the fifties and considering Miss Spencer first because of her success in combining in her novel the old racial accommodation and the new racial conflict.

"The voice at the back door" is a Negro's voice; "it is part of the consciousness of a Southern household that a Negro is calling at the back door in the night." But it is also here an insistent,

aggressive voice, the voice of a man who not only plays the whites against one another but who also stands up for his rights.

The place is Lacey, Mississippi, on the edge of the Delta. The time, the early nineteen fifties, with Truman president.

The voice is that of the Negro Beckwith Dozer, a veteran of World War Two, who had been stationed in England and who had had a child by an English woman. The child, "W. B.", now lives with him and his wife Lucy, and is known throughout most of the story, even to himself and his foster mother, as Beckwith's nephew. Dozer is insistent upon his rights, not only because of his war experiences but especially because of the fact that his father, Robinson Dozer, a conciliatory Negro teacher, had been slaughtered, along with fifteen others, in the courtroom of Lacey, in 1919.

Beckwith Dozer is attached to two white men, Duncan Harper, temporarily sheriff because of the sudden death of the former sheriff, and Jimmie Tallant, charming bootlegger, holder of the All-American touchdown record and air hero of World War Two. Dozer has attached himself to Tallant because it was Tallant's father who, in 1919, had led the mob that murdered his father. He knows that Tallant's sense of guilt will insure his own protection. He now attaches himself to Harper, because he is aware of Harper's rather unusual sense of justice. Neither of the men really likes him. Even Harper, who is the most liberal person in the story, finds him uncomfortably aggressive. But he is bound to him by a sense of justice, as is Tallant by a sense of guilt.

Dozer is the new aggressive Negro, but there is as yet no Negro movement, nor hint of a movement. In fact Dozer admits that he is working simply for himself. He attaches himself to Tallant, who is corrupt, and works for him, even against Harper, who, finally, protecting him, gives his life for him. Yet he is a striking character, especially because of his courageous insistence upon his rights. But even here he is also the more conventional Negro, who stands calling at the white man's back door in the night.

This novel shows the South awakening slowly to the new demands. Several of the whites admit privately that the Negro should get justice, but they'd rather not talk about it—not yet. Only Duncan Harper, the acting sheriff, is frank. He would even support integration if it became the law. He is that rather unusual Southern white who has a strong sense of general right and justice. He only wants to do what's right. Though Dozer finally put his life in Harper's hands, he did not really trust him. He was too unusual. "In a country where the motives for doing things are given names like honor, pride, love, family, greed, passion, revenge, and hatred, 'right' had an odd inadequate sound."[39]

The thing that makes this novel so Southern is the inter-weaving of white and Negro life at so many levels: at the physical level, the Negro woman as mistress of the former sheriff, Travis Brevard; at another level, the playful relationship between white and Negro children; politically, the Negro's occasional power to make and break the white; in the world of conscience, the Negro as

the symbol of white injustice and white guilt; and, finally, the Negro as part of that silence which surrounds and sometimes overwhelms the white man's world.

The Negro speaks out of the silence of the night. "Black people," says Miss Spencer, "are night people, and you do not drive a Southern road at any unearthly hour without seeing them along the roadsides, going somewhere, or marking at a distance across the field the oil lamp burning full wick within the cabin."[40] And they are part of the dark and savage land. They "married the land. Its image is never complete without them; if they are out of the picture, they are only just around the corner, coming or going, or both. They are not really as afraid in the night as most white people are. Whiteness is a kind of nakedness to the dark world."[41]

The Negro speaks out of the silence. Or, let's say, he is there in the silence, continually reminding us of the silence we dare not face. Of a conversation about the former sheriff, of his goodness to Negroes and also his ruthlessness, Miss Spencer says, "They were silent for a moment, knowing in common with all Southerners that when the knot got too tangled it was just as well left alone."[42] The knot here is the problem of justice and injustice in the treatment of the Negro. This was the silence that Jimmy Tallant could not face, and fleeing from it, tried to get himself killed. Duncan Harper "knew now that Jimmy wanted himself shot; he understood now the strange distances he had noted in the face which as the light glared pressed upward closer to the bars with a look like

a high diver's plunging toward twelve inches of water in a dishpan."[43] Unable to face the abyss of guilt caused by his father's crime, Tallant yearns for the abyss of death—the final silence. In another place, Duncan sees Tallant's face, "so sharp when the mind sped, held now a touch of the hound's sadness, but above all it was a lonely face, pulled in like the rain off the wild stretches."[44]

I do not think that Miss Spencer actually creates for Tallant the character she suggests for him, but what we have here is a suggestion of the theme of Southern silence and loneliness, and also the basic reason for the presence of this theme: the insoluble Negro problem.

As for the essentially tragic theme of the South, it appears here primarily in the racial guilt we've been talking about, and in the racial grief—Dozer saw "that everything most clear to him was sorrowful, full of Negro sorrow"[45]—but also, more generally, in the power of the past. Marcia Hunt and Duncan's wife Tinker are at the political rally. "Looking aside together, they would have seen the past as one turns to see a person who already stands at the elbow. For in a small town, in a society whose supreme interest is people, the past exists physically—empty chairs expect the dead and not in vain."[46] This power appears most in the life of Duncan Harper, and is shown in his attachment to family and to place. His sweetheart, Marcia Mae, had left him and married a flamboyant Irishman, because she couldn't persuade him to pull up roots and leave Lacey. She was burdened by family, place, and past. After the heroic death of her husband, she returns and tries to

steal Duncan away from Tinker, but fails. It is significant that Duncan, the most truly liberal and generous person in the book, is, in regard to family and place, a deep conservative. Yet he is not blind; he recognizes the evils of the South, but unlike Marcia, he knows you cannot escape them by fleeing. "She had left him because he would not run away with her and be free from the evil she saw in her family and in the whole South. . . . He did not believe that the Hunts were worse than anybody else or that you escaped from anything when you left Lacey and the South."[47]

In contrast to Duncan's truly liberal spirit, Miss Spencer presents the frankly liberal young politician, Kerney Woolbright, as open to the ideas of the future, but, in a moment of testing, sacrificing them and his friend Duncan for his own advancement. Duncan was fairly short on liberal ideas, though he believed in justice for all. But, as Dozer says after Duncan's death—and Jimmy agrees with him—"Mistah Harper was a gentleman." He had a code.

One or two comments based upon short stories by Miss Spencer: Just as the liberal pre-civil rights protagonist, Beckwith Dozer, is also perfectly willing to support and use the corrupt *status quo,* so Jim, the man of all work, in the short story "The Little Brown Girl," has the perfect paternalistic relation to the white child Maybeth, humoring her in all her dreams, yet at the same time getting money from her on false pretenses to spend on himself.

As for the threat of silence to the Southerner, Miss Spencer, in "First Dark," refers to one char-

acter as of "the old school Southern lady talkers; she vexed you with no ideas, she tried to protect you from even a moment of silence."

And, finally, in regard to the threat—and the promise—of the past. In the same story, "First Dark," Frances Harvey and her financé flee away from the old Harvey house to keep from being absorbed by the past. And, in "A Southern Landscape," the narrator, a young girl says: "There have got to be some things you can count on, would be an ordinary way to put it. I'd rather say that I feel the need of a land, of a sure terrain, of a sort of permanent landscape of the heart."

Thomas Hal Phillips

In the early 1950's there appeared two rather brief novels by two less well known Southern writers. Both present race relations mainly as they were before the advent of the civil rights movement. These are *The Golden Lie,* by Thomas Hal Phillips (1951), and *A Good Man,* by Jefferson Young (1952).

The scene of Phillips' story is northeastern Mississippi and the adjoining part of Alabama. The time, the late thirties. The people are small farmers, black and white; and owners and tenants work together, black and white boys play ball together, there is a general spirit of neighborliness. But slowly racial tension grows because of the competition between two football players, one black and the other white, friends; and in a game between the blacks and whites, a white mob surges onto the field, and the Negro, after a long run, is set upon and killed.

The people are highly religious—with of course

one or two agnostics or atheists—the form of their faith primitive. The chief tension is not racial, but personal, between husband and wife, and, within the wife, between her wish to become the annual "saint" and her sexual desires. It is her body that is "the golden lie," as is also the church, because it supports in her the sense of sex as sin, and sainthood as a simple refraining from sexual relationships. Even while sinning she repents, and repenting thinks of sinning again.

The story is true to the South in that the racial tensions historically have been played down and covered over by a certain interracial neighborliness, while the personal tensions, among whites and Negroes, have been permitted to exist continuously at the breaking point. Though Phillips doesn't say this, the church has been a "golden lie" also in that it has encouraged this over-personal definition of sin. People "sinned" more because sin was painted in such lurid colors, and the church therefore always had a backlog of sinners waiting to repent. It reminds us of the prohibition laws in Mississippi. Everybody was happy—except of course the Negro.

Jefferson Young

Another simple story of race relations in the Deep South is Jefferson Young's *A Good Man.* The time of the story is indicated by the fact that the Negroes are being squeezed off their little sharecrop farms by mechanization, are growing restless and leaving, and the whites are growing angry because the labor pool is being drained.

The "good man" is the Negro sharecropper Prince Albert, who has learned from both his grandfather and his father that the Negro must improve himself, and who, attempting to do this, plans to paint his cabin. For a whole summer he struggles to raise money for the paint; he buys a calf to grow out and sell. His project becomes a symbol to both Negroes and whites. To the Negroes it suggests what the Negro may be able to do; to the whites it means the Negro is getting out of his place.

Albert has long sharecropped with a small but hardworking and honest farmer, Mister Tittle. The

landlord tries to discourage him from his plan, knowing the resistance it will cause. But when Albert persists, he attempts to protect him and to keep him in "furnish" in spite of the white boycott.

He succeeds in this. But the day before the calf is to be sold, Albert's wife, in terror of the probable persecution her husband's success may bring, kills it. So the paint job has to be postponed for another year, and, it is suggested, husband and wife have passed beyond their misunderstanding into a deeper love.

The story balances beautifully the racial struggle in the South. On the one side, a Negro, poor and ignorant but determined to succeed, believing in at least one white man, Mister Tittle, devoted, even romantically, to his wife Louella, and both held back and supported by his fearful black neighbors. On the other, the white community, holding most of the power where nobody holds much, drowsily going its way but quickly aware and suspicious of any change in the Negro community. Between these groups, the interracial tie, Mister Tittle. A small landowner, with a few Negro sharecroppers, a man who works in the field beside them and talks with them man to man, politically no liberal and keenly aware of the illiberal traits of his white neighbors, yet sympathetic to the underdog, and determined to hold at any cost the position he has carefully taken. He is a man of integrity; what the South has been accustomed to call a "just" man. The unjust social order of the South has been made as viable as it is by the presence of such "just"

men among the whites as Mr. Tittle, and by such "good" men among the Negroes as Prince Albert. The changing social and political order, as beneficial as we hope it will be, will not obviate the need for such men.

Lucy Daniels

Caleb, My Son, by Lucy Daniels was published in 1956. This is essentially a story of the conflict of the generations within a Negro family. But the conflict is tragically sharpened by the Supreme Court school decision of May, 1954. The few whites stand mainly off-stage and represent two radically different classes: the upper middle class and the world of prostitution.

In relegating the whites to secondary roles, Miss Daniels is being contemporary. That is where we are. During most of the South's history, the Negro stood at the back door, an insistent voice speaking out of the night. Now the white man stands at the back door, but this time the back door of history, wondering what is going on inside, wondering how to meet the power of the blacks, in whose hands history increasingly lies.

The scene of *Caleb, My Son* is a Southern town, with some resemblance to Raleigh, North

Carolina, the home of the author. Asa Blake, a stern, respectable, middle-class Negro, is chauffeur and handy-man for the white family; his son, Caleb, twenty-one, with a railroad job, which he quits, is impetuous and scornful of his father's bourgeois attitude. He is angry over racial injustice, seeks racial equality, and is set on fire by the May 17th decision. He has organized a gang, which meets secretly, and which after the decision presses him for action. A part of their agreement is that he spend every third night with a white floozy from the rougher side of town. Though frightened and disgruntled, he keeps his word. But this is the one thing his stern father cannot bear, and, when he learns of it, warns Caleb that it must stop. When the woman's brother is murdered, Caleb, though innocent, is terribly frightened lest he be blamed, and goes into hiding at home. But when one of his gang admits to the crime, he starts going with the woman again, and in the end is shot down by his father as he is walking with her.

The structure of this story seems to me somewhat forced at two critical points: Caleb's agreement upon a sleeping schedule with a white woman, and Asa's killing him for it. It's true, Miss Daniels makes the son extreme in his impetuosity, and the father extreme in his respectability and puritanism. But I wasn't entirely convinced. There's a sort of prim though unconscious humor in the sex relationship: a Negro is sleeping with a white woman, and her brother doesn't care.

The father's murder of his son has the ear-

marks of Greek tragedy but hardly carries the conviction. When Asa takes down the shotgun, his wife knows what he is going to do. Yet, submissively, she lets him go. The matriarchal nature of the Negro family makes this seem improbable.

One of the chief characteristics of the South is the strength of the family. This has brought at times joy, at times tragedy. Miss Daniels has done an unusual thing in showing this strength within a Negro family. Here the family is tragically divided, interestingly over its relation to whites. Both its long reputation of respectability and its possible disgrace are tied to the white world.

Miss Daniels has also given her characters a loving sense of place. This is their home, their quiet home street, on a hot afternoon or a still night. They have won their respectability here. To lose it here is to have the very place condemn them.

Peter Taylor

Peter Taylor's short stories have been appearing for over fifteen years. Among them I have found some half dozen which deal with race relations. They do so, however, under the old unequal pattern, not the new. But because they do this so humanly, so imaginatively, they deserve brief consideration. I have found only one that even mentions civil rights. The scene here, as with most of Taylor's stories, is central Tennessee, especially Nashville and the small towns surrounding. In this story, "Miss Leonora When Last Seen," the people of Thomasville are sick of being controlled and held back in country idleness by the chief family, the Logans. If the Logans lose certain strategic properties, the indirect result may be school integration. Yet "there are people here who dislike the memory of the Logans even more than they do the prospect of integration. They are willing to risk integration in order to see that the last Logan is dispossessed

of his last piece of real estate in Thomasville."[48]

In several of these stories, the theme of loneliness is important, in one case the simple aloneness of the ignorant old Negro whose real life is too far away from the white narrator to be understood, in another the more subtle loneliness which, it is said, we all suffer consciously or unconsciously but which in the South also involves the Negro. In the first case, an old derelict Negro man is installed in the garage apartment of a white family, along with the very respectable servant couple already there. One night he stops their baby from a desperate fit of crying. "Just bad dreams," he says. The husband and wife, adds the narrator, could tell their bad dreams to each other, but who is there to know about the old man's? "Who is there that can imagine the things that such a dirty, ignorant, old tramp of a Negro thinks about when he is alone at night, or dreams about while he sleeps? . . . They are too unlike us, in their loneliness and ignorance and age and dirt, for us even to guess about them as people."[49]

A more subtle form of loneliness is expressed in "A Wife of Nashville." Jess, the best of all Negro servants, after long years of service, lies about having to leave suddenly to meet her brother, and heads for Hollywood. The white father and sons believe the story; the mother does not, but acts as if she does. She couldn't really tell them why: "these things were all one now; they were her loneliness, the loneliness from which everybody, knowingly or unknowingly, suffered. But she knew that her husband and her sons did

not recognize her loneliness or Jess McGehee's or their own . . . At last she said patiently, 'My dears, don't you see how it is with Jess? How else can she tell us anything when there is such a gulf?' After a moment she said, 'How can I make you understand this?' "[50]

So, here is the loneliness and here is the basic cause: the gulf imposed by whites between themselves and Negroes.

The most complex of these stories in its presentation of white and black relationships is "A Friend and Protector."[51] Jesse Munroe, accessory after the fact to a vicious murder, has been for years servant and factotum for the narrator's Uncle Andrew and Aunt Margaret. Jesse slowly falls into crime and then into drunkenness, but is always bailed out by Mr. Andrew, and always severely criticized by Aunt Margaret. Finally, he loses his mind and goes berserk, ripping up Mr. Andrew's office. Only Aunt Margaret can quiet him; she does so with a look; and they take him away to the asylum.

Then the narrator, a teen-aged boy, tries to explain what he has seen. He admits this is the hardest thing he has ever attempted. I wonder if Peter Taylor didn't pass the author's difficulty on to the boy.

The boy feels that Jesse's ruined life has been caused by Uncle Andrew's and Aunt Margaret's and even his own unruined lives. Jesse had taken ruin as a proxy for them. And, he suggests, there had even been a kind of love-affair—spiritual, of course—between his aunt and Jesse, who had let himself be ruined for her.

This is a variant of James Baldwin's belief that in America the Negro shields the white from the abyss. Here Jesse acts out evil for the whites. Aunt Margaret always condemns him, but—so her nephew thinks—Jesse senses beneath her condemnation her approval: that he should continue in evil for her, because she cannot engage in it herself.

The simple way to put this is that the white envies the Negro his Saturday night sprees, which our Puritan culture forbids our sharing.

As I suggested, Taylor isn't quite convincing in this explanation, but even to try such a subtle thing in a short story is notable. And—there are more things in our Southern world than we have dreamed of.

Harper Lee

Harper Lee's *To Kill A Mockingbird* appeared at the very end of the decade, in 1960. The scene, however, is a south Alabama town in the late 1930's, considerably before the start of the civil rights movement and there is only one slight hint of the coming change. This is the scornful reference to Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt as "that Woman." The story, however, concerns race relationships and deals with the charge of rape, with a near lynching, and with the attempted murder of the white liberal lawyer who had defended the accused Negro. Perhaps the book is most notable for the quietness of the little town, where at the beginning race is only part of the story but where later the issue erupts in violence.

The story is told from the viewpoint of the seven-year old tomboy Jean Louise Finch, nicknamed Scout, and her eleven-year-old brother, Jem, both children of the liberal lawyer, the widower Atticus Finch. Much of the story—too

much, perhaps—concerns the children's fears and joys in a drowsy town. But then their father is appointed by the court to defend the Negro Robinson from the charge of attempted rape. The defense is supposed to be perfunctory: the Negro is already condemned by the white public, but Finch believes he is innocent and sets out to prove it. In fact he does, but the jury finds Robinson guilty. While Finch is appealing the case, Robinson tries to escape from prison and is killed.

So far as the story goes, Robinson's death seems contrived. The entire pastoral tone prevented a lynching and there was no preparation for this violent ending. Perhaps Miss Lee felt that the acquittal of a Negro of the charge of rape, especially when that charge was pressed by the supposed white victim, was impossible in Alabama of the late 1930's. The significant thing may be that the racial movement had advanced enough for her to place the rape issue in a south Alabama town, and to resolve it as a white woman's attempted seduction of a Negro, and her guilt-rooted hate when she failed. Her father, Bob Ewell, who maliciously pressed the charge in order to cover up his own cruelty, belongs to the no-account Ewells. The drawing is a little heavy here. The Ewells live by the dump-heap and are white trash; all the Cunninghams, who live in one section of the county, though very poor, are unflinchingly honest and independent. And perhaps Atticus Finch, the liberal lawyer, is a little too simply drawn, with no shadows to set off his goodness. There are of course such liberal-spirited whites across the South who, very quietly,

will take their lives in their hands to defend a principle. As a rule, such men are finally accepted though not entirely approved by their conservative white neighbors. What is approved is their courage in standing by their guns. There is another off-beat character in the book, Dolphus Raymond, of fine old family, whose bride had committed suicide and who had gone to the dogs and is now living with a Negro family. But in spite of his extreme independence, he is still socially minded; and so he lets the white community think he lives with Negroes because of his drunkenness whereas actually he does so because he prefers their company. The whites can accept his drunkenness, especially since he's still wealthy and owns a riverboat, but not his racial deviation.

The greatest strength of *To Kill A Mockingbird* is its picture of a sleepy Southern town, where family counts, and where everybody who is anybody at all is known to everybody else, even by gesture. The local telephone operator knows the voices of everybody. In this convincing setting, the classes, especially the Cunninghams and the Ewells, are drawn a bit too sharply. And the violence is somewhat contrived. We know, however, that this combination of quietness and violence is common in the South. This is figuratively the still August afternoon breaking in storm.

Carson McCullers

We take up now, to close the period of the fifties, two well-known writers, both unfortunately gone now, one of whom tied at least one of her novels more completely into the civil rights movement than had been done before, and the other, somewhat like Eudora Welty, apparently chose to be involved hardly at all. These two are Carson McCullers and Flannery O'Connor.

The novels of Carson McCullers have spanned the civil rights period. Her first, and probably best known, *The Heart Is A Lonely Hunter,* was published in 1940; her last, *Clock Without Hands,* in 1961. Interestingly, she only touched upon the race issue in the first book, dealt with it rather completely in her last, but for the most part omitted it in her other books. The critic Robert Drake maintains that "she was at her worst when her head took over, when she forgot or ignored her real story and started to . . . write up the news from home—segregation in her

last novel, for example."[52] I'm inclined to agree with this judgment so far as it applies to her use of the communist issue in *The Heart Is A Lonely Hunter,* its scene a Georgia mill town in the 1930's; but the segregation issue in *Clock Without Hands* seems more completely woven into the story, and the separation which segregation represents is very close to Miss McCuller's main theme of human loneliness.

Before considering the two books above, which are more critical for our study, let us notice the use of the Negro in *The Member Of The Wedding,* published in 1946. At the very spiritual center of this book is the Negro cook and nurse, Berenice. The story itself concerns the growing up of twelve-year-old Frankie Addams. Her brother gets married during this period, and in her eagerness to be also a member of the wedding—unsatisfied, of course—Frankie passes from the aloneness of childhood to the meaning of love. This came to her first as an intuition that her brother and his fiancee were the *"weness of me."* So, longing to be a part of the wedding, she becomes a part of the world.

It is the Negro cook and nurse Berenice who guides her through this troubled period. Berenice knows what love is, both as romantic idea and as bitter frustration. She remembers her first husband, now dead, as perfect; her present husband is in jail. Her last three marriages were undertaken really out of emptiness and spite. Out of her own life, she knows how lonely man is. She knows also that the Negro has to bear a double loneliness: as a man and as a Negro. It

is life that isolates the man; but it is the white who isolates the black. And this double isolation may result in desperation. Speaking of such a Negro, Berenice says: "Sometimes a boy like Hone feel like he just can't breathe no more. He feel like he got to break something or break himself. Sometimes it just about more than we can stand."

With that statement, made in 1946, Miss McCullers probed to the depth of the Negro's desperate search for identity, fully revealed in action only twenty years later.

Let us go back now to the first book *The Heart Is A Lonely Hunter* (1940). The title states the theme: all the important characters are lonely, cut off from others by age, by ideology, by race, by the mere fact of human existence. Again, as in the later *The Member of The Wedding,* there is a Negro woman, a cook, Portia, who by her temperament and occupation ties the whites and the blacks together. She cooks in the white household of the teen-aged girl Mike Kelly, who, like Frankie of the wedding story, is growing up and will lose her innocence; but she is also the daughter of the Negro radical, Dr. Copeland. Dr. Copeland is a militant, his militancy hidden of course, a member of the NAACP when, in the late 1930's, this was the same as being a communist. He advocates a march on Washington and demonstrations. It is interesting that Dr. Copeland in this early book of Miss McCullers' saw that in order to have manhood and dignity the Negro must have a job. By 1965 the idea had come full circle. He and the white mill worker, James Blount, a communist, try

to get together, but never succeed. In the end Dr. Copeland is dying of consumption, dependent upon his kinspeople, and nothing had been accomplished. Contrasting herself with her father, Portia says to him, "You think out everything in your brain. While us rather talk from something in our hearts that has been there for a long time."[53] So Portia is more Mike Kelly's confidante, and thus a tie between whites and blacks, but she is also representative of the old accommodations, which in this book win out. It is clear, however, from the sharpness of race relations in this Georgia mill town of the late 1930's, and the flagrant injustice to the Negro, that the day Copeland pleads for won't come soon. Copeland's son, for practically no reason, is put on the chain gang, tries to escape, is captured and thrown in the icehouse and kept there so long that both his feet have to be amputated. It is then that the father, hoping to find some redress for the injustice, "could think of no white person of power in all the town who was both brave and just."[54] Near the close of the book, there is a riot, essentially a race riot, at the fairgrounds, in which the brilliant and rebellious Negro high school student, Lancy Davis, is killed.

The scene of this story is a quiet country town, with the Negroes as usual like a dark belt on the outskirts, and with a racial storm brewing. But the situation is still so quiet that Mike can wander indiscriminately through white and Negro sections, by day or night, with the sense of being perfectly safe. It is a good picture of the South, always on the verge of storm but in many ways

peaceful. But the story is not primarily of the racially accommodating and struggling South but of individuals, some of them distinctively Southern, others more cosmopolitan—the deaf-mute Mister Singer, for instance, and the Greek mute—but all lonely, and seeking, through love or hate, to discover themselves.

With Miss McCullers' last story, *Clock Without Hands,* we have her most complex use of the recent racial struggle. The action occurs near the crisis of that struggle, from the summer of 1953 to May 17, 1954, and several of the main characters are deeply involved; one of them, the young Negro Sherman Pew, loses his life. Furthermore, he is bound by the tragic tie of blood to one of the whites. So here, together, are the Old South and the New.

But the story is, as always with Miss McCullers, a story of loneliness and the need of love to cancel this out. The title of the story is related to the experiences of the druggist, J. T. Malone, who is dying of leukemia but has no idea how long he may live: his clock is without hands. But the main purpose of his part of the story is to set the tone: time has gone awry; nobody knows how or when the future will come. The story chiefly concerns seventeen-year-old Jester Clane, his Negro friend of the same age, Sherman Pew, and Jester's grandfather, Judge Clane, now retired, sentimental, authoritarian and yet cognizant of the racial revolution surrounding him. The Negro will vote, he says, and upset everything. There will be equal rights in education and a minimum wage law. The judge and his grand-

son, Jester, live together, and Sherman Pew, who is educated, serves as a sort of secretary to the Judge. Jester's father, the Judge's son, had committed suicide shortly after Jester's birth because of disappointment at his failure to win the acquittal of Sherman Jones, a Negro, who had murdered a white man in self-defense. The rumor was that the Negro had raped the man's wife. It was later learned that she had really been in love with him, and shortly after his execution she bore him a blue-eyed child and died in childbirth. The child's grandfather had left him on the church steps; therefore his name, Sherman Pew. Judge Clane, knowing the innocence of Sherman's father, had taken the boy under his wing, and educated him. All this comes out during the story. Sherman Pew, a militant Negro and a musician, buys—through trickery—a house in the white section, and, when a white mob dynamites the house, he is killed by the explosion.

Sherman has been driven to his militant position by the execution of a friend of his for civil rights activity, by the bombing of another Negro home, and by his discovery of who he was. He begins to feel *"I have got to do something, do something, do something."* Stepping out of line in little ways, like drinking at the white water-fountain, and not being noticed, he becomes desperate. Both Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison point out the desperation of the Negro because he is not noticed, and Wright shows Bigger Thomas finding his identity through murder.

Clock Without Hands shows the whites and Negroes of the South tragically bound together

in love and hatred. Taking a position even beyond that of Lillian Smith in *Strange Fruit,* it shows (at least in the near past) a white woman in love with a Negro man. It also shows a white boy and a Negro boy close, perhaps passionately close, friends, and a white judge bound by guilt to a mulatto boy. There is a further linkage of white and Negro destiny: the black boy's father has been executed (falsely) for murder, the white boy's father has committed suicide because of this, and the white boy's grandfather is the judge who passed sentence. Also, both the mothers died in childbirth. In all this is clearly spelled out the tragic nature of race relations in the South, the combined love and hatred that permeate these relations.

Furthermore, the tragic weight of the past is clearly evident. This appears, first, in the life-span of the two seventeen-year-old boys. It appears also in the confused mind of the judge, who believes he has found a plan to redeem the South, through the United States' redemption of Confederate money, and who insists that his protegé, Sherman, help him in this. The Judge is also bound to certain remembered experiences of his, when he had led the Klan, and it is through his influence that the riffraff of the town are stirred up to bomb Sherman's home. Finally, the structure of family—especially the Judge's, with his son's suicide, hangs over the book like a pall. Here is the Southern family at its worst, the individuals sacrificed for ideas and outgrown attitudes. It is over justice for Negroes and the question of segregation that a wedge is driven

between, first, the Judge and his son, and now the Judge and his grandson.

There are also, in this book, several references to one aspect of the Southern tragedy: the stress on passion instead of justice. The Judge represents passion; his grandson—and earlier, his son—justice. He says to Jester, "Passion is more important than justice . . . One of these days you may have this passion. And when it comes to you your half-baked notions of social justice will be forgotten."[55] But the Judge's idea of passion was crude: "the passion of the posse, the passion of the Southerner who defends his womankind against the black and alien invader . . ." It must be said for the Judge, however, that he recognized the passion his son had shown in his defense of the accused Negro, though he simply couldn't understand that kind of passion. Perhaps the son suggests by his action that the South may be able to develop passion for justice in place of passion for outworn myths.

In the world revealed here, nearly everyone is lonely and lost. Jester, the son of a suicide, doesn't know who he is. Sherman, a mulatto, doesn't know who he is, and when, examining the Judge's papers, he learns, he is driven to desperation with the question, What must I do? The Judge, of course, has lived too long, and is almost imbecilic in the new world; furthermore, he finds himself alone in what he had considered a close family circle. And J. T. Malone, the symbol of them all, faces a terrible future whose imminence is unknown: change is coming, but when and what?

Flannery O'Connor

One wonders what Flannery O'Connor would have done with Eudora Welty's Delta family, the Fairchilds. But they just weren't her people. They were lost, all right, but probably the only forms of grace that could befall them were the faint visions that brushed Shelley's sleeve or touched Uncle George. Even the terror of life was muted.

Perhaps this was a cultural difference. The Fairchilds were in background, education, and manners several cuts above the men and women of Flannery O'Connor's stories. There are, however, characters in Miss Welty's village of Morgana who, so far as background is concerned, could be transferred to Miss O'Connor's pages. But they are Miss Welty's characters, at times troubled but not pain-wracked like Miss O'Connor's.

In general, the Negro plays a slightly more important part here than with Miss Welty. I

think this is partly due to the fact that the Negro is more closely woven into the life of South Georgia than into that of the Mississippi Delta. For one thing, the South Georgia farms are smaller, and the blacks more scattered among the whites. But the blacks here also serve as a contrast to the whites. It is probably significant that, unlike the whites, they never feel the "terrible speed of mercy." Do they not need it? Or do they live closer than the whites to a continual mercy that blesses without such great burning?

In *The Violent Bear It Away* the Negro neighbor appears at the beginning and the end, where he buries the boy Tarwater's great-uncle—Tarwater being drunk—and in the end tries to steady Tarwater at the moment when the boy gets the call to preach. It's true, he doesn't succeed, but he is there, quiet and responsible. In other stories, Negroes appear as common laborers, often on close terms with the whites they work for or have lived with. There's the old Negro who had worked for years for Mrs. McIntye, of "The Displaced Person." And there's the poor old white man Tanner, living with his daughter in New York, longing for the Negro Coleman with whom he had lived in Georgia.

In a few instances, the mid-century's changing relation between Negroes and whites is noted. In "The Displaced Person" it is suggested that the machine will soon displace the Negro, and in "Revelation" the chief character, Mrs. Turpin, a farm woman, is shown as carrying water to the Negro laborers and being considerate of them

because they will no longer stand for the old indifference.

But there is one story in which Miss O'Connor treats the civil rights movement; and it is almost, as with Miss Welty, as if she does so merely to prove that it doesn't amount to much. This is the title story of the volume *Everything That Rises Must Converge.* (The idea expressed by these words, basic to Miss O'Connor's stories, comes from Teilhard de Chardin: all life rises to unity in the Omega Point.) This is the story of the young pseudo-intellectual liberal, Julian, and his complacent, class-conscious and race-conscious mother. Riding on the bus, the mother tries to make friends condescendingly with a Negro child, and is finally knocked down by the child's irate mother. Julian says condescending manners aren't worth a damn now. But at the same time another Negro, apparently educated, scorns Julian's equalitarian advances. So we have four people, each separated from all the others, and not least Julian, who, proud of his liberalism, is as cut off as any. Later, when his mother falls on the street in a stroke, he runs for help, but finds himself lost between the old world of dependence on his mother and the real world of sin and sorrow. "The lights drifted farther away the faster he ran and his feet moved numbly as if they carried him nowhere. The tide of darkness seemed to sweep him back to her, postponing from moment to moment his entry into the world of guilt and sorrow."[56]

Miss O'Connor is asking, in effect, what's the good of being liberal or illiberal? Far underneath

these political attitudes is the all-encompassing world of sin and sorrow. The words she uses to describe the real world are somewhat different from Miss Welty's—the terror of ineluctable time and death—but both are saying that beneath political causes there are non-political depths, where each of us must walk in private, facing God—or the abyss.

In our discussion of Miss Welty, I suggested that the too-private, and therefore frightening, real world of the white Southerner is partly the result of his having driven the black wedge of race between his public and his private life, so shutting off from his private life the friendliness of his public life, and shutting off from the public the strength of the private. Is the passionate, sin-ridden world of Miss O'Connor a partial effect of the presence of the Negro here?

I think it is, though the relationship is more subtle than in Miss Welty. This is how I see it. The white's injustice to the Negro has built up in the white a continuing backlog of guilt. He is therefore always ready to cry *mea culpa,* but, since he doesn't understand himself, usually for the wrong things: his so-called personal sins. This is intensified by the whole Southern focus on so-called personal life. I repeat Tate's remark that a basic weakness of the South is its lack of a catholic religion to match and reinforce its social life. Men who are closely bound to one another in social life are related individually to God. The individual stands alone before God. This may not be what Protestantism intended, but it is what it became in the United States, and especially in the

South, in the nineteenth century. So the white man, with a great backlog of guilt because of racial injustice and with the sense of standing alone before God, naturally turns to the extremes of experience and expression that we find generally in Miss O'Connor.

But the objection immediately arises, Miss O'Connor was a Catholic, not a Protestant. She rarely wrote about Catholics, however, probably, as Robert Drake suggests, "for historical and geographical reasons. As an almost life-long resident of rural Georgia, she inevitably knew more—and perhaps more about—Protestants, particularly those in the more fundamentalist and pentecostal sects. But there was nothing narrow or sectarian in her theology: she was *Catholic* in the oldest and widest sense of the term."[57]

The silence in Miss Welty's stories is almost palpable: the apparently casual conversation continually brushes against it and shies away from it. In Miss O'Connor it is more deeply submerged beneath the cries of pain. It is there, however, and is heard occasionally, or rather seen, in the visions of terror and blessedness that occur: for instance, to Mrs. Turpin who, at sundown, saw "a purple streak in the sky, cutting through a field of crimson and leading, like an extension of the highway, into the descending dusk." Along this heavenly road she sees whole companies swinging upward "through a field of living fire:" the white trash go first, now clean, the white robed niggers next, and at the end the respectable people like herself and her husband Claud, who "had always had a little of everything and the

God-given wit to use it right."[58] This is the vision, the living silence, that sinners, now saints, behold. No such terrible and blessed vision is granted to the quieter Fairchilds.

Miss O'Connor would probably say that however certain Southern whites came to this lurid vision of life, with its moments of terror and grace—of terrible grace—whether by their mistreatment of the Negro or not, it is the true and Christian vision. Whatever it is, and however it came about, it is more heart-wrenching, more life-and-death inspired, than the usual outlook on civil rights.

THE 1960's

Walker Percy

Though the 1960's haven't yet passed, the period has already given us more works concerned with the situation of the Negro than the 1950's, and twice as many as the 1940's. Furthermore the civil rights issue is tackled more directly in the 1960's than ever before. This is not true, however, of the first writer we shall consider, Walker Percy. His two novels, *The Movie-Goer* and *The Last Gentleman,* have appeared during the sixties, but if they are considered solely as expressions of the civil rights movement, we can dismiss the former and easily dispose of the latter. But since we are also concerned with the larger question of the relation of the movement to the South itself as the region is revealed in fiction, there is more, in this case much more, to be said. And, first, by way of contrast, Percy's detached tone is a far cry from that of his fellow Catholic, Flannery O'Connor, whom we have just considered.

The civil rights activities of Percy's two books can be easily disposed of. Such as they are, they appear in *The Last Gentleman,* published in 1966. This is basically the story of the wanderings, first in the North, then in the South, of a young Southerner, who suffers from infrequent attacks of amnesia, and who has a talent for exploring all possibilities. Will Barrett meets Forney Aiken, a white civil rights worker who passes as a Negro, first in the North and, later, in Barrett's home town in the South. Aiken is taking part in a demonstration here, and is saved from jail by Barrett. This episode involving outsiders, pickets, and local police, is presented fairly completely, but I doubt if its omission would have changed the total effect of the book.[59] It is simply one more adventure in Barrett's attempt to discover himself. Its only special significance is as an illustration of the race problem, the problem that underlies all others in the South, and that insinuates itself into all. Somewhat later, Barrett, passing by, gets knocked out in a student riot, based, apparently, on the entrance of James Meredith into Ole Miss. The accident almost reaches significance because at the moment of losing consciousness, Barrett has the feeling of laying hold on the secret closest to himself, and therefore most inaccessible. But he fails.

In the earlier book, *The Moviegoer* (1961), the character of Mercer, the Negro butler in the New Orleans home, raises several important questions. In this book, Binx Bolling, white Korean War veteran, occupies a place similar to that of Will Barrett in *The Last Gentleman.* Like

Barrett, Bolling is trying to discover the meaning of life, but mainly through observation, particularly observation of movies with their heightened sense of life. But the character of Mercer raises questions, because, apparently, his view of himself and his role is changing. "Mercer has dissolved somewhat in recent years. It is not easy to say who he is any more . . . neither old retainer nor expert in current affairs."[60]

This uneasy relationship between Binx Bolling and Mercer typifies the uneasy relationship between Southern whites and Negroes. "My main emotion around Mercer is unease that in threading his way between servility and presumption, his foot might slip. I wait on Mercer, not he on me."[61] Though undoubtedly the feeling between a Negro butler and a member of his white household is more delicate than that between the average Negro and white, the fact remains that Southern whites and Negroes are deeply concerned that everyone should play his proper role. The whites are especially concerned because it is they who assigned the roles. It was Richard Wright's inability to play his role, especially when it conflicted with his immediate perceptions as it so often did, that made it impossible for him to remain in the South.

There's another type of Negro butler in Percy's *The Last Gentleman*. This is the gangling seventeen-year-old David Ross, "who had not caught onto the Negro way or the white way."[62] Even while polishing silver, he plans to sell an ice-dispenser in the white community; in brief, to enter the competitive white world still carrying

all the dependency of the Negro reared under paternalism. With such terrible vulnerability, thinks Barrett, he will ruin himself and all of us, for, tempted by this vulnerability, we shall violate and ruin him and be ruined ourselves.

This picture of the innocent David Ross does not take account of the Black Power militants. Yet, it is true, as Percy suggests, that the Negro is now passing out from the protective walls of segregation and paternalism into the world of general competition, and, for a time at least, may wish both to be taken care of, in the old style, and to fight his own battles, in the new: to have both dependence and independence.

This matter of acting the proper role, or keeping the accepted place, is connected with the Southern emphasis on physical place. However the South learned this emphasis—whether through an early concern for the locale of the significant present moment, through a relatively immobile rural life, through the defense of the native place against invaders, or through all of these influences—the Southerner, more than most Americans, is place-bound. Ralph Ellison, in an essay entitled "Harlem Is Nowhere," makes this point about the Negro there. His reply to the greeting, "How are you?" is very often, "Oh, man, I'm *nowhere.*"[63] Who you are is to a degree where you are, both geographically and socially. This is the way the Southerner thinks. The usual question asked of a new acquaintance is, "Where're you from?" Following this, but in recent years not so frankly expressed, "Who're you kin to?" For a Southerner to feel he knows you is for him to

know your relationships, relations, relatives. He is a relative man. This is his social strength and his individual weakness.

According to Barrett, of *The Last Gentleman,* "There was something to be said after all for the cool Yankee style of going your own way and paying no attention to anyone. Here for God's sake the air fairly crackled with kinship radiations. That was it. These beautiful little flat-footed girls greeted you like your own sister."[64]

As Percy sees it, a place is not coördinates on a map; a place is where somebody lives. As for the mobility of present-day America, so sharply in contrast to this Southern sense of place, Binx Bolling warns, ". . . If a man travels lightly to a hundred strange cities and cares nothing for the risk he takes, he may find himself No one and Nowhere."[65]

There's an interesting comment about place, again made by Barrett as he travels South in a modern camper. "Now here surely is a good way to live nowadays . . . mobile yet at home . . . sampling the particularities of place yet cabined off from the sadness of place, curtained away from the ghosts of Malvern Hill, peeping out at the doleful woods of Spotsylvania through the cheerful plexiglass of Sheboygan."[66] This raises the question, does place acquire sadness through human association? Is there a sadness in the South because men remember, though only half-consciously, Malvern Hill? Is there a sadness in the South because men remember? Not only nostalgia for a supposedly glamorous past, but also something of "the tears of things," simply

because men have spent their lives—their tragic lives—among them?

Percy suggests elsewhere that geographical place takes meaning from persons. Binx Bolling, passing through Chicago, must visit one soul in the five million there, "else we cannot be sure we are here at all."[67] If this suggestion is correct, the Southerner's concern with place is caused, not so much by the influences we noticed above, as by a basic concern for people. Perhaps, then, to channel and contain this concern, the Southerner set people in place, geographical and social. The Negro was set in an extremely separate and fixed place because, for political reasons, it was improper for the Southerner's general human concern to move freely and fully across racial lines. From this point of view, segregation was an indirect expression of human concern.

The advantage of having a place is that you become acquainted with it, and may come to feel at home in it. The Negro developed great sensitivity in making the white feel at home. Perhaps he did it for self-protection; but it resulted in the white Southerner's developing a sense of being at home, even among Negroes, not justified by the harsh facts. The Negroes, says Barrett, "lived by their radars . . . tuning in on the assorted signals about them and responding with a skill two hundred years in the learning. And not merely responding. Not merely answering the signals but providing home and sustenance to the transmitter, giving him, the transmitter, to believe that he dwelled in loving and familiar territory."[68] It is the feeling that his signals are always being

received that gives the white Southerner such a strong sense of being at home. This is one reason why he "likes the Negro." The tragedy is that his satisfaction prevented the reception of desperate signals the Negro himself, often against conscious intention, was sending out.

One of the means of keeping Southerners in place is an elaborate and subtle code of manners. Manners, of course, do more than this; but they do this, and often do it gently. The chief illustration in Percy is the relation between the Negro butler, Mercer, and the white family. But the stress on nice manners appears elsewhere. In *The Moviegoer,* Binx Bolling, speaking of the numerous high-minded women of the South, says, "If I had to name a single trait that all these people shared, it is their niceness. Their lives are triumphs of niceness. They like everyone with the warmest and most generous feelings."[69] This is the amiableness, the agreeableness, that touches the surface of Southern life.

For instance, Sharon, in *The Moviegoer* protects herself "by her Southern female trick of politeness. 'This is the cutest little car,' she sings and goes trailing off in a fit of absentmindedness . . . as singsongy and shut off to herself as her mammy in Eufala. Southern girls learn a lot from their nurses."[70] The woman's place, the Negro's place, and the trick of agreeable manners to keep everyone in his place.

But part of the price for this is the unplumbed, indeed unacknowledged, abyss that yawns underneath. We remember Eudora Welty's suggestion that this surface agreeableness has as its main

purpose the hiding of the abyss—the danger and violence of life, the inevitability of death. Percy suggests that some Southerners are becoming conscious of the sham. Kate, in *The Moviegoer,* remembers the laughing familiarity of the adults of her childhood. But "now it seemed that they (not just she but everybody) had become aware of the abyss that yawned at their feet even on the most ordinary occasions—especially on the most ordinary occasions."[71] These ordinary occasions had been arranged to hide the abyss. Now, with the breakdown of values and structure, the abyss is sensed especially in the occasions we created to hide it.

The South had taught itself to live in ordinary occasions. Says Bolling of his mother, "She veers away from intimacy. I marvel at her sure instinct for the ordinary."[72] But this is a trained "instinct." We veer away from the intimate, from the deep inward, because it takes us too close to the abyss.

But as Percy also suggests, not only are we practiced in living with the ordinary, we are also driven, rather strangely, toward honor and glory. This may be by way of contrast to ordinary dailiness and also as another way of avoiding the dangerous depths. For honor and glory, dishonor and shame, are social awards and punishments; and if we can live sufficiently in the social world of dailiness or in the moments of honor, we can avoid the deep inner world, where all these values are subject to universal standards; where we face God instead of our neighbors.

The South today, as Barrett sees it, has neither honor nor religious justification. Rather, it has

material success, and, strangely, "An almost invincible happiness . . . The men were healthy and successful and funny. They knew how to tell stories. They had everything the North had and more. They had a history, they had a place redolent with memories, they had good conversation, they believed in God [but not the abyss] and defended the Constitution, and they were getting rich in the bargain . . . As light-footed and as hawk-eyed a God-fearing crew as one could imagine.

"The happiness of the South drove him wild with despair."[73]

In summary, Walker Percy's stories have only little to do with either the civil rights struggle, or the earlier, paternalistic pattern; but they reveal, through the lives and thoughts of some of the characters, a great deal about life in the South, and suggest the soul-splitting effect of unjust race relations, especially upon the whites. Whether in this sickness we shall find health remains to be seen. Aunt Emily of *The Moviegoer,* doubts it. "It should be quite a sight, the going under of the evening land. That's us all right. And I can tell you, my young friend, it is evening. It is very late."[74]

Ellen Douglas

Meanwhile, some of our writers continue to set down perceptively and lovingly, even in the violent sixties, the details of the old racial order in its truth and falsehood, its innocence and guilt. Such a one is Ellen Douglas. In 1962, she published a novel entitled *A Family's Affairs,* the story of a complex Mississippi family. But except for two servants, who appear but briefly, the Negro is not mentioned. The book closes, however, with the narrator's realization that all men are one and that everyone must be included: "Let me take in humility all they give, and give in return all that I have."[75] This statement hints at the coming book, *Black Cloud, White Cloud*: *Two Novellas and Two Short Stories,"* which appeared in 1963 and which presents most perceptively the intertwined lives of whites and Negroes. The situations are predominantly paternalistic—though in one of the stories the attitude is mercilessly flayed —but the details are highly sensitive.

The title page of the volume carries Blake's poem "The Little Black Boy," the burden of which is that though the little black boy and the

little white boy will have to wait for heaven to have their likeness made clear, even now, on earth, they are really alike. This is also what the stories say. Beneath the master-servant, employer-employee relationship, these are people bound together both by gratitude and by guilt.

In "The House on the Cliff," Tété, the black nurse, is second mother in the Baird family, controlling the children even when the mother cannot. Perhaps she is respected more than loved, for she demands respect. Yet at her death she is buried in the family plot, with her name and dates inscribed upon the stone, and the words, "Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with thee." Her strong presence, however, damages young Keith, because the family was "*split,* in time between feckless wealth and hardworking poverty [the coming of the depression], and in status between black and white."[76] With such a servant, one would expect a world of form and courtesy. This we have, as in Eudora Welty, and, as also in Miss Welty, the uneasiness about the unspoken depths. Little Anna, a visiting cousin, "was sure that courtesy consisted in concealing one's emotions, and often one's necessities, if one could, that there was something vaguely disgraceful about open sorrow."[77] And, as she saw the surface of the family life, "the fairy world of ceremonious and exotic charm," broken by the depression, she glimpsed for a moment "unimagined and threatening depths."[78] Later, when her young cousin Keith died, she wrote in her diary: "How is it possible for things to be so gay and perfect on the surface,

and underneath, all the time, such terrible trouble?"[79] Miss Douglas does not hint at an answer. Miss Welty suggests that the gay surface is constructed to hide the terrible depths.

In the story "Jesse," the liberal husband and wife are nice to Jesse, the ancient, derelict guitar player. But, "You never should have given him the first can of beer," he says. "You only gave it to him because he's a Negro." "I was trying to be nice to him," she answers. "And get a little credit for high principles."[80] At the end she is saying, "There are those of us who are willing to say 'I am guilty,' but who is to absolve us? And do we expect by our confession miraculously to relieve [or to 'escape'] the suffering of the innocent?"[81] But the words do not relieve her. She is left with a vague sense of anxiety.

"I Just Love Carrie Lee" is a brilliant but still human exposé of the white mistress who thinks she loves her servant but who really enjoys owning her. Yet within limits she is a responsible person. And what is one to make of her memory of Carrie Lee peeling pears with the family, sitting with them in their new home in Homochitto, Mississippi, far from the old Atlanta home, telling some outrageous tale, and, being asked why she runs on so, replying:

> "To keep us from the lonely hours
> And being sad so far from home."[82]

Where is the truth, where the falsehood, of this relationship? I'm afraid I'm not the one to answer. I am biased. For I remember my mother, who was surely at home in the world, singing

> "Catch old John and hitch him to the buggy,

Long ways from home,
Long ways from home, my darling,
Long ways from home . . . "

Maybe Southerners aren't any more homesick than anybody else. But maybe they are. Or maybe it is just a vague sentimentality with which we gloss the harshness of life, which to a degree we have caused, and certainly have borne.

But perhaps the best example of Miss Douglas's perceptiveness is the novella "Hold On." This is the story of the relationship between the white woman Anna, and Estella, the Negro woman who occasionally helped her. The heart of the story is the fact that Estella nearly drowned—indeed she lost consciousness—when the boat carrying her and Anna and the children capsized in the lake and Anna feels guilty because she had insisted on Estella's going with them. But even before the accident she felt guilty, because of the whole unjust situation. And she took pride in the fact that to some degree she had built up, carefully, a personal friendship with Estella. For she "had resolved from the beginning to wipe out, at least in this one small area of her own personal life, the universal guilt, the heresy that builds itself every day into a more complex and hate-filled present. With innocent virtue she has determined to be born again and baptized with the purity of her own motives."[83]

It isn't hard to imagine what Flannery O'Connor would do with such a character. For here is salvation by works, not grace, here is an individual determined to make his own way to heaven. But Miss Douglas treats her more gently.

When Anna is complaining to her friend Carl Jensen that she cannot get over the sense of guilt, he replies: "Maybe you've got to get *with* it. You've got a new bed fellow . . . You may have to make room for him."[84] And this, apparently, is what she does. In the end she hears Estella singing and sees her fishing "in the clear dying light." And she is happy. Why? Because, apparently, she has accepted her guilt as a part of human guilt, and in that common guilt finds mankind one.

We have often referred to the Southerner's sense of role. Miss Douglas gives this sense to Carl Jensen, who had saved Anna and the children and revived Estella. Recalling the rescue, he says, "I began to get the feeling that I had a part in a play . . . Everything was too much itself . . . As if we'de been waiting in the wings for our cues—not the least of it being the curious way the wind brought the children's voices into my willow thicket."[85]

To have a role is to play it—that is to *play*. And instead of action being motivated from deep within, as with the man of conscience, it is motivated by whispers from the outside. Such a situation implies a poetic world, and right here perhaps lies the charm and the danger of the South. It is charming to play; it is dangerous when the roles are narrow and sternly enforced.

As I said, Miss Douglas has nothing to say about civil rights. But the world she reveals is the world in which the civil rights movement arose, and this curious complex of guilt and responsibility and role may have had something to do with it.

Wilma Dykeman

Miss Douglas first told the long story of a complex Mississippi family in *A Family's Affairs,* where the race issue was non-existent, and a year later, in a separate book, presented this issue very delicately. Miss Dykeman, at the other edge of the South, in the Tennessee mountains, published three years after this, in 1966, a novel, *The Far Family,* wherein the race issue becomes entangled with the affairs of a white family. (Nine years before this Miss Dykeman had expressed her interest in race relations, for she had published then, along with James Stokely, a book entitled *Neither Black Nor White.*)

One would hardly expect a story of Southern Appalachia to be concerned with the civil rights movement; there are too few Negroes there. In Wilma Dykeman's novel, however, there is one fact, a crucial one, which implies the movement as background. A white man, Clay Thurston, of prominent family but an alcoholic, is charged

with the brutal murder of a Negro, Hawk Williams, who is bad even from the point of view of his Negro neighbors. The case is touchy because if it is blown up by the national press it may be cited as an instance of white racism; and such national notice might ruin the career of Clay's nephew, Phillip Cortland, young United States Senator just returned from a trip abroad, where he has been investigating the possibilities for development in a backward nation. Clay is finally cleared by the confession of another Negro, Homer Bludsoe, whose daughter has been terribly mistreated by Hawk.

The reasons for Homer's confessions are significant. First, he's a good man, in a particular way. "I can't be ashamed or afraid of myself. I'm a good brick mason, I make my own way. And that's why I had to step out and say I killed Hawk Williams." But there's another reason. "I know that a black man and a white man are equal, Mr. Moore. And being equal, I can't let no other man pay my debts."[86]

It is at that moment that Ivy Thurston Cortland, Clay's sister and the narrator, realizes what whites have done to Negroes: they have lumped them all together. She had thought of Homer Bludsoe and Hawk Williams as alike, since they were both Negroes. Now she realizes that Homer Bludsoe is like himself. This was the essential thing he demanded: that he be known for what he was. It was this ignorance, he said, this blindness of whites, that was tearing the world apart.

There's a third reason for Bludsoe's confession. He belonged to a Negro family with a history. In

earlier years his family and the Thurstons had touched each other significantly, and even now his wife was Ivy's maid. Bludsoe was assuming responsibility for his past and his present. But even as Ivy realized this, she also realized that the murdered man, Hawk Williams, had never been accorded any real recognition: the toadying crony of the whites on the fishing trips, a drunkard, physically powerful, and by trade a butcher, he had been admired by the whites only for his physical strength, and used for his weakness. Perhaps he too, like Bludsoe, longed for some recognition, and fought for it in his own cruel way.

But, as Ivy realized elsewhere, the knowledge whites have of Negroes is shallow. Of her maid Naomi, she thought: "Good friends as they tried to be, treating each other with courtesy and friendliness and sharing little defeats and hopes and news of children, there was still this barrier, visible only at certain times, yet always there."[87] At the same time, she felt that Negroes have a much more detailed knowledge of whites. Speaking again of Naomi: "She knows all about us—what we eat, wear, talk about, do . . . And we don't know a thing about her except what she wants us to know a thing about her children. . . ."[88] But her sister, Phoebe, now married into the plantation life of lower South Carolina, claims that she does know Ngroes. Why, she never has any trouble getting help. Old Aunt Hettie "comes by every so often and makes us an orange spice cake or a pan of rolls. The children love her like part of the family."[89]

The deeper reality of black-white relationships

is hidden behind Southern manners. Clay, the suspected murderer, comes away from a conversation with Lorna Williams, widow of the murdered man, muttering: "They're always so damned polite . . . What the hell kind of courtesy is that, with old Hawk out there in the ground?"[90]

Beyond this perennial problem of race relations, with its hint of new laws, new attitudes, new people, *The Far Family* is mainly concerned, as the title suggests, with a complex Southern family, met together briefly from many states to support their unfortunate brother Clay. The title page quotes a mountain saying: "They're still my family, my folks, no matter how far they've wandered." As a study of the family, this book is a study of the South. Miss Dykeman goes back to the Spanish-American War, and shows the development of the Thurston family, with all its strengths and weaknesses, its uniqueness and its universality, the similarities and differences of its members. It is largely through its families that a major strength and weakness of the South is seen, for the family is the most intimate carrier of the past, and the past is our greatest resource and our greatest liability. "There was Mama, thinking back, remembering the good times, making links with yesterday. And there was Papa, forgetting yesterday, foretelling fortune, paving the way to tomorrow."[91] Some of this is an indication of Southern romanticism, with some Southerners recalling a glamorous past, others expecting an impossible future. But it's the past that haunts the South. "That's the difference between being down here and up in one of those big cities: folks

remember," said Clay.[92] And now Ivy is thinking of the Thurstons: "They remembered with all the tenacity of the Scotch, all the substance of the English, and all the sentiment of the Irish, and when they came together the past remembering was as important as the present doing."[93]

Miss Dykeman contrasts this deeply-rooted Southern family with the group of up-and-coming members of the country club, where Phil, as the young politician, is highly acceptable. His family seems to him both unique and universal. He "knew that his mother could have walked among the people in the foreign lands he had visited and won their friendship."[94] But the people at the country club were not Nantahala people; not people of a place; they were from nowhere; and in spite of all their similarities of hair styles, clothes, jokes, food, they were neither unique nor universal. "He had never seen a lonelier, more desperate group of people. They held on to their little club to show how closely they were bound together, and essentially they were as uncommitted to one another as the lion and the impala of the jungle . . . They made up for a lack of true community with the trappings of community spirit. Words replaced actions. Symbols passed for reality."[95]

These are the successful Southerners whose happiness drove Percy's Will Barrett to despair.

But the loneliness, which they were drowning in noise and numbers, had infected the South long before they appeared. Miss Dykeman notes briefly its presence. The young Phil, growing up awkward and lonely, had at least won acceptance from

those surrounding him. "To his astonishment, he had discovered a deep unease among them, too, an unease which made them all akin. The knowledge was a great release."[96] Even more significant is the basic aloneness of the members of the closely knit Thurston family. "It occurred to Ivy that not one of them actually had any present knowledge of all of the other's basic beliefs . . . They had other things to talk of, to give. And they discussed and shared everything but this."[97]

Here again is the family and social talk so beautifully rendered in Eudora Welty's *Delta Wedding,* and here again, however faintly suggested, the loneliness and privation of the inner life.

Shirley Ann Grau

Back now to the deep South, but still the Southern family and its entanglement with race.

Perhaps the chief Southern characteristic of Shirley Ann Grau, of New Orleans, is the emphasis in her fiction upon family and place. Even the title of one of her novels suggests this: *The House on Coliseum Street.* But this emphasis upon the family and upon the place long lived in can also be a tragic emphasis because of the shadows and burdens of the past. This is what we see in *The Keepers Of The House,* for the Howland family not only keeps the house but is kept in place and mindful of its duty to the house and the Howland family. In this book, too, the racial issue plays a central part. But, before considering this, let us note briefly one of Miss Grau's short stories, "Miss Yellow Eyes," which appeared in the volume *The Black Prince And Other Stories.* In this volume of nine stories, there

are five that deal with Negroes, realistically, truly. But only one, "Miss Yellow Eyes," sets the Negro in the context of the white world. Even here, however, the action, occurring during World War Two, precedes the civil rights movement and only suggests it in the racial bitterness of one of the Negro characters, Pete. Dodging the draft, Pete attempts to injure his hand slightly in a train coupling, but damages it so seriously that it is amputated. So he remains at home, bitter in the belief that, if he had been a white man, the doctors would have saved his hand. His friend, Chris, is drafted and killed in action. "We good enough to die," says Pete bitterly.

Miss Grau's most important use of race relations appears in *The Keepers Of The House,* published in 1964. Even here the civil rights movement has no part, but the bitterness and the violence of whites, enraged by pressures toward integration, do. This is the story of the Howland family, of South Mississippi, from a hundred years ago till the present. The last part of the book covers the period from the depression, and concerns mainly Abigail Howland Mason, who weds and later divorces John Tolliver; her grandfather William Howland; and his black mistress, Margaret. Abigail is brought up by her grandfather and Margaret, along with Margaret's—and her grandfather's—three children. As these three children grow up, they are sent North to school, and never appear again until the very end of the novel. So far as the community is concerned, they are the wealthy William Howland's bastards and are so dismissed. But after Howland's death, while Abi-

gail's husband, John Tolliver, is running for governor, and has the office practically in his hands, it is learned that William Howland had married Margaret in Ohio and that the children are therefore legitimate. This knowledge, probably disseminated by the bitter son Robert, who passed for white in the North, married a white woman, and is angered by certain public racist remarks of John Tolliver—this knowledge ruins John's chance for the governorship, brings a mob to burn the Tolliver's barn, and ends in Abigail's and John's divorce, and the deliberate ruin of the neighboring small town by Abigail, who now, since her grandfather's death, owns all the productive property there.

John Tolliver, mainly for political purposes, was a segregationist; Abigail, brought up, in effect by a Negro "mother," was not. The mob action, of whites against whites, took place, not because William Howland had had a black mistress—in fact, Howland was dead now; Margaret, having retired to a home he had left her, was dead too—it took place because of his legitimization of that relationship, and because this became public knowledge at the same time the whites were feeling the court pressure for integration.

Dr. Robert Coles, an astute observer of the South, suggests that this book of Miss Grau's also expresses the Southern theme of loneliness. "She knows the Negro as an emotional alternative for the white man's personal loneliness or isolation." If this appears, it appears in the relation of William Howland to his black mistress, Margaret. Though to outward appearances, this is very re-

served, yet undoubtedly there is a deep and interdependent relation between them. Most of the women around Howland had been helpless and dependent: his own wife, dead young; his daughter, and his granddaughter. He had very little real communication with them. But he found in Margaret a strength matching his own, and, in spite of the reserve they showed in public, they understood each other, and he found in her surcease of that loneliness Coles has noted in the white Southerner.

The Keepers Of The House is about the breakdown of an old racial order and the coming of a new. The old intimacy of the Negro mistress was accepted in the deep South—especially the Negro mistress of such a wealthy white as William Howland. The new intimacy of the Negro wife aroused violent opposition. Robert, Margaret's son in the North, did not bother to learn that Tolliver was, racially speaking, the best available candidate. For the sake of an abstract truth, he was willing to sacrifice a concrete goodness.

A minor Southern theme of the book is the confusing and tragic weight of the past as it hangs about old places. Abigail realized this when the neighbors turned against her. She had been so used to seeing things in time, deeply rooted like the Howland family in history, that she hadn't seen her neighbors as they were now, she only thought she knew them. Curiously, here, the people most deeply rooted in the past were the most liberal, those more shallowly rooted the most illiberal.

K. B. Gilden

We move eastward now from Mississippi to the Golden Isles of Georgia, and to K. B. Gilden's *Hurry Sundown.* It's a pity that a novel that reveals so much about the South shouldn't have revealed it better. The book is inordinately long (1102 pages).

But it's remarkable for the knowledge it reveals, knowledge of the South and of Southern themes, for neither of the authors is a Southerner. K. B. Gilden is the pen name of the husband-wife writing team, Katya and Bert. Only Bert has lived in the South, and he not too long. That gave me some hesitance in putting the book in our list. It does, however, include the civil rights struggle as part of its material, and, in attempting to relate this struggle to the complex life of the South, it deserves attention.

The scene of the story is Arcady, Georgia.

From the description of the surrounding area, the original is probably Darien. The time is 1946 or '47, the basic action the economic development of the South following World War II, and the conflict between two small farmers, one a Negro, one a white, on the one side and the big land development corporation on the other. Since the book was written—so we are told—over fourteen years and published in '64, the authors had the advantage of the knowledge of the civil rights development during that entire period, and actually assigned to the forties certain actions that did not occur until the sixties; the demonstrations, for instance. Except for the historian, however, this is not important. And perhaps this speeding up of history is made more reasonable by the contention, possibly true for the actual Darien, that from the beginning race relations in Arcady were more liberal than in much of the South, and that therefore more rapid advances might occur there.

The two small farmers who stand in the way of the extension of the land corporation's holdings are Rad McDowell, white, and Reeve Scott, Negro. They are both just home from the War, they were youthful friends, they love their land and intend to farm it themselves. They are opposed by Henry Warren, a cousin of Rad's who has married wealth in the person of Julie Colfax. He is the local representative of the land corporation. Henry and Julie have a retarded child, whose presence dampens the father's almost mad thrust toward success. It also leads him to make a protégé of Rad's attractive son, Charles, and in spite of Rad's opposition, practically adopt him. In the

end, however, in Henry's mad attempt to ruin and thereby obtain the desired land, he dynamites a dam, floods the land, and his favorite, Charles, is drowned in the flood.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the story is the attempt of Rad and Reeve to work together against the engulfing company. They are drawn together by early memories and by present need; but they are also thrust apart by racial tension. The story probably makes their cooperation too strong, the opposition to it too weak, especially the opposition of the white community to a Negro on the make economically. But whites and Negroes have worked together in the South, sometimes in conditions of equality.

The other basic question in the story is the character of Julie Warren. She is complacent and sentimental. There's nothing wrong with this; indeed, these are basic weaknesses of the South. But I'm not sure the authors always mean it. For me, Julie is too heavily marked by the supposed romantic glamour of the South.

This romanticism appears also in her husband Henry. He is as hypnotized by the possibilities of the future as many white Southerners have been by memories or dreams of the past. He is a romanticist of the future. Indeed, he is almost insane in his thrust forward. "The truth is what I say it is," he shouts at his lawyer.[98] The story suggests elsewhere that the South is filled with people who are blind to reality. The physician says that Henry's mentally retarded child lives in a world of his own, "with its own closed system of logic—as many people, particularly in this vicinity, do . . .

They may sit on a volcano, proclaiming that all is sweetness and light."[99]

Henry's wife, Julie, feels more the weight of the past than the call of the future, though she is willing to go to great lengths to help Henry accomplish his ends. At one point, everything "reminded her of something that had gone before . . . And everything remembered weighed on her like a vast antediluvian body that must be dragged by the present moment through all of time."[100]

The story illustrates much of the complexity of the race problem in the relationship between Rad and Reeve, between Julie and her old Negro nurse Rose, Reeve's mother, and between Sheriff Chalmer and the Negroes. The Gildens attempt an unusual thing in the Rad-Reeve relationship. For here is a relationship of work and trust—combined with mistrust—and even of close social relations, between a poor hard-working white farmer and a poor hard-working Negro farmer. The book doesn't succeed in making this entirely convincing. It may have occurred in the South; it's not the kind of thing that occurs. That the relationship is difficult is apparent. Reeve, trying to understand it, and aware of their mutual economic needs and mutual memories, yet found here "within the realm of the intimate and the internal that the whole thing got away from him."[101]

The relation between Julie and Rose reveals both the blind complacency of the white Southerner and also the intricate ways by which whites and Negroes avoid confrontation. Julie has no idea of the passion with which Rose holds onto her little farm; she also has an exaggerated opin-

ion of Rose's devotion to her. Yet, until Rose finally becomes aware of Julie's blindness, "they approached what was uppermost in both of their minds with the discretion, the hints and counter-hints, the understanding of what ought and ought not to be said prescribed by the rules of the game, the established ritual of 'getting along,' the to-and-fro dance of tracing out the precise formulation to reach an accord."[102]

The same avoidance of confrontation appears in the actions of Sheriff Chalmer. It's true the relation between the Sheriff and the Negro population is better here than it usually is in the South. They had some power through the vote, and he showed the effect of this through his generally relaxed relation to them. "He did not above all want to be faced with the alternative: fight or surrender to them, do or back down. His job, his strategy, and his intrinsic character, all, were dedicated to the avoidance of just such a confrontation."[103]

In general, the book shows the interrelatedness of black and white life in the South, but it probably makes the positive ties stronger than they really are. The Gildens may have been expressing in part their hope. After all, they named their town *Arcady*.

Donald Harington

With Donald Harington we have, for the first time in our study, the race problem revealed in a comical light. The dust cover of his only novel, *The Cherry Pit,* tells us that "he is the great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandson of Sir John Harington, Elizabethan court jester and poet, and inventor of the flush toilet." The tone of the blurb is the tone of the book. It is—I quote further—"a brilliant comic novel, funny and flamboyant in style and incident—and like all good comic novels a serious book."

I'm not sure how serious the imagined race relations are. They seem to me somewhat like a *tour-de-force*. I grant it could happen like this. But to what degree is this typical of the South?

The South represented here is Little Rock of the early 1960's. The Negro movement, demonstrations, a race riot (remembered), the changing *mores* are all used, but they lack depth. They are largely the contrasting background for a personal

story, one of the most striking facts about which is a complex of Negro-white friendships. It is noteworthy, however, that the racial conflict in Little Rock could be used, even though largely only as a background, for a comic story involving unusual personal relations between several Negroes and whites.

The Cherry Pit—so named because the narrator Clifford Stone had thought life all a bowl of cherries but for himself had never got anything but the pits—tells of his return home to Litttle Rock for a two weeks' visit, leaving his wife and their unsatisfactory relationship in Boston, and moved by some uneasy desire to rediscover a lost past. He finds an old schoolmate, Margaret, saves her from suicide, almost falls in love with her, but finds her too home-bound—and, doubtfully, at the same time too flighty—and himself too filled with wanderlust. He also meets another schoolmate, the police sergeant Doyle Hawkins ("Dall"), with whose aid he saves Margaret, and to whom he is bound mainly by their common concern for her. The third character is still another boyhood friend, the Negro N. Leon Howard ("Naps")—book salesman, wealthy, with big car and fine house, beautiful wife, a leader of the Negro Movement—hated at first by Sergeant Doyle, but later understood and valued. Naps' business card carried the words: "Books, Religious and Otherwise / Agitating, NonViolent and Otherwise / Lunch Counters a Specialty." There's a question of whether Naps, with the quadruple character of Uncle Tom, real friend of a hillbilly white now the "law," successful Negro business-

man, and professional agitator, ever existed; certainly he couldn't continue to operate thus in the higher intensities of 1969, but perhaps he is real enough for comic purposes. There's another question as to whether Clifford Stone would express so openly his friendship with Naps, even living at times in Naps' home, and it is certainly questionable that a rednecked policeman should be led to dine in this home.

All these people are divided within themselves, and are part of a divided South of which Little Rock is the illustration. The narrator sees two Little Rocks: "one a slow, easy old Southern town of old bricks and boards and friendly sidewalks where walking unfolds block after block, new quaintnesses; the other, a sprawling, sidewalkless jungle of ticky-tack suburbs where walking seems prohibited by law or at least impossible."[104]

Yet there is a healing quality in the South, to some degree in the land itself. Clifford Stone, explaining to his former acquaintance Dall, now police Sergeant Doyle Hawkins, his visit to Little Rock, "did not tell him of my memory of oak-leafed tunnels down summer night streets . . . or of October winds or June clouds . . . Instead I mentioned such things as going fishing or sitting on the front porch in one's undershirt with a beer after supper in summer . . . These are the things that may be mentioned . . . man to man. The others, the magnetic baits hidden deep in the dull city . . . are unutterably vague and unfathomable."[105]

But the unity isn't simply between man and land. Stone also tries to explain the rather strange

friendship between the chief characters of the story: they are bound together by defeat and frustration. This was their lost, desperate affinity and kinship. "The world was stomping all over me . . . but if there was anybody really getting stomped on, it was [Margaret]. It takes one to know one, and I saw now why Dall was helping me, and why Naps was helping too: we formed a perfect Quartet of Stompables, a foursome of abused, oppressed, rebuffed, and buffeted nobodies, losers, children outside the gate, eternal wanderers and wanters . . . languishing in the anguish of a search for identity."[106]

Later, Margaret asks Cliff why he has returned to the drought-stricken South. Because the South is one in failure, he replies. "It seems to me that the little lives of all . . . this whole permanently drought-stricken Southland, are intricately woven together, more than the lives of any other region or country . . . Maybe it's because we've all been victims . . . of the South's long and continuous tragedy, I don't know. There really wouldn't seem to be much . . . kinship . . . between a colored man and a white supremacist [Sgt. Hawkins]. . . . But there is. Because they are both Southerners, both permanently doomed by whatever living doom or damnation is the lot of us all. Or whatever honor or pride or shame. Take Naps and Dall, for instance . . . Naps is a college graduate . . . but sometimes he sounds like an old illiterate darkie, just as sometimes Dall sounds like the trashiest of hillbilly white trash. But Dall doesn't *have* to talk like that . . . Neither does Naps . . . I think those guys, each in his own way,

bear some kind of deep implacable pride in their backgrounds, their roots . . . and their speech is a kind of living monument to the past. They . . . flaunt the coarse glory of the Old South in the languid face of the New South, to keep reminding themselves, and us, that the South's past, however bad or improper or imperfect it was, had a rich character which modern civilization is taking away from us."[107]

The book then says, and shows, although not quite convincingly, that the tragic history of the South, a history of racial conflict and division, may become, when understood, the realization of oneness. Ellison suggests this in *Invisible Man,* but doesn't even make the attempt to prove it. Harington at least tries.

Larry King

If Harington's *The Cherry Pit* (1965) is a mild comedy, Larry King's *The One-Eyed Man* (1966) is the real McCoy—the picture of a rip-roarin' one-gallus Southern demagogue on the rise. We've already had the barest sketch of a Southern demagogue in John Tolliver, of Shirley Ann Grau's *The Keepers of the House*. But Tolliver was uttering racist sentiments before racist groups, knowing they will hardly pass beyond these groups, and believing that, if they do, the Negroes will understand the political bind he is in. In *The One-Eyed Man,* we get a full-length picture of a demagogue making hay out of the racial disturbances of the last ten years. The title comes from the saying, "In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king." In this story, the reactionary forces in the South are blind, and Cullie Blanton, the demagogic governor, though blind to much misuse of power, sees clearly that one state can't fight the nation. "You can't fight the feds," he says.

The scene of the action suggests Mississippi, and the mob action near the close reminds us of James Meredith's entrance into Ole Miss in 1962. It is interesting that this wildly humorous treatment of one aspect of civil rights comes at the close of the movement.

For the most part, the Negro appears in this story mainly as an unseen force. He does appear personally in Hamilton Davenport, the Negro student who is trying to enter the state university. But, except for Davenport, the Negro is a political counter, thrust forward mainly by the poor whites, who make and finally break Cullie Blanton.

Probably even more Southern than the theme of the Negro as political pawn is the language itself. It is Southern rhetoric at its best and worst. The book overflows with it. There may be too much of it for the non-Southerner. Cullie Blanton admits that "corn tastes better where it grows." But for at least one Southerner, the exuberance of the language is part of the exuberance of the entire story. It is a story of wild politics, of the rise of a politician who for all his evil had courage and some unselfishness in him, and of the people who backed him and finally broke him. The South has often substituted words for deeds, but, let us admit, the words have often been splendid, and sometimes, as in this book, brave and generous deeds have followed. Cullie Blanton fought segregation, he tried to get Davenport into the university, he buried the Lost Cause though he praised its heroes, and he spoke the truth about "standing in the way of the feds." With his words and his courage, he almost won. When he lost he

had the self-understanding to admit that he "just got in the way of goddam history."

Near the beginning of the story Cullie, with his usual rhetoric, says of the South: "The land is haunted and the hills are bloody and the wind is full of guilt." Once, later, he touches again this theme of the tragic South. Perhaps the story would have been more powerful if this tragic theme had been more fully expressed, but then the book might have lost its comic exuberance. For those who read carefully, the tragic history of the South is revealed by the numerous grotesque characters, the wild action, and in part by the very rhetoric in which men bury the facts they cannot face. Behind the freshet of words is the silence that haunts the South. Men are quarreling with others because they cannot afford to quarrel with themselves.

As Robert Penn Warren points out, one of the stock Southern reactions to the unhappy history of the South is the Great Alibi: the mood of self pity in the belief that we were doomed before birth by the great Civil War defeat. Larry King has his narrator, Jim Clayton, pay his respect to this myth. Jim has been conferring with the worn-out demagogue Poppa Posey, who is trying to stage a comback against Cullie. Says Jim: "I knew in the moment a strange kinship stirring in the blood. We would clutch and grab each other, sobbing sectional sorrows, bound together by romantic memories of Lee's Lost Cause and three-cent cotton, bemoaning carnage at Richmond and Shiloh, twitching the agony of some common loss. But the moment passed."[108]

When Cullie, the creation of the old South, faces Hamilton Davenport, he faces a new Negro and is nonplussed. He and Jim meet Davenport and Davenport's lawyer in an old farmhouse; the governor hopes to bribe Davenport to delay for a year, or at least until after the election, his intended entry into the university. At the farmhouse, Cullie tries every act in his repertoire: laughing, joking, spinning yarns. But all the time, "the two men sat across from us, wrapped in an ethereal dignity, watching the show dispassionately, as if perhaps they had paid to see high drama and had been served up low comedy in its stead." Then, suddenly, Blanton realized it: "he was as outdated as buggy whips." "All right," he said, "enough of the claptrap. Let's hull down to the bare bones."[109]

They do. And Blanton realizes what a new breed Davenport is: graduate of the Korean conflict, and yet still, strangely, thinking of the South as home. He is unmoved by the governor's proposal. At the end he and the governor part with some mutual respect. "Hamilton Davenport raised his glass in mock salute. Only there was nothing mocking in his eyes. He gave the governor a look tinged with some new respect."[110] For each of them recognized somewhat the difficulty of the other's position. It is in this recognition of common difficulty that whites and Negroes in the South have some chance of bridging the gulf between them.

Having put down the riot incident to Davenport's entrance into the university, Cullie Blanton is now before the legislature pleading for support.

And he takes pride in the tragic history of the South even while admitting the South's mistakes. "I was born to this soil and under these colors. So was my father, and my father's father and his father before him. I say the thing as a boast. For there is a fierce pride among our people, and it is a pride won in toil and tears and time." And then, near the climax: "We came out of our hills and off our farms nearly a hunnert years ago to fight against Old Glory. We took up arms and shot men marchin' under her stars and bars. *And ——it——was——a——mistake!* . . . Yeah . . . a *mistake!* A mistake paid for in blood, and in Southern pride, and in the lyin' fallow of our burnt fields! Paid for . . . again and again through the last hunnert years . . . I say we've paid enough. I say we end the debt tonight."[111] It was a noble try but they shouted him down.

William Bradford Huie

Harington and King were a happy interlude. We come now to the ugly facts, the cruelty, and always the question arises, where, what is the truth? William Bradford Huie's story suggests this question; Jessie Hill Ford's thrusts it at us. We shall consider Huie first.

William Bradford Huie is probably better known for his non-fiction than for his fiction. In his non-fiction he has attacked, passionately and perseveringly, injustice wherever he found it. Several of these attacks have been against racial injustice. The most recent is the book *Three Lives For Mississippi,* in which he tells the story of the three civil rights workers murdered and their bodies bulldozed into an earthen dam. When he writes a novel about racial injustice, then, he knows what he's talking about.

He does this in *The Klansman.* published in 1967, late enough for the plot to be laid in 1965, shortly after the Selma march and the murder of Mrs. Liuzzo. The scene is northwest Alabama. The chief characters: Sheriff Bascomb, devoted

family man, holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor for bravery in Korea, but also member of the Klan, and therefore unable really to proceed against it; his son, Allen, high school athletic star, looking for an appointment to West Point, essentially a young liberal, growing away from his reactionary father; Bascomb's lifelong friend, Breck Stancill, who lost a leg at Iwo Jima, and is now a tree farmer on the remainder of the vast estate owned by his forebears. Breck is not in any political sense a liberal; indeed, he is sharply critical of the Negro and white demonstrators, many of whom were outsiders; he is simply opposed to injustice toward anyone. He is also "cussedly" independent, as were the Stancills before him, one of whom had been lynched at the opening of the Civil War because he believed in the Union. The last important character is the Negro girl, Loretta Sykes, helped and educated by Breck Stancill, now an employee of Montgomery Ward in Chicago but at home briefly with her dying mother. She is arrested on the false charge of having returned to stir up the Negroes, is raped in jail by a drunken Negro set on by Deputy Cates and other Klansmen, and is finally murdered by Klansmen as she drags her mother from their burning home. Breck, whom the Klansmen are also trying to get, comes upon the scene, a part of his property, and kills four Klansmen. He is later, with the connivance of the sheriff, taken from the jail to be lynched, but the sheriff's son Allen, rushing unarmed to his defense, is killed, along with Breck, in the courtyard of the jail.

It's an ugly story, made uglier by the knowledge that there is raw truth in it. I understand that Mr. Huie, investigating actual conditions, has found situations involving rape arranged by the "law." One of the ugliest background facts is the blessing that the Rev. Mark Alverson, Klan chaplain, gives to the rape. This is the way, he says, to keep an inferior race down: keep them humiliated.

Such actions occurred in the South before the civil rights movement. This particular action, however, was set off by that movement, the intrusion of outside demonstrators, and an actual demonstration. But it also had another cause: the dislike of the Klan for the independence and courage of Breck Stancill, and for his sympathy for Negroes as shown generally by his permitting a number of families, mainly old people and children, to live on his land rent-free, thus adding to the welfare expenses of the county. To human envy was added economic cost.

The basic criticism I have of this story is its overemphasis upon one aspect of the South, that is, the South as racially divided. The South is racially divided, but it is also racially united. Mr. Huie shows this in the character of Breck Stancill, with his sympathy for all men, and his passion for justice; and there are Breck Stancills all across the South. He also shows it in young Allen Bascomb, a new generation breaking the shackles of the old.

But the sheriff's wife, Maybelle, the sheriff himself, and the other Klansmen, are too simply and darkly drawn. In spite of their vocal concern for their son Allen, the sheriff and his wife are

not shown as greatly concerned. Allen drifts away from them, and into death, with too little worry on their part. And then there are the Klansmen, who appear mainly as names for brutes. This is all they appear to be. But the sheriff is continually referring to them as good men, deeply concerned for their wives and children. Perhaps they are, but this isn't proved.

But the book does show in other ways the tragic involvement with each other of the two races, and the tragic mixture of good and evil. Loretta tells Breck that it was because of his friendliness and helpfulness that she had been raped: this was a way of getting back at him. And Wilbanks, investigator for the FBI, points out to Breck that Riddle, the strongest man in the county, who was really interested in the county's economic advancement, had a few years before encouraged the Klan because he thought it would bring the quiet and security necessary for such advancement. He had not intended violence but now, against his wishes, violence had come and he couldn't control it.

There is one passage in which whites and Negroes are shown as happily related. This is the account of the funeral of Alvin York, which Sheriff Bascomb as a Medal of Honor man attended. White and colored troops were there as an honor guard. After the funeral, in an argument about the soldier's bravery, the sheriff, youngest Medal of Honor man there, said, "Let's give the nigger his due . . . I know niggers I could train and lead into battle and I wouldn't be a damn bit scared o' being left by myself on a firing line."[112]

The ironic thing is, Bascomb didn't deserve the

medal. He admits at the very end that he just happened to be the only man left alive after a "gook" attack.

During the civil rights struggle, there has appeared a difference of attitude between its white supporters in the North and the South. Huie has one of the Southern Negro leaders, Peck, explain this to Josh Franklin, ministerial student and white civil rights leader from the North. They are talking about Breck Stancill. "You don't understand Stancill, Josh. You're an outsider and a liberal. He and I are Southerners and conservatives. I like a conservative who really likes Negroes better than I like a liberal who tries to like Negroes."[113]

Of course, the Southern white's liking for the Negro is now a highly debatable point.

This book and Ford's *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones* are very much alike. Both depend heavily upon the fact of the civil rights movement, and both seem to me to draw too dark a picture of the South. Faulkner, you may say, is dark. But Faulkner's picture is of human beings, only incidentally of Southerners, and the darkness is the darkness of human life. What they reveal may be simply the polarization of the racial conflict. Perhaps this is inevitable. In quieter times, men might see both the racial split and the racial unity. It's hard to do that now. Everyone is emphasizing the split; even the Negroes are splitting themselves off.

But, then, Ellen Douglas wrote *Black Cloud, White Cloud* as late as 1963.

Jesse Hill Ford

It's a curious thing about the South. The culture is so compelling, the weight of the South in the thought of the nation so great, that almost any story whose scene is laid in the South seems to be a story of the South. Maybe the author is just trying to describe a local situation, tell a local story. He would naturally wish to make his characters and action as human as possible. But it's hard for his readers to keep from seeing the story as typically Southern. This is especially true during such critical times as the years of the civil rights movement. For the South is a problem, both to itself and to the nation, and men are continually trying to understand it.

These comments are suggested by Jesse Hill Ford's *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones*. The action takes place in the mythical town of Somerton, in west Tennessee, in the early sixties. It is a story of miscegenation, of police corruption and violence—which ends in the lynching of the

leading Negro and wealthiest man in town, the undertaker, Lord Byron Jones—and of the several aspects of the civil rights movement—the NAACP, demonstrations, picketings, and, beyond civil rights, the Black Muslims. In brief, the races are almost entirely opposed to one another. There are three whites who support the Movement: the young lawyer, Steve Mundine, who has returned home to practice law with his uncle; Steve's wife, Nella, Californian of Norwegian descent, and the young bearded agitator from the North. Steve's uncle and law partner, Oman Hedgepath, city attorney and the most influential man in town, is supposed to be a "moderate," but, finding himself caught between the liberal Steve on one side and the customs of the town on the other, he finally takes his stand with the customs of the town, with resultant death for Lord Byron Jones.

The main story, as the title suggests, is the attempt of the rich Negro undertaker, Jones, to free himself by divorce from his sluttish wife, Emma, who is the mistress of the white policeman, Willie Joe Worth. Lord Byron is freed, but by death, not divorce, murdered by Willie Joe, with some assistance from others. The murder is done because, if Lord Byron's divorce suit is permitted to come to trial, the relationship between his wife and Willie Joe will be revealed, making Willie Joe subject to the Tennessee law against miscegenation, rocking the structure of the town, and bringing shame to his poor wife and children. Oman Hedgepath, Lord Byron's reluctant lawyer in the divorce proceedings, wills unwillingly this murder.

The basic cause of the murder is not the miscegenation, about which those who know, with the exception of the husband, don't care, but the pride of the husband who wants to be free of such a wife. This pride is related to the forward thrust of the Movement: he is president of the local chapter of the NAACP. The other aspects of the Movement have no particular part in the action; they merely serve to sharpen the opposition between whites and Negroes, between the beleaguered town and the forces of progress.

As already suggested, the reader of such a story is apt to ask, "Is this typical of the South?" Near the end, Steve Mundine asks this of Oman Hedgepath. "Is Somerton typical?" . . . "Yes."[114] Believing this, Steve and his wife Nella leave the South. I believe I'd go with them if I agreed: if I thought the only help was in the Steve Mundines, many of whom, like the original, have said "To hell with it!" and left. But there is more to the South than Somerton. Specifically, there is a complex network of positive white-black relationships, maybe vague, maybe tenuous, often invisible, which have bound and continue to bind Southerners together. These are omitted from *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones.*

I have wondered why they are. Are they not present in west Tennessee, the locale of Somerton? Or, if they are present, did the writer not see them? Or, seeing them, did he omit them both because at present they have been driven too deeply underground and because of the story he wished to tell?

He did not omit them because they are not

present. Peter Taylor, another contemporary Tennessee writer, whose settings around Nashville are a little east of Ford's Somerton, reveals beautifully these modest interracial ties. It may be that there is actually this much difference between the two areas, but I doubt it. I doubt it mainly because in other stories Ford himself has shown that he recognizes these ties. Consider several short stories that appear in his volume *Fishes, Birds and Sons of Men,* the material in which was copyrighted from 1959 to 1967. In one of these stories, "Winterkill," no whites appear but it is important from our point of view because it treats its characters with respect and dignity. Another, "How The Mountains Are," shows the real affection that exists between a Negro nurse and her two white charges. In a flash near the end her tearful anger is caused apparently by her feeling that she cares more for the children than even their parents do, but that she must follow a subservient code in protecting them. The third, "The Bitter Bread," is most to our point. A young Negro woman, Jeannie, is about to have a baby, but, says the midwife, she has a fever and must be taken to the hospital. Her husband, Robert, takes her in his arms out into the winter night, is picked up by a passing white man in a pickup truck, taken to the hospital, and put down in the hall. There the bureaucracy takes over, creaking even more slowly because the patient is black; and while the husband rushes back and forth across town seeking to borrow the admission fee of fifty dollars, the wife dies. Here is indeed the South, with the uninhibited kindness of a passing white, contrasted

with the indifference of the structure, but that modified by the anger of the doctor when he learns what has happened, and the real but somewhat passive compassion of the priest.

There is no question, then, that Jessie Hill Ford knows the South in its complexity. Therefore, he must have omitted the complex and positive interracial relationships either because he felt that in his Somerton story they had been driven deep underground or because he simply could not incorporate them in the story he had in mind, or for both reasons.

Certainly the passing years of the civil rights struggle have polarized the opposition, so that in more senses than one everything is black or white. It is hard to tell the whole story when the opposition is so bitter. With the advent of Black Power —which Ford touches on in the arrival of the Black Muslims at Somerton—the opposition between the races is sharper than ever.

It is more difficult than ever, therefore, to sense the positive interracial relationships, and doubly difficult for the writer of fiction to incorporate them in his stories. The resultant error is none the less important: the racial conflict seems to be all there is in the South.

But what, it may be asked, what about those contrasting stories that omit the racial conflict and portray the white and black relationship as exhibiting a quiet paternalism? Is not this portrayal as false as that of conflict alone? There have of course been hundreds of sugar-coated stories told about the affectionate loyalty of the blacks to the whites. But there have also been,

especially in recent years, many stories that reveal the Negro simply as a human being caught up in a particular social pattern, and other stories that reveal him as dignified and human in his relation to whites. If the civil rights struggle did not exist when these stories were written, the writers cannot be criticized for not including it. What we usually have, as our study brings out, are many stories presenting essentially the old paternalistic pattern of race relations, but showing in certain attitudes and moments a new interracial situation, which, if it continues to develop, may become, as it did, the Negro Movement.

Having discussed generally the main problem raised by *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones,* let us consider certain other aspects of the story. For one thing, it is a study of Southern extremism, and as such is not always convincing. Most improbable is Oman's talk to Willie Joe Worth, after Willie Joe has admitted murdering Lord Byron Jones. Oman is trying to persuade the remorseful Willie Joe not to confess, but, for the sake of the Confederacy, the purity of Southern womanhood, and a Southerner's honor, to keep silent. He must do this, Oman argues, not only to save himself from trial, but also to save the police force of Somerton, and his own poor innocent wife and children from disgrace! All of this, of course, has been said in the South; but to have it said by admittedly the most respected man in Somerton, a direct descendant of the plantation aristocracy seems improbable, at least to me.

Oman does represent, though again the underscoring is too heavy, the tendency of South-

erners to support custom in place of justice, to assume their rightness, and to assume that things will never change. Near the end of the story Oman shows some doubt; his nephew Steve may be right. But the last words in the book are his statement: "At least I know that when I die I'm going to walk through that gate marked "White Only,' be it fire or pearls."[115] This sounds like Southern rhetoric to me, and slightly misused.

Maybe it was the only end he could imagine to his basic indecision. Steve's wife Nella, the blond Norwegian, sees this in him, and in his nephew, her own Steve. And since this seems to me a mark of the South, I mention it. Years ago I began *The Southern Heritage* with the words, "Like the rest of the South I am confused." Of Steve she says: "He looks out at the rain, my Steve, and hangs in the balance between liberality of thought and conservatism of mood. The Confederate dead seem to brood over him on certain days . . . like the very mist on the mountains. Another day the sky will be perfectly clear. Then there is a vision of progress." Perhaps his mother taught him "to brood, to watch rain coming down and to stand so perfectly still and so obviously undecided within himself." Of Oman she says, he is "so God-damned lost and so much like a little boy . . . He has Steve's indecision about him too because Oman wants to be human, but his dead fathers and his dead grandfathers own him . . ."[116]

This reminds us of Walker Percy's contention that the Southerner is aware of the numerous possibilities of life, and may end up by running toward war and death to resolve his indecision.

I have discussed *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones* at some length because it raises a fundamental question about Southern literature: how can you write a story which deals with some aspect of such a complex cultural unity as the South without suggesting that it is typical of the South? Faulkner has given the best answer so far. You project the Southern characters so strongly onto the human scene that the reader, without forgetting that these are Southerners and this is the South, realizes mainly that these are human beings and this is the human condition.

Ben Haas

Ben Haas has done it. No, he hasn't matched Faulkner. But he has put together in one believable story the double South: the South of racial antagonism and the South of racial affection. Both are real and their presence together is the South's tragedy. For whites and Negroes love and hate one another at the same time.

He has also put together the past and the present. All this is brought alive by its representation primarily in two characters, the white Cary Bradham and the black Houston ("Huse") Whitley, boyhood friends, manhood antagonists. The jacket of the book is revealing. Below the words "Look Away, Look Away," there's a somewhat tattered Confederate flag, and across the flag are written the words "We shall overcome."

In discussing Jesse Hill Ford's *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones,* I questioned whether this could be done. Whether the polarization in the South, and the opposition of white *vs.* black, did

not force the fiction writer into a similar polarization, and make it impossible for him to use the numerous, though often hidden, ties that bind the races together in the South. But Ben Haas did this in *Look Away, Look Away,* published as late as 1964. *(The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones* was published in 1965, and Huie's *The Klansman* in 1967.) It is true, he has done it by toning down the immediacy of the violence and the corruption. And, possibly, by blurring the stark, convincing details of Huie and especially of Ford. The elements of the racial struggle are all there, but they are, usually, in the background, and are brought to us, usually, through the actions and reactions of the principal characters. But his chief mediating device has been time. Whereas the action of Huie's book occurs within weeks, and that of Ford's within months, the action of *Look Away, Look Away* runs from 1946 to 1963, while the Prologue takes us back to 1932.

Perhaps it should also be said that Haas, though he places his mythical state Muskogee in the deep South, writes out of the background of North Carolina, while Huie writes out of that of Alabama and Ford out of that of Tennessee. Though these states may be essentially alike in their racial prejudice, the violence is probably closer to the surface in the Old Southwest area of Alabama and western Tennessee than in the Atlantic seaboard state of North Carolina; and the positive ties between the races had less time to grow in the two former states than in the latter.

Look Away, Look Away is mainly the story of two boys, Cary Bradham and Houston ("Huse")

Whitley, who grow up on a Southern plantation, The Place, the simple name reflecting beautifully the Southerner's love of place; who fight in World War Two, though separately; and who become, in the mythical Southern state of Muskogee, bitter political enemies: the white man groomed from boyhood by his father and by the machine for the governorship, the black man, through young aspiration, years of hopelessness, and sudden danger, catapulted at last into the leadership of a national Negro organization, with headquarters in Hannington, the capital of Muskogee. The boyhood scenes are, upon occasion, recalled by the two men. There is a tension between them even at their first post-war meeting. Then they are separated for some ten years, while Cary rises to the lieutenant governorship and Huse, disgusted with the Bradham's failure to get him a decent job, goes North, gets an education, and returns, apparently cured of any real ambition, to become a teacher in the Negro school in Hannington. Then they meet again; Cary gets Huse the position of school principal both out of gratitude and with the desire to bind him to the system. A Negro woman innocently takes a seat in the white section of the bus, is arrested, and Huse is thrown suddenly into the Movement. There he rapidly becomes a leader, and though he and Cary meet from time to time the meetings are increasingly bitter, until Huse refuses to talk to Cary any more. Yet they still recall, now separately, the early days and both grieve, apparently sincerely, for that lost paradise.

While living in the North, Huse runs into the

problem of his identity. He feels that he has less identity there than in the South. In the South he is resisted frankly and openly. In the North he seems to be accepted, but sooner or later runs into vague but impassable obstacles. Everything loses its clear outline, and this includes himself. The same point is made by the young Negro novelist Ernest Gaines, whose novel *Catherine Carmier,* we will notice later.

Near the end of Haas's story, Cary, trying to break with his father and renounce politics, wonders, "How did I come to this pass? . . . How did we all come to it? How did this sickness, this ugliness, grow in what we used to think was a kind of heaven?"[117]

The final sickness is the coming into the state, secretly but with his father's permission, of five hundred armed members of the Constitutional Legion, led by a rabid retired colonel, Terence Whipple, to prevent the Negroes from registering. All this had come about through the senility of the old demagogic king-maker, Hoke Moody, and the bitter pride of Cary's father, Powell Bradham. Cary learns that his father's life has been dedicated not to rescuing Muskogee from the rednecks, but to regaining the power Hoke Moody had wrested from him and to being revenged for the years he had spent as Moody's lackey. He talked of duty and honor, but he really wanted power and revenge.

The burden of the past had always rested on Cary. He had been destined for a role; and, now, though he realizes the rottenness of the whole system, he accepts it all, renounces his real love,

Maggie, and sets out to out-segregate the segregationist candidate in the hope that with power he may later save the state. You wonder whether he will be swallowed by the machine he's going to use.

In addition to this burden of the past, and his realization of the state's present illness, Cary is at moments caught in a vague melancholy. His friend Maggie, later to become his mistress, sees this. Once it appeared after a horseback ride they had taken together over The Place. Though Haas does not say this, such melancholy may well be connected with happy boyhood experiences now distorted by the conflicts of manhood. Lillian Smith says that growing up in the South is traumatic because of the breakup of early race relations.

This novel includes practically all of the aspects of the civil rights movement. There are all the organizations, the most active being the NAACP, and there is the new FREE—For Racial Equality Everywhere. There is the tired Negro woman who falls asleep on the bus, is unjustly arrested, and becomes the reason for the boycott. There is all the training in non-violent resistance, the hoses and the police dogs, the Negro student entering the university through a wild crowd, the high school student, Carson Bell, "a new breed," suggesting the entire sit-in movement, and there is in the person of Houston Whitley a charismatic figure resembling the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. In the last sentence Huse goes down before the brass knuckles of a Constitutional legionnaire.

As to the use of this material, there are a few sections where it is massed too heavily and be-

comes didactic. But generally it is presented through the careers of Cary and Huse, mainly Huse, and is dramatically interesting.

In brief, Haas has taken an historical fact of the South, the growing up together of whites and Negroes in the countryside, and has shown the tragic struggle which develops, especially in a changing period like the present, when the two chief characters feel impelled to adopt leading and necessarily opposing roles.

It may be said that at the close of our story this early affection makes no difference; and the argument may be drawn from this that it never makes any difference. I think it may be said that it softened the struggle and made the chief characters more aware of, and therefore more compassionate in regard to, the tragic quality of life in the South.

In 1966 Ben Haas published another novel on the Negro struggle, but briefer and less important: *The Troubled Summer*. Both the scene and the action remind us of eastern North Carolina of several summers ago: the painting of a Negro church, the violence by the Klan, white student participation and the entrance of the militia. What Haas has done with this is what he did with similar material in *Look Away, Look Away*: he has linked it, again not entirely successfully, to the lives of two persons, a white and a Negro. But here they are both young: Clay Williams, the Negro high school student; and Mike Britton, the white college student, who is working for FREE. And here the relationship is a matter of months not of decades. Nor—so far as we are told—has

either of the protagonists had any boyish relation with members of the other race.

Nevertheless, they are drawn together in the cause of justice. And though at times Clay hates Mike bitterly for his race and for the leadership he is prepared for and has assumed, in the end they are reconciled. The story is thus a happier one than *Look Away, Look Away,* but shallower, since racial justice has, until recently, never touched the heart of the South as much as the general problem of living together and then apart. But *justice* was a key word in the civil rights struggle, and that personal justice, better called integrity, which has always existed in the South, has appeared in the Southern whites, especially the students, who have taken part in that struggle. Haas illustrates this through Mike and through the local white students who appear in the story.

Like *Look Away, Look Away, The Troubled Summer* reveals the South as both bound together and split apart.

Ann Fairbairn

In *Five Smooth Stones* we return to the racial violence of Huie's *The Klansman,* but now intensified by the tragic involvement of the black hero in an interracial marriage. The author, Ann Fairbairn, though born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, spent several childhood years in the Deep South. This book shows the influence of those years.

It tells the story of a New Orleans Negro, David Champlin—for David who killed Goliath—born during the Great Depression, educated in a Northern college and, later, in law at Harvard, member of an important Boston law firm, then to Oxford for international law, on his way to Africa for the State Department but suddenly recalled to New Orleans because of the sudden death of his grandfather, who had brought him up, so becoming involved in the civil rights movement, nearly killed by a white mob, recuperating in Boston and finally married to Sara Kent, the white sweetheart he had put off so long, then back to New Orleans for a

brief investigation, where he is assassinated by the white racist he had injured defending himself in the riot.

The jacket calls it "a monumental novel of forbidden love." It's monumental, and maybe the size — 930 pages — was necessary to persuade David — and us — of the inevitability of his marriage to Sara. But I'm not sure. The last half of the book is largely a history of the civil rights movement in the South as experienced by David and a few of his friends, and, perhaps because I know so much more about this, was not nearly so interesting as the "forbidden" love affair. Though the book does present a real conflict, between David's devotion to the Negro cause and his love for Sara Kent, I think Miss Fairbairn could have made this convincing merely by sketching in the civil rights movement, and thus have saved some hundreds of pages. There is never any doubt that Sara loves David; even from their first meeting, there is little doubt that he returns her love; but he is held back, first by his belief that their love will necessarily fail, later by his absorption in the civil rights struggle in the South and by his knowledge that Sara cannot actually share this with him.

So much for the material. As for the author's point of view, it is generally fair but insufficiently inclusive. Seeming to give a panoramic view of the attitudes of all the contestants in the civil rights struggle, it omits almost entirely the Southern white liberal or moderate. I say "or moderate" because the Southern liberal is not the Northern liberal, and should not be confused with him. Miss

Fairbairn includes many representations of the Northern liberal, and suggests at times that he is the same as the Southern liberal, only not quite so bad. For instance, at one place she refers to the "bleeding hearts" of Southern liberals. The Southern liberal, or moderate, certainly has his faults, but a bleeding heart is hardly one of them. He would have bled to death long ago! In fact, the one Southern liberal that Miss Fairbairn presents in any completeness is Chuck Martin, college mate and long-time friend of David's, a Georgia white boy who, disgusted with the South, goes North but later returns to support the civil rights movement. Chuck is the most realistic and probably the most compassionate of at least the minor characters. It is clear that Miss Fairbairn admires him, and her admiration is shared by most of the *dramatis personae*. Yet he is seen by them as one who was just born that way, entirely opposed to his background, without any roots in the South. If David had roots in the South—and it is clear that he did and that the South is deeply his home, partly because he has suffered there—so Chuck has roots in the South. The fact that Miss Fairbairn created Chuck at all is proof of the fact that she knows this, but the usual opinion expressed throughout the book is that Chuck is simply a miracle and does not stand for anything in the South. (Yet it is Chuck who finds goodness, however limited, in one of the policemen guarding the Negro children in the stockade.)

The weakness of much of the characterization in *Five Smooth Stones* is suggested by the effect most of the characters produce: each represents

one aspect of the civil rights struggle. The struggle itself is well represented; the human beings who engage in it are not. Perhaps there were too many of them. Even David, in spite of all his stubbornness, his devotion, and his compassion, is in some fundamental things inconsistent. For instance, he is shown as the product of the deep love which exists in the Negro family, a love deeper here than elsewhere because the outside world is so harsh; but his resultant compassion is usually felt not for men but only for Negroes. In this view, the love of the Negro for his family is hardly better than the ardent love of the white for the Southern land. For the most part, neither love passes beyond itself, either to the human family or to the earth. I'm inclined to think that Negroes have universalized their love more than this book suggests, which is to say that David Champlin is a better man than his creator realized.

To place this book among the others we have discussed: it drives home the evils of the South but realizes only slightly its virtues. There are two sides to the South, as Paul Green suggested: the cruel and the gentle. Both are real.

Robert O'Neil Bristow

Finally, late in 1968, there appeared a novel which shows an interesting variant of the white-and-black theme, *Time for Glory,* by Robert O'Neil Bristow. The author was born in Missouri, grew up in Oklahoma, and is now writer-in-residence at Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina. This is his first novel.

As the jacket summarizes the story, "Sammy Apodaca—young, carefree, and happy—is passing through the fictional town of Yorksboro, South Carolina [apparently the actual town of York, near Rock Hill], one pleasant February day when he comes upon an overturned and burning school bus with twenty-three children trapped inside. Sammy acts instinctively to save seventeen of them, and is himself burned almost fatally."

But Sammy is black and the children are white. Actually, Sammy's mother was black, his father was a Mexican.

Though there are sincere feelings for Sammy on

the part of both whites and blacks—gratitude from the whites, admiration from the blacks—both groups are out to use him: the whites, to further the myth of the faithfulness of the blacks; the blacks, to further the cause of civil rights, especially equal employment in the local factory.

But Sammy is his own man. He thwarts both groups, and leaves them. Though he is not unchanged by the experience—he has attained a greater sense of responsibility—he will not be used for a cause. He is not, he says, "a professional nigger." He had risked his life for the children because they were human beings in mortal danger. They were, precariously, alive, and he loved life, especially in the form of liquor, sex, and lonely fishing on the riverbank. So he would continue. He is sure he will remember Yorksboro as something different. How great a difference it will make in his life we are not sure.

The book is not entirely successful in the line it draws between whites and blacks. In some matters this line is too light, in others too heavy. That the two groups are intertwined, the whole plot makes clear. But how? In how much trust, how much distrust and hatred? The line seems too lightly drawn between Ruth Dunovant and Sammy. She is the unsatisfied wife of the wealthy but hard-drinking mill executive, George Dunovant, and she has accepted the task of voluntary aid to Sammy while he is in the hospital, answering his innumerable letters, and, after he leaves the hospital, of being his hostess while he recuperates in a guest cottage in the Dunovant's back yard. A love affair grows between them, more sexual and

rebellious than real, an affair which she rather than Sammy pushes. The doubtful thing to me is that this could have happened with so little concern on their part for the feelings of the town, and with so little reaction from the town. The color line here is too lightly drawn.

It is too heavily drawn in the general attitude of the whites toward the blacks. Here there is almost nothing but fear, hatred, and brutal determination to keep the blacks in their place. At the moment their place is simply *not* in the production line at the mill.

Bristow is entirely topical in focusing on the economic aspect of the race problem. He is also realistic in his portraits of the black publisher and the black preacher. The preacher wants to do right, but he also wants to be in the limelight, and he will unhesitatingly sacrifice Sammy if Sammy gets in his way.

The question remains: what is the role of the hero? Is his function simply to inspire, or should he also allow himself to be used for a cause? Usually the cause brings out the hero. In Sammy Apodaca's case, the cause was simply life-against-death.

Some Other Writers

In this section I will discuss briefly several writers, well-known and less-well-known, who should be at least mentioned in connection with our problem.

In the introduction we quoted Robert Penn Warren on Faulkner. As outstanding a writer—poet, critic, novelist—as Warren is, and the author of two books on the race problem—*Segregation* and *Who Speaks For The Negro?*—he has not, I think, presented this problem in fiction in a way or to a degree that would warrant his inclusion here. Though the central character in *Band of Angels,* Amantha Starr, is by definition a Negro, the period is before the Civil War; and the original episode of the long poem, "Brother to Dragons," which faces frankly the problem of white cruelty and injustice, occurs more than a century ago.

Erskine Caldwell was one of the pioneers in his realistic stories mainly about bedeviled South-

ern "poor whites" but also about more-bedeviled Negroes. I have omitted any complete discussion because his handling of the interracial situation seemed to me too little touched by the civil rights movement. It is understood, of course, that during much of Caldwell's writing that movement was still in the future. It should be said, however, that there appears in Caldwell a real pity for the Negro, an admiration of his power to endure, and a realization of how much his exuberance is dampened by racial restrictions.

In sharpest contrast to Caldwell is Katherine Ann Porter. Though I have the highest admiration for her writings, and though she is distinctively Southern in the degree of the past her characters carry—her "historic memory," as it has been called—for the most part she came too early for the civil rights movement and, indeed, made relatively little use of the Negro in her writings. But if anyone doubts the fact of interracial closeness in the South, even across the gulf of slavery and, later, segregation, he should consider the relationship between the white mistress, Miss Sophia Jane, and Nanie, the Negro servant, as set forth in several of Miss Porter's short stories. Each respects and indeed loves the other in his place. This makes no sense in our equalitarian society. Perhaps we read our prepossessions too easily into the past.

Then there is William Styron, a Virginian whose recent *The Confessions of Nat Turner: A Novel* has stirred up considerable controversy as an historical document—which it doesn't claim to be. The action, however, does occur nearly a century and a half ago; and, though race relations

then do influence race relations today, and doubtless Styron's interpretation of that action is influenced by the temper of today, the writing of the book can hardly be ascribed to the civil rights movement; Styron had been planning it for years. He has, however, indicated in an interview his approval of the civil rights turmoil. "I think it's good that [the young people] are excited . . . This issue is the most important thing in this country at the moment, and I think it's going to be for some time." As to whether good writing will come out of it, "that would depend I would think, on whether there happened to be a good writer on one of those marches."[118]

Regardless of the civil rights movement, it is clear that the presence of the Negro has deeply influenced Styron's writings. The space allotted the Negro is small, but the suggested influence, especially in *Set This House On Fire* (1960), may be large. In the earlier story, *Lie Down In Darkness* (1951), the Negro appears slightly in the role of trusted family servant, and at the end as the one person—or group—that has any faith left. This is dramatized by the Negro religious service at the waterside, conducted by Father Faith. No connection is made between this and the lost lives of the whites, but at least this much of the South still has meaning.

In the later story, *Set This House On Fire,* there is one incident which discusses the guilt of the white South in regard to the Negro, and which raises the question as to whether the almost suicidal guilt of the chief character, the young artist Cass Kinsolving, is not rooted in a long-forgotten

racial incident. The idea is not stressed but it is there.

Since Styron's fiction is so rich and complete, we should mention here the one positive Southern influence that *Set This House On Fire* suggests. This is the perennial beauty of the green forest wall of the Atlantic seaboard, lit by rays of the rising sun, as seen first by explorers three hundred years ago, and this same wall as seen today and near at hand by Cass and his friend fishing in the Ashley at Charleston, South Carolina; together with their view of the lower edge of the town "where the old homes, deep in shade, in hollyhock and trumpetvine and bumblebees, had been defiled by no modish alteration, no capricious change." Of the river scene, Cass said: "Look over there, over those trees there. Look at that sky. Did you ever see anything so *clean* and beautiful?" At least this much is left of the South, guilt and beauty.

The North Carolina writer, John Ehle, has done several novels, most of them historical, and a forthright presentation of the 1964 civil rights struggle in Chapel Hill, entitled *The Free Men.* In 1957, however, he published one novel dealing entirely with the problems of the Negro in a Southern town. The only whites who appear are scoundrels in cahoots with lawless Negroes. The significant thing is that the Negroes appear simply as human beings, either accommodating themselves to, or striving to break out of, a hard situation.

Reynolds Price, another North Carolinian, has given us three novels. The chief characters are

poor white farmers of eastern North Carolina. The dominant tone is indicated by the title of the first: *A Long And Happy Life*. Negroes play only a minor part; but they play this on strange terms of something close to equality. Indeed, there is a generally relaxed air in this Baptist farming community, as if the people had never heard of racial differences and sexual guilt. Yet this is the area—the environs of Warrenton—which spawned the Klan activity so important in Ben Haas's *A Troubled Summer*. Well, we know this activity actually occurred. Which is the more truthful rendering, Haas's or Price's, we do not know. Perhaps both are truth. The kindly South, as is so often the case, can become the cruel South. But perhaps the puritanical Scotch-Irish influence did not touch the poorer whites of the South as much as we have thought; and, if this is so, perhaps the racial conflict may be a little more easily resolved.

In 1960, Vinnie Williams wrote a novel mainly of white country people of north Georgia; the title, *Walk Egypt*. From our point of view, the significant scene in the book is that in which the chief character, Toy Crawford, the hard bitten white woman, now in a high fever, is saved by being taken by her servants against her will to a service in a neighboring Negro church. There at last she "begins to feel the hopeful heartbeat of a people who know sorrow but believe in happiness too." Here we have a white person, who has never been more than paternalistic toward Negroes, actually converted by their religious experiences.

John Howard Griffin became famous, in 1961, for *Black Like Me,* a factual account of a trip

through the South which he took in late 1959 disguised as a Negro. In 1968 *The John Howard Griffin Reader* was published. Most of the material is factual. One short story, "The Cause," ends with the lynching of a Negro during the civil rights struggle simply to make the other Negroes stay in their places. It happens that the victim, picked up by chance, was entirely innocent, and was also a protégé of the white farmer who led the lynchers. What Griffin is trying to do is to show the strange mixture of kindness and cruelty that, as we have said, seems to pervade the South. I think, however, he has underscored the cruelty, and left the neighborliness too lightly sketched. But perhaps a true rendering is impossible in a form like the short story.

In 1964, Ernest J. Gaines, a young Negro writer living in California but born and raised in Louisiana, published a novel entitled *Catherine Carmier*. The scene is Louisiana, near New Orleans, the time, that of the demonstrations, though none occur in the story. The chief character, a young Negro, born in the community and educated in California, has now returned to the community, supposedly to teach, but really still searching for dignity and truth—"trying to make something out of a senseless world." The Cajuns are slowly squeezing the Negroes out economically, there is not only a racial struggle but also the conflict of shades of color within the Negro group, and, most of all, there's the conflict within Jackson Bradley himself and between him and the woman he loves, Catherine Carmier. The book reveals clearly the Negro's dissatisfaction with life anywhere in the

United States; it also reveals his love of what he usually calls "down Home," the South, with its concrete sights and sounds, its soft twilights and velvet nights. Even Will Campbell, exiled in Nashville, Tennessee, sings of "Mississippi Magic."

In Truman Capote's *Other Voices, Other Rooms,* there are two Negroes in a story predominantly of whites: old Jesus, and his daughter Missouri—Zoo—who is cook and housemaid for the white family, the center of the story. There is no hint of the civil rights movement, which of course had hardly begun, but Zoo is independent and proud, in many ways her own mistress, and is so accepted by the whites.

In the four books of Tennessee's Shelby Foote that I have examined, the Negro appears only once: in the story "Ride Out," from the volume *Jordan County* (1954). This is the story of a quiet, gentle Negro man, Duff Conway, whose passion was music. He becomes the leading cornet player in the country, is drawn into a fight over a woman by a big Negro, who easily beats him; he gets a pistol and shoots the man who beat him, and is electrocuted. Most of the whites are sympathetic; the executioner is a cold-blooded brute, who, in unconscious imitation of Duff's "riding out" (a piece of music), said that, when the switch was thrown, "he rode right out of the world."

William P. Fox, who learned about the South while attending the state university in Columbia, South Carolina, has written numerous stories of bootlegging and other forms of amusement, many of which appeared originally in *The Saturday*

Evening Post. There is a Negro in the volume *Moonshine Light, Moonshine Bright,* who is at least the equal of his white associates, the two boys with whom he runs moonshine. In a sense, he's their superior since he owns the car. But in the mood of the story, race is nothing, segregation is nothing. It may be, if we were all to become bootleggers, our racial differences would cease. I'm inclined to think, however, that Fox simply wasn't concerned with these in the humorous stories he was telling.

In Frances Gray Patton's "A Piece of Bread," from the volume *A Piece Of Luck,* published in 1955, there appears one image which symbolizes something deep in race relations in the South. A little white girl is crossing a street where some convicts are working, and is begged by one, a Negro, to bring him a piece of bread. She is afraid to go back, but ashamed to admit it to her family. When the day ends, "somewhere the shadows in the streets had lost their quality of peace and kindliness. Among them someone was waiting for her . . . .

"And out of the gathering darkness one shadow, darker than the rest, lengthened and invaded the innermost recesses of her mind. It brooded there, black and shapeless, tingeing all her thoughts with the sober hue of trouble."[119]

How do you say it better?

One last item, slightly more precise. Marion Cannon is one of the long-time liberal white leaders of Charlotte, North Carolina. In *The Red Clay Reader, I* (1964), she has a little story entitled "A Ride To Freedom." A middle aged white

woman finds herself unintentionally in the middle of a freedom ride. A Negro girl sits by her, apparently to test her. She responds in a neighborly fashion, becomes interested in the project, and almost goes to jail along with the others. The story suggests the possibilities for neighborliness in a period of change.

I have found only two volumes of poetry that have come, at least in part, out of the civil rights movement. Both appeared in 1966. *I Play Flute,* by Jane Stembridge, and *News From The South,* by Stephen Mooney.

Jane Stembridge, a Georgian, worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Mississippi. In words "To the Reader," she says:

> These poems were written in Mississippi.
> We were in Mississippi because we believed
> we could help the people.
> Change their lives. They were starving.

And in "the Flute":

> The
> fine
> thin
> flute
> . . . . .
> rings
> freedom
> in

Her lines do suggest the tone of the flute. They also express the pain and especially the loneliness of young people in such new and often harsh situations. Love and loneliness, dust and dew. The searing sun of Mississippi, and the long, lonely rain.

But there's more than weather. There are references to actual events, some cheering, some dark, and some of these in the news. Like Mrs. Hamer, and the war.

The great temptation to a poet involved in a movement is to become passionate about it, a propagandist for the cause, not a celebrant of life. On the whole Miss Stembridge resists this temptation. My chief criticism is expressed in her own lines to the reader:

> And the poems aren't finished. Because the work isn't finished.

The book is rich in suggestions. We get the impression of flowing, changing moods. But the form in which these moods find expression is often not solid enough. Perhaps Miss Stembridge admits this when she says "I Play Flute." The sound flows thinly by, for the moment appealing, but then gone. For this reason, the poems with the most descriptive and especially narrative structure are the best. For instance, "Softly Calling." Here the poet records the slurred softness of Southern speech, but connects it with sunlit household scenes, and, then, with the dark present:

> and in jail cells
> they call softly to each other.

The poem on the opposite page catches the American quality of the Mississippi venture. Casey sits by a swamp, "in the last Mississippi summer we spent," holding weeds and grasses in her tired hands, thinking of

her mother, Eula Beams
and American prairies,
in the first real snow.

Stephen Mooney, a native of Alabama, is much older than Jane Stembridge. He served in World War Two, and published two volumes of poetry before the recent *News From The South*. About one fourth of this volume is definitely on the South, the first section being entitled "News from the South". The Sunday morning paper comes, with its "hard headlines":

There's always some bad news I need to know.
I am, inevitably, my brother's keeper.

There are poems on actual events. "After Selma," for instance; "A Bombing in Birmingham," with the last line "And still we call this foreign country home;" and "Philadelphia, Mississippi," within the last stanza of which Faulkner's ghost shudders:

So the night's violence, the day's upheaval
Shudder in the imagination of a ghost
Who died before this sequel to his novel
Returned three more intruders to the dust.

Mooney not only writes with easy command of words and structure but also has a positive message for the South. As a "moral" to the poem "In a Southern Classroom: Exploration of a clue by Ortega Y Gasset," we have the couplet:

Wrestle with life, with death, but do not live
For safety's sake; think, love, forgive.

If Jane Stembridge's verses have more of the immediacy of life, Stephen Mooney's have more of the solid endurance of art.

CONCLUSIONS

Most of these are scattered throughout the individual studies. But I shall point out or underscore several things here.

First, if we look at the number of writers bracketed in the three decades from 1940 to the present, we shall find there are five in the 1940's, eight in the 1950's, and twelve in the 1960's. These figures aren't entirely accurate, since at times a given writer overlaps a decade, but they may be suggestive. They suggest that writers of fiction move rather slowly toward the use of topical materials. In this sense, they usually follow actuality. They may, however, precede actuality in their projection of the tone or climate of the period. Faulkner did this. The German novelists of the late 1920's also did it. They did not predict the events of the 1930's, but they expressed the fear and uneasiness out of which the 1930's sprang.

Second, the extensive use of civil rights material did not occur till the 1960's, and here only with

several writers. It may be replied that the 1960's began the period of activism. It did begin the movement into the streets, a massive and widespread activism; but the children walking to school in Clinton or Little Rock were individually about as active and as dramatic as you can get. The sit-ins, marches and boycotts were, however, more widespread and noticeable; the Movement began to take shape in the mind of the public; at the same time it took creative shape in the minds of several writers.

Third, the broadly humorous use of the civil rights material did not occur till 1965 and 1966, with Donald Harington and Larry King. By then, the passage of time had itself softened somewhat the turmoil of the preceding ten years, though indeed greater turmoil was even then occurring; the humor itself was another method of "distancing" the material, of helping to provide the writer with sufficient aesthetic detachment. One might remark, parenthetically, it's a pity that white Southerners, who have such a keen eye for humor in the details of life, couldn't see more often the broad humor of the life-and-death struggles they're so fond of becoming engaged in.

Fourth, and finally, the best-known and best-established writers tend to be less involved than others in these topical matters. Even though they may write prose, they are moving toward the position of the poet: away from the transitory problems of life toward the enduring. As Robert Frost puts it, away from grievances toward griefs. Grievances can be remedied, and the writer of articles and essays may seek to remedy them. Griefs have

to be borne, and the poet—who is also the creative prose writer—often does no more than help us to see and bear them. In the world in which we live, where men have become so conscious of remediable grievances that they forget their irremediable griefs, the writer who speaks of griefs —a poet whether he writes in prose or verse—is in danger of being overlooked or scorned. But some griefs will always remain, and always there will be some men to recognize them, and name them, and help us bear them.

Footnotes

1. Robert Penn Warren, "Faulkner, The South and the Negro," *Southern Review*, I, New Series 3, Summer, 1965, pp. 501-29.
2. Lillian Smith, *Strange Fruit*, p. 263.
3. *Contemporary Authors*, 1967, p. 363.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Smith, *Strange Fruit*, p. 25.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
7. Smith, *Killers of the Dream*, p. 31.
8. Smith, *Strange Fruit*, pp. 215-16.
9. Hodding Carter, Jr., *The Winds of Fear*, p. 184.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
15. Richard Wright, *Black Boy*, p. 284.
16. Wright, *Native Son*, Afterword by Theodore Solotaroff, p. 395.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Wright, *Black Boy*, p. 170.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
22. Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*, p. 13.
23. S. L. Gross and J. E. Hardy (eds.), *Images of the Negro in American Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) p. 249.
24. Ellison, *Invisible Man*, p. 194.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 377.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 341-42.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 433-44.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 437.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 435.
34. Louis Rubin, *The Faraway Country*, p. 140.
35. Eudora Welty, *Delta Wedding*, pp. 15-16.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

39. Elizabeth Spencer, *The Voice at the Back Door*, p. 128.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
48. Peter Taylor, *Miss Leonora When Last Seen.*, p. 259.
49. Taylor, "Bad Dreams," in *The Widows of Thornton*, p. 234.
50. Taylor, *The Widows of Thornton*, p. 99.
51. Taylor, *Happy Families Are All Alike*, p. 113.
52. Robert Drake, "The Lonely Heart of Carson McCullers," *Christian Century*, January 10, 1968, pp. 50-51.
53. Carson McCullers, *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*, p. 144.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
55. McCullers, *Clock Without Hands*, p. 37.
56. Flannery O'Connor, *Everything That Rises Must Converge*, p. 23.
57. Drake, *Flannery O'Connor: A Critical Essay*, p. 16.
58. O'Connor, *Everything That Rises Must Converge*, pp. 217-18.
59. Mr. Percy remarked, in a conversation with the author, that the civil rights material is hardly essential.
60. Walker Percy, *The Moviegoer*, pp. 23-24.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
62. Percy, *The Last Gentleman*, p. 187.
63. Ralph Ellison, *Shadow and Act*, p. 297.
64. Percy, *The Last Gentleman*, p. 195.
65. Percy, *The Moviegoer*, p. 206.
66. Percy, *The Last Gentleman*, pp. 146-47.
67. Percy, *The Moviegoer*, p. 206.
68. Percy, *The Last Gentleman*, p. 186.
69. Percy, *The Moviegoer*, p. 108.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
73. Percy, *The Last Gentleman*, p. 179.
74. Percy, *The Moviegoer*, p. 74.
75. Ellen Douglas, *A Family's Affairs*, p. 442.
76. Douglas, *Black Cloud, White Cloud*, p. 53.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15.
86. Wilma Dykeman, *The Far Family*, p. 336.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 314.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
98. K. B. Gilden, *Hurry Sundown*, p. 598.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 596.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 688.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 688.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 585.
104. Donald Harington, *The Cherry Pit*, p. 118.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-67.
108. Larry King, *The One-Eyed Man*, p. 175.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
112. William Bradford Huie, *The Klansman*, p. 174.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
114. Jesse Hill Ford, *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones*, p. 331.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 364.
116. *Ibid*, pp. 40-41.
117. Ben Haas, *Look Away, Look Away*, p. 484.
118. William Styron in interview with Harriet Doar, *Red Clay Reader* I, 1964, p. 30.
119. Frances Gray Patton, *A Piece of Luck*, p. 130.

Bibliography

Capote, Truman. *Other Voices, Other Rooms.* New York: Random House, 1948.

Carter, Hodding. *The Winds of Fear.* New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, 1944.

Contemporary Authors: The International Bibliographical Guide to Current Authors and Their Works. Vols. 17-18. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1967.

Daniels, Lucy. *Caleb, My Son: A Novel.* Philadelphia: Lippencott, 1956.

Douglas, Ellen. *Black Cloud, White Cloud: Two Novellas and Two Stories.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963.

_____ *A Family's Affairs.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

Drake, Robert. *Flannery O'Connor: A Critical Essay.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1966.

Dykeman, Wilma. *The Far Family.* New York: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1966.

Dykeman, Wilma, and Stokely, James. *Neither Black Nor White.* New York: Rhinehart & Co., 1957.

Ehle, John. *The Free Men.* New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible Man.* New York: Random House, 1952.

_____ *Shadow and Act.* New York: Random House, 1964.

Fairbairn, Ann. *Five Smooth Stones: A Novel.* New York: Crown, 1966.

Faulkner, William. *Intruder in the Dust*. New York: Random House, 1948.

_____ *Light in August*. New York: The Modern Library, 1950. (First published in 1932.)

_____ *The Sound and the Fury*. New York: Random House, 1956. (First published in 1929.)

Foote, Shelby. "*Jordan County*. In *Three Novels: Follow Me Down; Jordan County; Love in a Dry Season*. New York: Dial Press, 1964.

Ford, Jesse Hill. *Fishes, Birds, and Sons of Men*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967.

_____ *The Liberation of Lord Byron Jones*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1965.

Fox, William Price. *Moonshine Light, Moonshine Bright: A Novel*. Philadelphia: Lippencott, 1967.

Gaines, Ernest J. *Catherine Carmier*. New York: Atheneum, 1964.

Gilden, K. B. *Hurry Sundown*. Garden City, N. J.: Doubleday, 1964.

Grau, Shirley Ann. *The Black Prince and Other Stories*. New York: Knopf, 1955.

_____ *The House on Coliseum Street*. New York: Knopf, 1961.

_____ *The Keepers of the House*. New York: Knopf, 1964.

Griffin, John Howard. *The John Howard Griffin Reader*. Edited by Bradford Daniel. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968.

Haas, Ben. *Look Away, Look Away*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964.

_____ *The Troubled Summer*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966.

Harington, Donald. *The Cherry Pit*. New York: Random House, 1965.

Huie, William Bradford. *The Klansman*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1967.

_____ *Three Lives for Mississippi*. London; Heinemann, 1965.

King, Larry L. *The One-Eyed Man*. New York: New American Library, 1966.

Lee, Harper. *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1960.

McCullers, Carson. *Clock Without Hands*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961.

_____ *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940.

_____ *The Member of the Wedding*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.

Mooney, Stephen L. *News From the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1966.

O'Connor, Flannery. *Everything That Rises Must Converge*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965.

_____ *The Violent Bear It Away*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1960.

Patton, Frances Gray. *A Piece of Luck*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1955.

Percy, Walker. *The Last Gentleman*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1966.

_____*The Moviegoer*. New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1961.

Phillips, Thomas Hal. *The Golden Lie*. New York: Rhinehart, 1951.

Price, Reynolds. *A Long and Happy Life*. New York: Avon Books, 1965.

Rubin, Louis, *The Faraway Country: Writers of the Modern South*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963.

Smith, Lillian. *Killers of the Dream*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949.

_____ *Strange Fruit*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944.

Spencer, Elizabeth. *The Voice at the Back Door*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956.

Stembridge, Jane. *I Play Flute and Other Poems*. New York: Seabury Press, 1968.

Styron, William. *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. New York: Random House, 1967.

_____ *Lie Down in Darkness: A Novel*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, Inc., 1951.

_____ *Set This House On Fire*. New York: Random House, 1956.

Tate, Allen. *The Fathers*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938.

Taylor, Peter Hillsman. *Happy Families Are All Alike*. New York: McDowell, Obolensky, 1959.

_____ *Miss Lenora When Last Seen, and Fifteen Other Stories*. New York: I. Obolensky, 1963.

_____ *The Widows of Thornton*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1954.

Warren, Robert Penn. *Band of Angels*. New York: Random House, 1955.

_____ *Segregation: The Inner Conflict in the South*. New York: Random House, 1956.

_____ *Who Speaks for the Negro?* New York: Random House, 1965.

Welty, Eudora. *Delta Wedding: A Novel.* New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1946.

_____ *The Golden Apples.* New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1949.

Williams, Vinnie. *Walk Egypt.* New York: Viking Press, 1960.

Wright, Richard. *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth.* New York: New American Library, 1951.

_____ *Native Son.* New York: New American Library, 1940.

Young, Jefferson. *A Good Man.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953.

James McBride Dabbs has for many years been a thinker and writer about the South, and an important leader in its affairs. In this book, he combines a thoughtful, non-technical interest of many years in literature (as an educator, he taught English) with his insights and knowledge about the reality, psychology and philosophy of the South and race relations.

Mr. Dabbs lives at Rip Raps, the family plantation near Mayesville, South Carolina. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, and a past president of the Council. He is chairman of the Board of Trustees of Penn Community Services of Beaufort, South Carolina, a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., a member of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, and on the editorial board of its publication, *Katallagete*.

He is author of numerous magazine articles, and the following other books: *Pee Dee Panorama* (with Carl Julien), *Southern Heritage*, *The Road Home*, and *Who Speaks for the South?*.

John Willie Reed

Driver Slain After His Car Invades Yard

One man was shot and killed and another wounded Thursday following an argument about an automobile backing into a yard, police said.

John W. Reed, 41, of 63 Murray Ave. SE, was pronounced dead upon arrival at Grady Hospital with a bullet wound in the head, according to Lt. B. J. Sleeper and Detective D. L. Pike.

AN EPITAPH

By Charles Longstreet Weltner

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

LEADERSHIP SERIES NO. 1

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

John Willie Reed

An Epitaph

By Charles Longstreet Weltner

Leadership Series
Number 1
Reese Cleghorn, Editor

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Price: 30 cents, single copy. 20 cents, quantities of 10 or more.

The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Officers: John H. Wheeler, President; Josephine Wilkins, Paul R. Christopher, Charles G. Gomillion, Lucius H. Pitts, Vice Presidents; Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman, Executive Committee; Paul Anthony, Executive Director.

Drawings by Marge Manderson.

Copyright (C) 1969, Southern Regional Council.

The contents may be quoted without permission for review, news coverage and general purposes of critical analysis.

Introduction

Who was he? How came his death? And what was the meaning of his life?

With those questions, Charles Longstreet Weltner undertook to find out about John Willie Reed, who had come from a tenant farm in Alabama to make his way in the metropolis of Atlanta. John Willie Reed was a man bearing all the worst ills of the rural South and yet some of its hidden strengths, too, heading into the worst miseries of all the cities of America, destined to die senselessly in a grotesque moment of violence.

Mr. Weltner sought out his subject's story by pursuing the surprisingly extensive public and private records of an obscure life. We see a small news story become a human record, and a record become a man, and a man become a tragedy.

All city dwellers pass John Willie Reed daily, and yet few truly see him. It is in the belief that the nation must begin to see him, recognizing his humanity and his potential, that the Southern Regional Council presents this arresting document as the first of a series of publications directed primarily toward the leadership, white and black, middle-class and grassroots, of the South.

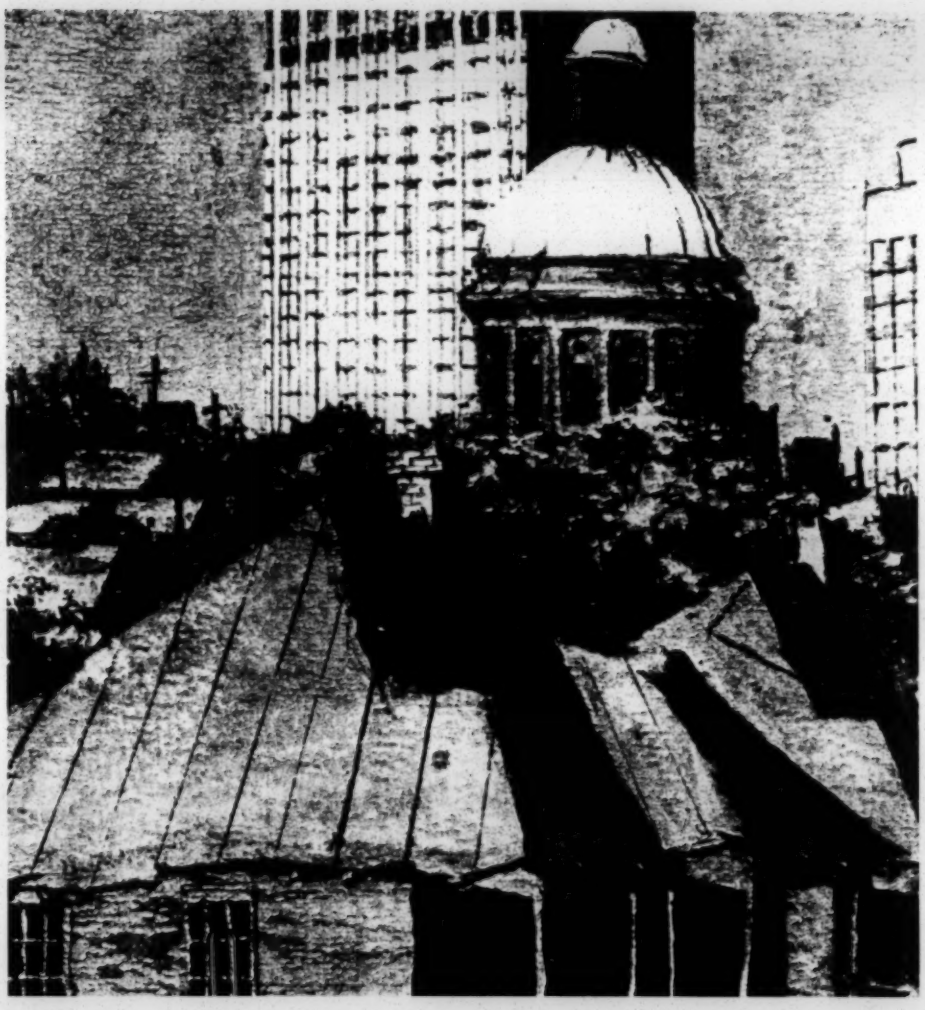
Mr. Weltner, a contemporary of John Willie Reed's, grew up in Atlanta. From 1963 through 1966, he represented the Fifth District of Georgia in Congress. A practicing attorney and a writer, he is the author of *Southerner,* published in 1966 by J. B. Lippincott Co.

To assist those who may lead group discussions of this document and its implications, Reese Cleghorn, editor of this Leadership Series, has written an epilogue which begins on page 38.

PAUL ANTHONY
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

The poor man's conscience is clear; yet he is ashamed . . . . He feels himself out of the sight of others, groping in the dark. Mankind takes no notice of him. He rambles and wanders unheeded . . . he is not disapproved, censured or reproached; he is only not seen . . . . To be wholly overlooked, and to know it, are intolerable.

John Adams, Second President
of the United States



One man was shot and killed and another wounded Thursday following an argument about an automobile backing into a yard, police said . . . ."

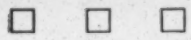
So read an article in the Atlanta *Constitution* on the morning of May 3, 1968. Seven inches of type were required to dispose of the life and death of John Willie Reed. The reader glances at the headline, vaguely comprehends yet another killing, and moves on to the sports section.

Such events are not unusual. The same story, in varying cast and setting, is told almost daily by every metropolitan paper. In Atlanta there were 183 homicides in 1968. This was only the forty-fifth.

But John Willie Reed was not a percentage point, or the increment of a chart. Once he was a man.

Who was he? How came his death? And what was the meaning of his life?

Some of the questions concerning John Willie Reed can be answered by the recorded residue of his life, others by inquiry, still others in the deeper recesses of conscience.



A death of violence generates an inevitable sequence: frantic calls, a gathering of the curious, the arrival of police with dome lights flashing, arrest of the perpetrator and removal of the deceased, the report of investigation, and official inquiry into the circumstances of death.

The latter two proceedings provide some facts about how John Willie Reed came to die.

The notations of Detective D. L. Pike on Form 32-D-101, Supplementary Offense Report, Atlanta Police Department:

Offense: Felonious homicide
Complainant John Willie Reed, CM 41
Address: 63 Murray Ave., SE Apt. A
Thursday 5-2-68 Weather—Clear Sun—warm
7:12 PM Rec. 50-48 to 57 Dorothy St., SE
7:15 PM ID notified to come to scene
Met Officer D. R. East who rec. signal 50-4 at 7:05 PM, sent to Grady. Officer East turned inves. & 2 revolvers over to us. Perp gave Officer East both revolvers. 1-S & W 38 belonged to perp.—JRH 32 long belonged to victim. Scene was driveway rear of 57 Dorothy St SE Apt. 2 Vic. was beside 1955 Pontiac 2 Dr. white and red LIC W 30609 FLA 68 when he was shot. Car belonged to vic. and was sent to Millirons Garage. Perp was at back door of Apt 2 when he was shot in right thigh by victim.
Victim DOA on arrival Grady Hosp.

A signed statement of Roberta Bryant, 49 Dorothy St., S. E., Apt. 1:

Around 4:45 P.M.—5:00 P.M., May 2, 1968, I heard some profane language and I looked out the door and Pearson and Reed were arguing. Pearson didn't want Reed to back up in his driveway. I asked Pearson why he didn't want Reed to back up in his driveway. And told him that he didn't have to make a commotion about the man being in his driveway. He said he had told him not to and as I started back inside, I saw Pearson shoot Reed. But I didn't see Reed with a gun. Pearson had the gun in his hand when I was outside talking to him.

Then as I turned to go back in the house, that is when I saw Pearson shoot Reed. Then I heard one or two more shots but I don't know who shot who. I did see Pearson shoot first.

Reed was in the car when Pearson shot.

Medical Examiner Tom Dillon listed "gunshot wound, head" as the immediate cause of death.

Four days after Reed's death Judge Edward T. Brock of the Municipal Court of Fulton County watched from the bench as 68-year-old J. W. Pearson, muscles hardened from years spent as a cement finisher, hobbled forward. He had come from Grady Hospital, where a slug was removed from his right thigh. "Is this the defendant?" Brock asked. "I will let him

be seated. All witnesses come forward. The defendant is charged with murder."

The record shows the affected police rhetoric of Detective Pike:

The occurrence took place in Fulton County, Thursday, Your Honor, the second day of this month. Answering signal 50, 57 Dorothy Street Southeast upon arrival found that the victim and the defendant became engaged in an argument about an automobile being parked close to the rear door of the defendant's residence, and at that time there were shots fired by both.

As a result he (motioning toward Pearson) was hit in the leg and the victim was struck in the face, killing him.

"Who fired the first shot?" Judge Brock asked. "Were you able to ascertain that, officer?"

"According to one statement, the defendant first fired the first shot," Pike answered.

"Do you have these witnesses in court?" the judge asked.

"They were—I only see one of them, Your Honor, and that's the defendant's wife."

Pearson's wife, Rosa Lee, was the next witness. The transcript reads:

Q. Were you present at this address, and you were home on the afternoon of this shooting?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the nature of the first incident involving the deceased, John Reed?

A. He backed up into our back door.

Q. Were there any words between your husband and the deceased?

A. Yes, my husband asked him not to do it no more.

Q. What was the response of the deceased?

A. He was going to back up, and he was going to go and back up in the damn door when he come back.

Q. Did he then leave?

A. Yes, sir, he left.

Q. Did he come back?

A. Yes, sir, he did.

Q. How long was it before he came back?

A. I can't pinpoint the minutes, but it wasn't long.

Q. Ten minutes, fifteen minutes?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When he came back, what did he do?

A. He went over there to the next door, then he went in the house and stayed about five minutes. He jumped in the car and then he whirled back to our back door again.

Q. You mean he was driving the car toward your back door?

A. That's right. Then he come back and my husband asked him not to do it. He jumped out of the car, he never turned the ignition off, and he had his gun in his hand.

Q. Then what happened?

A. He started shooting. When he shot, my husband shot back.

Q. Well, who fired the first shot?

A. This man fired the first shot.

Q. Did that strike your husband?

A. Yes, it struck him right here in the leg.

Q. After your husband was struck, then what happened?

A. After my husband was struck, this man, he aimed for the second time at my husband and my husband shot him.

Q. And then what did you do?

A. When he—after that I went out there to see about my husband, and then I called the police department.

Q. You called the Atlanta Police Department?

A. I sure did.

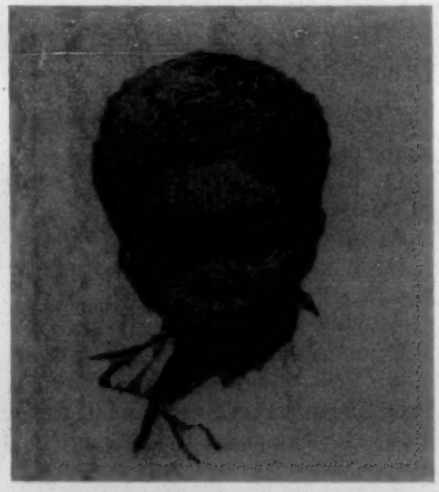
Q. How long was it before someone arrived on the scene?

A. About 7:15.

Q. Just a few minutes after you called them?

A. Yes.

Judge Brock questioned Rosa Pearson. "Does this man live there?" "No, sir." "Do you know where he lived, or . . . . " "No, sir." " . . . Were you acquainted with him?" "No. Neither my husband or I knew this man. Had never seen him before."



Brock looked at Pearson, then to Detective Pike. The small courtroom bore the antiseptic smell of public buildings, mixed with human scents that accumulate at the end of a day's business. Three black people sat on the back row. "Anyone in the courtroom related to or knows about the deceased who would like to make any statement?" Brock asked, looking toward the back row. The three stared back, silent. Doubtless thinking they might not know what a "deceased" was, the judge asked again, "Is anybody here interested in the man that got killed?" There was no answer.

The case against J. W. Pearson was dismissed.

The clerk called another name, and the three in the back came forward. Pearson hobbled to his feet, finally realizing he was free to go. Another officer came forward, reviewing another file.

Rosa Pearson guided her husband through the doors, and shortly he completed the cycle of home, hospital, detention room, prisoner's dock, bar, and home once more.

□ □ □

Questions unanswered can create disturbing memories.
"Is anybody here interested in the man that got killed?"
Simple decency required that someone answer affirmatively.

□ □ □

"South Atlanta" is a rundown inner-city neighborhood two miles south of Georgia's gold-domed capitol. It is a distorted triangle, bounded on the

northeast by Jonesboro Road, which is Georgia Highway 54, a heavily industrial street. Westward is Capitol Ave., the prestige address of the late 1800's, but for 50 years an ever-declining conglomerate of dilapidated manor houses occupied mainly by transients. To the south is Lakewood, a poor-white area grown haphazardly from squatters' shacks of World War I veterans. The terrain is hills and gullies, traversed on potholed paving and gravel or rut roads. Frame houses crouch close together, interspersed by a few concrete-block rental units euphemistically called "apartments." One of these, Apt. A, 63 Moury Ave., was the last home of John Willie Reed.

The apartments display no street or unit numbers. Two block houses, yellow with brown trim, sit on a bare, red-clay lot at the northwest corner of Moury Ave. and Grogman St. Each block house has two units, consisting of two rooms and a kitchen, arranged "shotgun" style in line from front to rear. Rains spatter the clay dust up the outside walls; of the four screen doors, only one has a screen.

Without benefit of numerals or letters, Apartment A could be at either end of either block house, and the seeker can only knock and inquire after the family or friends of the late John Willie Reed. The door farthest from the corner of Grogman St. is Apt. A of 61 Moury Ave., and the home of Johnny James Felton; his wife, Mary; and his children, Linda, Ernestine, Johnny, Jr., Eddie Frank, Felice, Robert, Richard, and one-year-old Britta Nichelle. Mary Felton is a slight woman with some disorientation of facial muscles. At 32, she has a wizened look, perhaps from constant childbearing, and chronic fatigue presents her dark face as somehow pallid.

Her home consists of three rooms, a straight line from front to rear. A double bed occupies most of the front room. Over the bed and in a place of honor are framed prints of John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Mary Felton is John Willie Reed's sister. "He didn't stay here," she says. "He stayed at 63 with Mary Edwards. She's there now. Go on down there, Robert."

Robert Felton, four years old, spins down the small slope, jumps up on the steps and pulls back the screen door. Mary Edwards stands in the doorway. She, too, is a slight woman, born 39 years ago in Georgia's Troup County, near the Alabama line. A television set blares afternoon commercials from the second room. The living room is scarcely large enough to hold a bed, two chairs, and a dressing table. A blue-toned print of John and Jacqueline Kennedy graces the wall, and gallon jugs of Carstairs whisky on the dressing table guard the cracked mirror like sentinels. One is empty, the other two-thirds full.

Mary Elizabeth Edwards is known as "Goody," and she dresses with a trace of style, contrasting with the cotton-sack plainness of Mary Felton. She wears a green cardigan sweater and worn, reddish-grey, plaid slacks.

One child of hers, Robert Kennedy Edwards, three years old, stands beside her. He suffers from birth defects, his face twisted into a sardonic grimace, and his eyes, askew, nonetheless alert. A baby sleeps in the crib just inside the second room. She is Elizabeth Edna, born Dec. 9, 1967, to Goody and John Willie Reed, their only child.

The screen door lurches open, and a bright, bouncy little boy rushes in. "Mama, I did something right today! I did something right." He is Nathaniel Walker, Jr., six years old, first-grader, brandisher of a school notebook marked with a gold star for "well done." Robert Kennedy Edwards rushes to him and pulls on his arm. Nathaniel bounces past him, spins around two or three times, and tosses his notebook on the bed.

Goody talks about the shooting:

> We went down here to the Southview Cemetery to pick the poke salad. (Poke salad is a dish prepared by boiling with fat the leaves of the poke-berry bush, which grows wild over most of the lower South. Its taste is roughly akin to turnip greens, or "turnip salad" in older usage.) We came back home. And earlier in the day he told me this, about the man that got after him for backing up in the driveway.
>
> He (Reed) come home. Cut corn. Cut chicken, say, "I be back in a minute. I'm gone take Mr. James and the poke salad home." And the next thing my little boy right there come running tell me, "Mama, go see 'bout Daddy. Daddy done got shot." What he said was, "Done shot Daddy's teef out."
>
> . . . And when I got over there, he layin' up under the car. He hadn't lef' here about 30 minutes. He didn't tell me he was goin' over there. He just told me he was goin' across the street, on Dorothy St., to carry Mr. James (Clayton) home, who live across street from where he got killed at, and went to the cemetery.
>
> And the next thing, he (Nathaniel) come home, 'cause which he was already over there playing. He was at Roberta Hamilton's house—nex' door. He call her "Aunt Sis." She started to keep him when he was five months old. And I let him go up there to play with her li'l girl.

The door opens again, and an old man enters, claiming a seat in the cane-bottom chair opposite the bed. "They ain't here, yet," explains Goody. A minute or so later, he creaks to his feet and departs with, "I be back later."

"Did you see the whole shooting, Nathaniel?"

Suddenly quiet, Nathaniel stares at the bedspread. "Yes." A pause. "Daddy was up in he driveway. That man, that man—went in the house and got that gun. That man shot Daddy. He lying on the groun'. That man shot Daddy teef out."

Again the door opens. Enter a man of 40, stout to the point of obesity. He is dressed in blue uniform pants and white twill work shirt, embroidered with the name of an automotive parts company. Over the right pocket, stitched in blue, appears the name "Sonny." No words pass. He walks by the cane chair and wearily yields his heavy body into a cheap lounger covered in green plastic, stuffing extending from several rents.

"He didn't come back here after he left the first time," Goody adds. "I didn't know that he had a gun with him. He kept it under that pillow there. But he must have, 'cause when Nathaniel come in, I looked under the pillow and it was gone."

The only other witness was "Aunt Sis," the Roberta Bryant whose statement rests within the police file, also known as Roberta Hamilton of 49 Dorothy St.

The route from Moury Ave. to Dorothy St. is circuitous. Several streets are not cut through. From Moury, the road is a steep incline to Lansing St. The route turns right on Lansing, past Park Ave. and the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church (where Nathaniel attends Sunday School), right again on Meldon Ave., left on Hardwick St.; it goes on to a point opposite the First Deliverance Church.

There a gap in the curbing gives entry to the rear of two green cinder-block structures which front on Dorothy St., numbered 49 and 51. These, too, are apartments. The buildings are separated by a distance of 30 feet, and that interval is broken by a few rusting iron stakes and angle fence posts.

Roberta Hamilton, or Roberta Bryant, lives at No. 49, Apt. 1. Hers is the building farthest from the Hardwick St. access, and her apartment is next to Apt. 2, 57 Dorothy St., recently the home of J. W. and Rosa Pearson. The apartments are entered from the rear by a half-panel screen door that opens onto a one-foot concrete stoop. Pearson's half between the buildings has a few cinders to abate the mud of prolonged rains, thus qualifying it as a driveway.

It was over this small parcel of earth that the dispute arose. It was here that John Willie Reed died.

Mrs. Hamilton, or Bryant, has lived at No. 49 for 11 years with her husband and family, including a large red dog named "Rusty." She relates:

> I was coming through the house, from the front into the kitchen at the back, when I heard some loud talking outside. Johnny had backed his car in, not even in the driveway, but just about a third of the way, enough to turn around. I looked out the window and heard Pearson talking loud. Johnny was sitting in the car. Then he opened the door and got out.
>
> That's when Pearson shot first. Johnny shot when he was already falling, and hit Pearson in the leg. Pearson crawled over to where Johnny was lying on the ground and picked up his gun. Then he went back over to the step. He was laying there with his head in the kitchen and his feet hanging out the door until the police came. He had the guns in his hand until they got there.

Johnny didn't come in my house. He had just got there and turn't around, right there. He wasn't hardly in any driveway, and besides, it ain't no driveway anyway. Nathaniel was standing there (pointing to a spot about 15 feet away from Pearson's house) when the whole thing happened.

The Pearsons moved out just a little after the shooting, maybe two or three weeks.

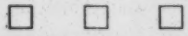
James Clayton, a neighbor and the "Mr. James" of whom Goody had spoken, recalls very little of the fatal day:

I saw him (John Willie Reed) only five, six times in my whole life. He would pass by the house sometimes, speak, and keep a'going. I spent about 15 to 20 minutes with him on the day he got killed. He had some poke salad, and I said I sure would like to have some of that, and would he sell me some. I don't know what I paid him—maybe I give him a drink or something. So he brought me home.

To tell you the truth, I wasn't too much myself. I have these spells when I get to drinking. My wife helped me out of the car, and I went in the house and went to bed.

Perhaps this compilation is as much as will ever be known of the death of John Willie Reed. Death came in an instant. But life spanned four decades. And the deeper question goes not to his death, but to his life. Who was John Willie Reed—other than a victim, a deceased, a name on a police folder?

No man lives almost 41 years without making a record. The humblest and most obscure leave something behind, if nothing more than a Social Security file or only a name in the family Bible. There is no monument over John Willie Reed's grave. Yet he left an epitaph in paper, an aggregate of divers records noting the events of his life.



LaFayette (locally pronounced "La-fet") is the county seat of Chambers County, Ala. It adjoins the Georgia line midway up the eastern side of the state, and is bisected by the north-south line of the Central of Alabama Railroad. LaFayette is a courthouse surrounded by a feed store, drug store, an automobile dealership, an aging structure whose lintel proclaims it the Hightower Building, the Farmers and Merchants Bank, and the other establishments which make up the trading centers of hundreds of Southern counties. It was in Chambers County that John Willie Reed was born, on Dec. 22, 1927.

His father, William Reed, was then 25 years old, and his mother, Edna Coefield Reed, was 22. William Reed, too, had been born in Chambers County, but his wife had come from Troup County, Ga., some 15 miles to the east. The Reeds were sharecroppers, working "on halves." For a while they farmed the land of Stullin Webb, but then they were on Billy Barber's "place" near Buffalo, Ala., four miles north of LaFayette. John Willie was the first child, and eight more were to come:

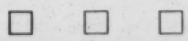
Mattie Lee, Raymond, Susie, Bobbie Nelle, Herbert, Mary Ernest, Catherine, and Willie Robert.

The countryside is gently rolling, sloping westward from the Chattahoochee River. It is covered by scrub pine and sedge grass. The kudzu, a creeping vine with heavy leaves, has laid claim to strips along the roadside. Cotton patches cover small plots, and the red clay of the region underlies all. Occasionally there is rock, grey outcroppings unbroken for many yards. Vast stretches are abandoned now, if ever they were under cultivation. Lone chimneys, rotting barns, abandoned hulks of automobiles —all attest to the general poverty that has prevailed since Depression days. The roadway itself still displays the kind of signs that must have been familiar to John Willie Reed as a boy: "See Rock City," "Sister Lethia—Indian Reader and Adviser," "Jesus is the light of life. He can turn your night to day."

What would a small Alabama county recall of the son of sharecroppers? Not much. But there is a record even here. For several years during the Depression, the authorities conducted a biennial school census.

John Willie Reed's name appears in the Colored Family School Census Card for 1934, at age seven, as a first-grade pupil of Chestnut Corner School, mailing address LaFayette. Two years later, he is listed in the first grade at Macedonia School (another name for Chestnut Corner), now as a resident of Buffalo, residing one mile from the schoolhouse. The 1938 census lists him, Mattie, and Raymond at the Poplar Spring School, John being now nine years old and in third grade. His card is missing for the 1940 census, but in 1942, 14 years old, he is shown as attending the second grade of Five Points School. In 1950, John Willie Reed is listed as 19 years old and in Grade 7. But the census taker, perhaps realizing that in truth he is now 23 years old, has struck through the name and accompanying data.

This meager residuum is the only official evidence that John Willie Reed ever put his foot on the red clay of Chambers County, Ala.



Mattie Lee Reed, the younger sister, now Mrs. Paul Fowler of 370 Chappell Rd., N. W., in Atlanta, tells some details of her brother's early life:

We went to Freedonia—not Freedonia, Macedonia. We lived at Buffalo then. I wan't born there. I can't tell you where it was, but it was out in the country. It was on this man's place, Billy Barber. And that's where Johnny was born. There was three of us born on that man's place. We went about two years to Macedonia. It wasn't too big. I don't think it went up to but about the eighth grade. We went to another school, too. It was called Poplar Springs . . . . We didn't go but one year. We left there. You see, Daddy moved all over the world.

Five Points Junior High was from elementary through tenth. It was a good school, because we had a new building. The school before we started got

burned down. We used the church, the Baptist church and the Methodist church. I believe it was about a year before the school was ready. At one time we could walk to school. It was about two miles. After they got the new school built, we had moved down the road from there, and we rode the school bus. Then we moved back, about a mile and a half away.

Johnny had a nickname. We used to call him "Pie." I don't know why we called him that. I think Mama gave it to him. I can't remember what grade Johnny stopped school there. It could be sixth grade. He didn't drop out. He had to stop to go to work. He worked at this man Billy Barber's sawmill. No, it was Theo Trammell. He had a lumber yard in LaGrange, Ga. They came to pick them up every day and take them to work. It was 15 miles. He went over there between 17 and 18 years old. He would try to go to school regular before then, but he had to stop sometimes, you know, to go to work to help out the family.

Five Points was the Negro school in that part of the country. It is now named Phillips School, and the white school is called Five Points. The records of Phillips School do not show the name of John Willie Reed. The other schools—Macedonia, Poplar Springs, Freeman Chapel—have long since disappeared through consolidations.

From birth to age 17 Reed followed his father onto other men's land, moving with the family "all over the world" of Chambers County, and finding his most permanent home in Five Points. Five Points is that—five points—and little more. It is situated on Alabama Highway 431 fifteen miles south of the Randolph County line. The first building was completed in the late 1870's and is still standing between the highway and the railroad, two-story brick, painted white. The town is a new post office, Julius Smartt's Store, Five Points Methodist Church, a service station and a store enigmatically displaying brooms behind a window marked "Electronics School."

Phillips High School is less than a mile from town, out where the paving ends. It is newer and bigger than the white school, but a few broken windows and the absence of landscaping give this red brick structure a depressing aura. Next to the school is Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church, where William Reed served as deacon, and where his first-born son sang the old hymns of the rural South. White-frame, on yellow field-stone foundation, it has double doors that open onto five concrete steps. A small steeple with louvered windows surmounts the front, and a pitched gable protects worshipers at the door from Sunday rains.

Growing up in Five Points with John Willie Reed was Hattie Jane Barnes. After working for three years for the Trammell lumber yard in LaGrange, he and Hattie moved up to Roanoke, where he took a job with Brown Drug Store. That was in 1953, and Reed was then 25, having lived at home for his entire life. The work at Roanoke was easier than lumbering, but the career of janitor-dishwasher in a small Alabama town could not have been overly challenging or rewarding. So in 1954, John Willie Reed left Hattie Jane at Roanoke, and, following the path of tens of thousands like him, went to Atlanta.

Mattie, his sister, had moved to the city in 1949. She arranged for her brother to board on Walnut St., just a mile or so west of downtown Atlanta. She recalls:

I got him a room on Walnut St. off of Fair St. . . . That was 1953 or '54. Then she (Hattie Jane) came up, and I got them a room with a lady on Fox St. . . . The lady on Walnut St. is dead now. Look like to me her name was Lavada, but what her last name were I don't know. Her husband was a Pullman porter on the train, but he's dead, too.

John Willie Reed and Hattie, companions but not man and wife, took jobs at the Cross Roads Restaurant on Peachtree at Spring St. They worked there for almost two years. Ann Phillips, a pleasant, well-spoken woman still employed at the Cross Roads, remembers them:

I was here when he was here. He and Hattie came to work together, were married. I heard about some fight they had out here, but I wasn't here. They would be going when I would come to work. He was just what I would call a normal person. I did notice that he was a little tied-tongue. Hattie was a stout, brown-skinned woman. She was in the salad department. Johnny was a helper in the kitchen. One time I overheard them talking about something, some kind of fight. When people drink, anything can happen. But I didn't know what it was about. He left here, but she stayed—how long after I don't know.

Polly Ackerman, now manager, remembers John Willie Reed and the argument, possibly stemming from jealousy, that resulted in his discharge: "She came running into the office, and Mr. Lewis (the former manager) fired him and had him locked up."

At that time, sometime in 1956 (the employment records have been destroyed), John Willie Reed and Hattie were boarding in the home of Mrs. Ophelia Regulus at 590 Fair St., N.W. That house is gone, and the site is occupied by a new addition to the Amanda Flipper Temple. A neighbor, Mrs. E. Banks, at 589 Fair St., describes it as a small grey house, elevated from the street. Although she remembers Mrs. Regulus and the presence of several boarders, she cannot recall John Willie Reed.

But Ophelia Regulus recalls the couple:

When we had the house on Fair St., number 590 Fair, Mrs. Fowler come to me and asked did I have a room for Johnny. He and Hattie, they said they were married, were living on Fox St. They moved in with me, and he stayed here and there about 10 years. Him and his wife both worked at Cross Roads. They got into somethin' out there. Him and Hattie couldn't get along. When they left home that morning to go to work, I didn't know nothing was wrong.

They got to fightin' at Cross Roads. She would go off, and he didn't know where she was at, and all that kind of stuff. That's what it was about. Somebody had Johnny locked up, but he didn't stay long. When he come back, she was gone. She told me that afternoon she had to go off. She done the leavin'. So she left, and I didn't know where she went. They stayed with me on Fair

Street about two years. She had been gone three, four years before we moved over here to Chappell Rd.

Hattie? Hattie was Hattie. She seemed to be doin' pretty good. Some folks do good for awhile. And then what's in 'em has got to come out. She just taken a notion not to do right. I mean, goin' off and everything. That's what she said Johnny was doin', and she said she gone do it, too. What she done she didn't do in my house. She left, but he stayed.

I haven't seen her since she left.

Oh, she was runnin' around. She say *he* did. If he did, he done just like she was.

The rigors of city life began to bear heavily upon John Willie Reed. On Feb. 21, 1956, he was sued by American Credit Service, Inc., a commerical collection agency, for $53.14 claimed as "balance due on contract." The suit was served on Ophelia Regulus at 590 Fair, and since Reed made no answer, judgment was taken against him on March 19, 1956. What the contract was no one knows. The records of the collection agency have long since been destroyed.

On Nov. 20, 1956, Reed went into Days Store, 101 Whitehall St. in Atlanta, to shop for clothing. Whitehall St. was and is cluttered with credit clothing and furniture stores and varied small shops. Reed spent $60.43 for new clothes, itemized on a "lease contract" as follows:

M. pants, size 30	12.95
M. hat, size 6 7/8	10.00
L. suit, size 40	9.98
M. jacket, size 38	27.50

Apparently he already owed $19.41, and this was added to make a total obligation of $79.84, plus $1.81 tax. The "L" preceding "suit" obviously means "ladies'," and judging from the size, the purchase was for a stout woman, perhaps Hattie Jane. Several years later, when his balance had been reduced to $31.34, he was sued under the lease contract.

The years from 1956 to 1960 leave little evidence behind. There is some indication, from his own account several years later, that Reed took a job as laundry worker for $40 a week at the Henry Grady Hotel. The Henry Grady, on Peachtree in downtown Atlanta, is an older hotel of faded dignity, a favorite of Georgia politicians visiting Atlanta. In the days when Reed apparently worked there, it was often a place where legislators got together convivally and talked about how to save segregation and what to do about the United States Supreme Court. Reed apparently remained there until 1958. The hotel has no record.

On June 3, 1958, Reed began work in the kitchen of Davis Brothers

cafeteria at 9 Forsyth St., three blocks from Five Points, in the center of Atlanta. He continued to live at the Regulus home, as verified by the marshal's notations on several other suits filed for the collection of past-due accounts (all contracted on Whitehall St). Garnishments filed against his wages show that in March of 1959 he was earning $5 a day from Davis Brothers. The Days Store suit attached from his wages a total of $51.53, including attorneys' fees and court costs, on an initial balance of $31.34. Another suit, filed by Georgia Hub, another credit clothier, discloses a purchase of $62.54 on Feb. 19, 1958. By April of the following year, his balance was $60.54. Garnishments produced a total of $93.20 in that case. Other court records indicate that John Willie Reed's wages were raised from $5.00 a day in June to $5.83 a day in July of 1959.

A fourth collection suit was filed by Askin Stores, Inc., also on Whitehall St., on Nov. 22, 1960. The contract attached to the suit is blank in all respects except from the notation, "Wife's name—Mildred," the amount, $62.00, and terms of $6 every Saturday. Mildred is unknown now, but a possible clue to her identity is the return of service made by the deputy marshal of the Civil Court of Fulton County, reciting that he had served John Willie Reed by delivering a copy of the suit papers at 590 Fair St. to "Mildred Fambro, a colored person described as follows: Age, about 24 years; weight, about 120; height, about 5 feet and 5 inches, domiciled at the residence of defendant." Garnishment papers on that suit show continued employment at Davis Brothers on Forsyth St., part of one of Atlanta's most successful restaurant chains. By January of 1961, Reed was earning $46.67 a week.

John Willie Reed filed no answers to any of the suits against him. Nor apparently did he ever attempt to pay the judgments taken, since each suit was the subject of garnishment proceedings against his wages. Altogether, he owed principal amounts of $135.04, and paid involuntarily the sum of $217.57, including interest, attorneys' fees, and court cost—64.9 per cent more than originally owed. Add to this the inflated prices of credit clothing and it is likely that the $5-a-day busboy paid at least twice value received.

Debt was not the only problem of those years. "The Law" was another. Records of the Atlanta Police Department disclose that on May 5, 1958, Officers J. F. Johnson and W. B. Blackwell arrested John Willie Reed, described as a colored male, 29 years of age, address 590 Fair St., and charged him with "Drunk and Disorderly—Stabbing" and "Disorderly Conduct—Assault." The following day he was sentenced on the first count to a fine of $53 or 50 days, and on the second a fine of $104 or 60 days. No other details are available. The victim, other participants, the circumstances of the incident—all are lost to memory. The records have been destroyed, and the small, white file cards now bring back nothing to the memory of the two officers. John Willie Reed made no impression on them.

Troubles mounted early in the morning hours of Nov. 16, 1960.

Officers G. C. Taylor and Jack Scott arrested and booked John Willie Reed of 590 Fair St. on the general charge of "disorderly conduct-disturbance." Before that day had ended, Reed was tried, convicted, and sentenced to 13 days or $15. The fine was paid that day, at 4:30 p.m.

Five months later, the Metropolitan Lottery Squad of the Atlanta Police Department raided the home of Donnett Carter at 273 Thornton St., S.W. There they found two men and two women, in addition to Donnett Carter. They reported:

> At approximately 10:30 A.M. this date (April 24, 1965) we went to 273 Thornton St., S.W. on a lottery investigation. We made a search of the house and found lottery tickets torn up in the waste basket and in the bedroom of the house. We found 3 1/2 gallon jars in Lucretia Harvey's bedroom containing non taxpaid whiskey. We found 1/2 gallon of non-tax-paid whiskey in Leroy Williams' bedroom. We also found obscene literature in the house.

Reed was charged with an offense known as "occupying a dive," a "dive" being defined as any place where liquor is sold without a license—excluding, of course, country clubs, veterans' homes, and fraternal lodges. The following day Reed was tried at the 2:30 p.m. court and paid a fine of $15.

By 1961 John Willie Reed had lived in Atlanta for seven years. He had maintained steady employment. His wages at Davis Brothers had increased from the $5 per day he earned in 1958 to $52.50 a week. He had boarded with Mrs. Regulus for almost all that time and was quiet, steady, and dependable, at least at home. His previous difficulties had been only as the prey of credit firms and moonshiners. But 1961 was the beginning of the end. An indictment returned in 1962 by a United States Grand Jury in Alabama was to charge

> That on or about Feb. 17, 1961, at Five Points, in the Middle District of Alabama, Murray Lewis, Thomas Robert Slaughter, John Will Reed, alias John Willie Reed, and Coy Brawner, the defendants herein, did forcibly break into the Post Office at Five Points, Ala., with intent to commit larceny.

The event itself is pieced together from records of the District Court clerk, statements of postal inspectors, a transcript of the sentencing proceeding of a co-defendant, and the resumé of the U. S. probation officer.

John Willie Reed was arrested and lodged in the city jail of Atlanta on Feb. 5, 1962. Three days later, he was released to federal authorities and transferred to the Fulton County jail. On the preceding day he had given to Postal Inspectors J. N. Towns and J. J. Gormley the following statement:

> On or about Feb. 17, 1961, I was riding around Atlanta, Georgia, with a man I knew as Thomas, who I now know as Thomas Sanders, in his 1954 Buick Roadmaster maroon color. There were three other men in the car with us, none of whose names I knew, but I have been shown the picture of Coy Brawner and he is one of them.

Thomas asked me if there were any stores in Five Points, Alabama, where I used to live, and I told him "Sure." We rode down that way and they told me they were going to break in some places. When we got there, we parked down by the railroad tracks and Coy and the other two in the back seat got out of the car and took some kind of bag out of the trunk of the car. Sanders and I stayed in the car. The three others came back in about an hour and said they could not find any money. I did not punch or try to punch the safe in the post office in Five Points, Alabama.

An extract of the report of Inspectors Towns and Gormley casts further light upon the incident:

On the night of Feb. 17, 1961, at Five Points, Alabama the Post Office was forcibly broken into and an attempt was made to open the safe. The combination knob was knocked off and an attempt made to punch the spindle out of the safe which was unsuccessful. Postal funds in the amount of $2.90 were taken off the rural carrier's desk. The burglars then broke into the Julius Smartt Grocery Store which is located across the highway from the Post Office and stole a .22 caliber Harrington and Richardson Blue Steel target pistol and approximately $5 in change. The target pistol has never been located.

Information received from a former associate of the four burglars on 2/2/62 showed that they were in all probability responsible for the burglary. All but John Reed are hardened criminals who have been in various prisons for most of their adult life. John Reed only has a minor record for drunkenness and fighting. Reed was, therefore, questioned first on 2/5/62 and an admission was secured from him that he and the other three were responsible for the burglary. John Will Reed is originally from Five Points, Alabama, having come to live in Atlanta, Ga., in 1954. That same day Thomas R. Sanders was likewise questioned about the burglary and an admission secured from him. On 2/6 we interviewed Coy Brawner at the Georgia State Prison Camp at Griffin, Georgia, and he likewise acknowledged the burglary. Brawner admitted he was the man who attempted to open the safe by punching it. On 2/7 we questioned Murray Lewis and secured an admission from him that he was one of the burglars. He stated he was a lookout while the others were inside. While all four have admitted the burglary and desire to enter a plea of guilty as soon as possible, only John Will Reed would sign a sworn statement. . . .

Wallace Fuller, still postmaster of Five Points, Alabama, discussed the crime:

That was when we were in the old bulding, next door. It was pretty easy to get into. They didn't bother any of the mail—just took some cash from the drawer and tried to open the safe. We never knew what happened in the trial. They said one of them was a Reed and the rest were from Atlanta.

On Feb. 8, 1962, Reed and two co-defendants appeared before U.S. Commissioner Frank Holden in the Old Post Office Building in Atlanta, waiving hearing and the issuance of a warrant. Commissioner Holden set bond for Reed at $5,000, committed him to the Fulton County jail awaiting trial, and noted on the commitment document that "Defendant expressed a desire to enter a plea of guilt (sic) and have case transferred to At-

lanta. . . ." Nineteen days later Reed signed the formal document requesting transfer of the papers and disposition of the case by the Federal Court in Atlanta.

U. S. Probation Officer James H. Young visited Reed in the Fulton County Jail, and quoted his statement:

> Thomas took me home that day and the others were in the car with us, so I went into a friend's house and they left while I was there. I guess that is when they broke in the place.

Young's analysis of Reed's potential as a probationer concluded that from the record of his employment and his background on the farm "we believe he can be helped under probation supervision."

John Willie Reed was arraigned before Judge Boyd Sloan in Atlanta on March 9, 1962. He appeared without counsel and the court appointed Atlanta lawyer John C. Tyler to represent him. Reed entered a plea of guilty, and was sentenced to two years on probation. Two of the others drew prison terms of four years each, and Murray Lewis was sentenced to a year and a day.

John Tyler, his appointed counsel in the case, recalls being appointed to represent some defendants charged with post office burglary. He remembers that one of the defendants had no record, and probably did not enter the building. John Willie Reed otherwise made no impression on him.

Willis W. Huff, known as "Pete," is a federal probation officer. The case of John Willie Reed was assigned to him, and he explained to his new charge the conditions of probation, which included reporting each month to the U. S. Probation Officer, Room 415, Old Post Office Building in Atlanta. The probation report yields substantial information, all derived from Reed himself, about his earlier years and present situation. The following are extracts pertaining to background, employment, and the family back home:

> The father is a native of Alabama, a tenant farmer, raising cotton and corn. He has farmed all of his life, is in good health, has never been arrested or in trouble with the law. He is a deacon in the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church and is regular in attendance.
>
> The mother of defendant is also a native of Alabama, farmer's wife and said to be a good mother. Her health is good.
>
> Defendant was born and reared in Alabama. He remained there with his parents until 23 years of age. He left home to work in Roanoke, Alabama, for approximately three years, then moved to Atlanta, in 1954, and has been here ever since, seemingly severing all ties with his family and home town community.
>
> He attended school at Five Points and completed the sixth grade before quitting to go to work on his father's farm.
>
> The defendant never was married. However, he claims to have lived in common-law with Hattie Jane Barnes from the time he moved to Atlanta until 1957, stating, "She just jumped up and left." There were no children as a result.
>
> At the age of 14, defendant worked in his home town on farms and at

sawmills. He worked approximately three years with Trammell Lumber Company, Five Points, Alabama, as a lumber stacker. He worked 1½ years in pulpwood for Mr. Robert Connery, Roanoke, Ala., as a truck driver and pulpwood worker.

1954 — 1956 — Cross Road Restaurant, Atlanta, Ga. Utility man and porter —$43.00 a week

1957 — 1958 — two years — Henry Grady Hotel, Atlanta, Ga. laundry worker — $40.00 week

1958 — Jan. 6, 1962, Davis Brothers Restaurant, Atlanta, Ga. cook, $52.50 per week.

The defendant states that he has been examined on two occasions for the draft and turned down on both occasions and is now classified 4-F.

Defendant owns nothing of real value. He states that he owes G.A.C. Finance Company approximately $60 and is one month behind on his $11.00 payment.

This 34 year old negro male is 5' 9" in height, weighs 135 pounds. Has clear negroid complexion, black hair, brown eyes, no obvious scars or marks. Has had no serious illnesses or surgery. Presently complains of headaches. He is obviously hampered somewhat by a stammering in his speech, which would have some disabling effect on receiving adequate employment. He states he drank to excess for quite sometime but after it began hurting him, he quit last year and has not drank anything since.

Defendant is a member of St. Paul Methodist Church, Five Points, Ala., but does not attend except on special occasions.

Defendant claims no special interest but enjoys TV in his spare time.

On March 9, 1962, John Willie Reed walked out of the courthouse, free for the first time since his arrest on Feb. 5. He returned home, which was still with Mrs. Regulus, but now in a pleasant brick home on Chappell Road, N. W., in a substantially better neighborhood. He had moved with her in September of the preceding year.

When we moved over here, Johnny moved with us. He paid $5 a week on Fair Street, but I told him it would be more here, so he paid $6.50—him and the other man in the room. His name was Henry Emory. They lived together. Henry was a good boy, too, but he's in trouble—on the (chain) 'gang.

The two pine twin beds are still there in the rented room, but a dressing table and high wardrobe have been moved in since Reed moved out. His bed was to the right of the door, thrust into the corner. Mrs. Regulus has no boarders now, and uses the room for sewing and ironing. Propped on top of the wardrobe is a big, framed print of Jesus—the familiar one with blue eyes and blond hair.

Under the terms of his probation, John Willie Reed was required to submit monthly written reports of his activities to his probation officer. Huff saw Reed on seven occasions. He assisted him in preparing his first written report, on April 2, 1962, which stated that his only employment had been by a Mrs. Katherine Strozier, 519 Larkin St., for yard work and window washing. He earned $20 in room rent by working during portions of 14 days for his landlady, and borrowed $2.00 from "friends." Debts reported were $33 to General Acceptance Corp. and $240 to Century

Finance Co. Huff noted: "Is hoping for work. Signed up at Employment Office. Behind in debts."

The Employment Service has no record of John Willie Reed, any cards with no entry for a period of three years having been destroyed.

On May 1, 1962, Reed was back again, reporting that he had drawn $33 in unemployment compensation and still owed his debts. Huff noted: "Can't find work. Trying restaurants. Very little incentive apparent." The report of June 4, 1962, shows an upturn in fortunes. Reed said that he had returned to Davis Brothers and had earned $75 a week for two weeks. A telephone call on July 3, 1962, from Reed advised Huff that matters were still the same, with no new problems. For 27 days work at the restaurant, he had earned $300, and a report of Aug. 6 was identical. (The statements of earning fall under some doubt. Records of Davis Brothers reflect a last date of employment as Jan. 11, 1962. However, occasional workers are sometimes paid by "extra help tickets," with no payroll entries to show names.) The last report, the eighth of what should have been 24, was dated Oct. 11, 1962, and said that there was nothing at all to report.

John Willie Reed was now confined to Battey State Hospital in Rome, Ga., a victim of tuberculosis. His sister Mattie told of how the illness developed:

> Johnny was at (a restaurant) when he got sick. I don't remember how he found out. I think he kept feeling bad, and he went to the doctor. The first doctor didn't find anything. And he went to another doctor on Auburn Ave., but that doctor did. He went to Dr. Holmes, and he the one found it, and that's when he had to go the Battey.

Dr. Angel Farina, of the Battey Hospital Staff, advised Huff by letter of Oct. 10, 1962, that John Willie Reed had been admitted to the hospital on Aug. 27, 1962, suffering from advanced pulmonary tuberculosis, and said he would have to remain in the hospital indefinitely. On Oct 17, 1962, Huff advised Reed that he might discontinue the monthly reports, and the file was transferred to inactive status on the following day. So ended the relationship between John Willie Reed and the United States courts. Reed visited Huff once following his discharge, but by then his term of two years had expired.

Battey Hospital was home, though hardly a pleasant one, for 17 months. None of the family visited him although sisters Mattie, Mary, and Susie and brother Raymond lived no further than 80 miles away. When Reed was admitted to the hospital his weight had fallen to 117 pounds, almost 20 pounds below normal. Dr. Alfred Shousa, in preparing his medical evaluation of Aug. 30, 1962, provided still another record on John Willie Reed:

> Patient dates his illness back to the month of January when he lost his job because a few things were missing from his place of employment and he was among the suspects and was put in jail. He stayed in jail for a month during

which time his health deteriorated very rapidly and he developed a bad chest cold which he could not get rid of.

He gives a history of progressive weakness, nervousness, insomnia.

Shousa described him as "a chronically ill-looking colored male" with a history of gonorrhea in 1947, and noted that he "smokes Viceroys—about a pack a day."

The case history prepared for John Willie Reed indicates two years employment as a laundry worker for the Henry Grady Hotel at $62 per week.

He was fired from this job because he and his boss were drinking on the job. He had worked for three years at Cross Roads Restaurant at $46 per week, and quit this job to go to the Mead Paper Company where he worked for 3 months and quit. Patient was involved in two car wrecks but was never hospitalized.

Under the heading "Ambitions," the interviewer noted, "This man did not have any definite vocational goal when I first talked with him." On Sept. 4, 1962, Reed had gained four pounds, but by the following February he was only seven pounds above his admission weight. Five months later, July 8, 1963, Dr. J. W. Oglesby performed on him a right scalene node biopsy, the analysis of which proved to be negative.

John Willie Reed was assigned to Ward 410 B at Battey Hospital. On Feb. 17, 1963, he wrote to his mother in Five Points:

I am feeling better every day. Look like I will never get out of here so I guess I will just have to stay on and wait so I will close for now. your truly from John to my mother.

But he did "get out" for a brief time. On Aug. 12, 1963, Capt. Snow, security officer at the hospital, telephoned Probation Officer John Carbo in Atlanta, advising him that Reed had returned from an eight-day leave with six bottles of bonded whisky, for which he was to be prosecuted on the charge of possessing more whisky than allowable by law. The next day, John Willie Reed stood before Judge Robert L. Scoggin of the City Court of Floyd County, Ga., to plead guilty once again. Scoggin sentenced him to "be confined in the Public Works Camp, or elsewhere as the law directs, for a period of twelve months." The sentence went on to say, "Since the defendant has active T.B., the defendant shall serve his sentence at Battey State Hospital."

A hospital record dated Aug. 29, 1963, and signed only "JRC," tells of the incident:

He was on probation and had a pass to go to Atlanta and naturally he got drunk and got in trouble and was referred to my ward. This happened on 8-13-63. . . Dr. Farina has really been working with this patient, doing everything he knows to do.

A memorandum three months later records:

In checking on this individual, it is learned that he had gotten drunk, and for this reason has been given a sentence and transferred to the prison section of the hospital.

Apparently, 15 months of treatment had at least arrested John Willie Reed's disease. An evaluation on Dec. 18, 1963 states:

His condition remains stable and due to being a prisoner we are going to keep him a little longer until his sentence expires and then we will discharge him.

He did not serve 12 months on public works or in Battey Hospital. On Jan. 16, 1964, Dr. Jose del Queto wrote to Huff, advising him that Reed "will be discharged appproximately within the next week." On Jan. 21, 1964, he was discharged.

The next day Reed checked in with the Fulton County Health Department, which provides medical services for tubercular patients. There he advised Mrs. Rosamund Dorsett that he was planning to visit his people in Alabama and would rest there for two or three weeks. Mattie and Alton Lee Tucker, a boyhood friend, drove him home to Five Points.

Reed stayed in Alabama longer than he had anticipated. On Feb. 19, he wrote to the Health Department:

I am doning fine. I have game 10 lb. I'll be up thair the 5th March. I have enough iron and P A S untial the 5th March. I sorry it took so long to wright. Your truly John Willie Reed." ("Iron" is inah, the abbreviation of a drug, as is P.A.S.)

Then on March 9, 1964, he wrote again:

The reason I haven bening back up thair. I was waiting on my check to come. I don't have any money to come up thair. Send me some iron table. I have enought P A S. I am still feeling all right. When do I go and see doctor. Your truly John W Reed.

The "check" referred to disability payments of $99.30 monthly from Social Security, which had been established for him on April 30, 1962.

On June 23, 1964, Reed was back in Atlanta, and he visited the Vine City Health Center. The visit home lasted for five months. Mattie Fowler discussed his stay at her house, from June until August of 1964:

When he got out, he came down here and we took him home. He stayed there about three months and he came back here. I believe it was in June. I was scared he was sick when he was here and I wouldn't let him do too much. I let him stay around the house. He'd do the house work. At that time I was going to nursing school, and he would help me and I was in the house a whole lot. We all got along pretty well. My husband, at times, can't nobody get along with him. You know how some folks say: 'Whaa, I got to have this done, I got to have that done.' Just 'cause you be working and the other one not. I didn't see too much of him after that—no more than I'd go around him after he and—we call her "Goody"—got together.

It was while Reed was still with his sister on Chappell Road that the next misfortune occurred. At 9 a.m. on the morning of Aug. 3, he was driving a 1956 Buick eastward on Fair St. at the intersection of Ashby, about two blocks from his old home with Ophelia Regulus. There was an accident which did $218 worth of damage, and he had no insurance coverage. Officer R. L. Davis arrested him and charged him with driving under the influence. He refused to take a blood test.

Trial was set for 9 a.m. on Aug. 18 before Judge Charlie O. Murphy of the Traffic Court of Atlanta. John Willie Reed entered a plea of guilty. Judge Murphy sentenced him to pay a fine of $100 and serve eight months on public works, with imprisonment suspended upon payment of the fine. But there was no $100 to be had. Reed was returned to the jail, fingerprinted, and transported to the Fulton County Public Works Camp, known as Bellwood, located in the older, industrial section of downtown Atlanta. The records of the prison camp are spare, showing only a residence with his sister on Chappell Rd., the existence of his brother Raymond at 61 Moury Ave., and a listing of his occupation as cook for Davis Brothers at $65 a week.

He arrived at Bellwood on Aug. 26. Mattie visited him once, on a Sunday, to take him a dinner. "He got into something, and they sent him to Bellwood. He wrote me a letter from out there," she recalled later. "I don't know how long he stayed."

But there was a brighter day ahead. On Sept. 23, just one month after he began the sentence, Judge Murphy penned across the indictment: "The balance of the sentence in the foregoing case is hereby suspended." John Willie Reed was free again.

Free . . . but was he? He was almost 37 years old, disabled by tuberculosis, his credit ruined by a series of petty law suits and misdemeanor charges, with no employment in sight and no family of his own, and for seven months now dependent upon his sister and aging parents. His sixth-grade education could not take him far. His only asset was the $99.30 Social Security check. Mattie could no longer keep him. His old landlady, Ophelia Regulus, didn't want him.

Mrs. Regulus:

Johnny stayed here 'til he went in the hospital. When he got out, I wouldn't let him come back. It wasn't because he wasn't a good boy. I had a young

grandson, and I was afraid of the disease, TB, that he had. He wanted to come back, and used to come to see me. "You won't let me come back, but I love you just the same," he would say.

There was nothing to do but find another place to live.

On Sept. 27, 1964, John Willie Reed was living at 108 Moury Street, two cluttered blocks from his sister Mary and his brother Raymond. The new quarters bespoke the deterioration of his circumstances. The room Mattie had given him was light and airy, on the front corner of her pleasant and neat little house. It was furnished with a large bed, a dressing table, a chest of drawers, and white curtains. Two large apothecary bottles filled with green liquid gave a fresh touch to the room, and over the bed was a dramatic print of massive rocks jutting from a foaming sea. Chappell Rd. itself is a middle-income area, with substantial small homes and well-tended yards. The Regulus home down the street was also neat and well-tended. And his first home, on Fox St., was a well-built house with yard and garden. But Moury St. was a rathole.

Moury is set in the midst of possibly a hundred streets little better. At 108 Moury was a ramshackle, haphazard, jerry-built boarding house. Room after room had been tacked on or added in so that in 1964 there were about 20 boarders crammed like rabbits in a warren. One bath sufficed for all. John Willie Reed's room was the second to the right in the basement, reached only by going down a steep slope on the north side of the house and entering the basement door in the rear. The walls are concrete block with a faint remnant of calcimine. The door is set into a rough frame of two by fours. The floor is poured cement, measuring 10 by 11 feet.

The boarders are gone from 108 Moury now, following a fire that demolished the front of the structure. The owners attempted to salvage the house by tearing down the burned portion nearest to the street, but work has long since stopped. There is barely an unbroken pane, and the entire aspect is one of utter ruin. A clear glass whisky bottle lies in John Willie Reed's old room, surrounded by plaster chips, glass shards, and other rubble. On the wall near the single window is what appears to be a niche of sorts, made of warping plywood. What it was no one knows, or cares.

It was from this turbulent and chaotic hovel, and from the depths of a tortured soul, that John Willie Reed wrote to his mother in Alabama:

Dear Mother: You dont no what a hard time i am having. No body wonte me You no i stay alone now. Mattie she put me out. I want to come home but i no you all dont want me. So all i can do is cry and pray that god will make me well agen mother i did not wont to tell you but i been in jail thate why i have not wrote you but i am out now mother. i am sick mother pray for me you don't no how i feel long way from home no one to look at me i want to be where you are but i now i can't stay so all i say that i am along all by self so dont you worried.

On March 27, seven months after his release from Bellwood, there came more trouble. At 2:30 on the Saturday afternoon, Mrs. V. E. Kilpatrick, security officer for Zayre's, a discount store on Stewart Ave. in Atlanta, observed a slender Negro man attempting to leave the store without paying for several items of clothing. In his possession were the following garments, as listed in an arrest report:

1 Pair, Men's Shoes, blk	7.99
1 Pair, Children's Shoes, grey	2.99
1 Pair, Girl's Sandals, White	2.99
1 Pair, Women's Rayon Panties, Size 5	.48
1 Pair, Women's Rayon Panties, Size 7	.66
1 Pair, Women's Rayon Panties, Size 6	.33

John Willie Reed admitted to arresting officers A. E. McKinnon and O. Scobie that he had stolen the articles—for his family. By 3:34 p.m., he was jailed and fingerprinted. He was to spend the week-end in the city jail. At 2:30 p.m. on the following Monday, he was bound over to the Criminal Court of Fulton County for trial on the charge of shoplifting, and released under a $300 bond posted by Ace Bonding Co.

The case of The State vs. John Willie Reed, No. 46341, Criminal Court of Fulton County, was called for trial on June 1, 1965. The name of the defendant was called out three times, as is the practice, and upon his failure to answer, the bond was forfeited. No one knows why Reed failed to appear in court that day. Perhaps the postcard notice of the trial date, sent as a matter of course to home addresses by bondsmen, was lost in the mail, or went astray at the house on Moury Ave. It was not long, however, before Reed was once again in custody, surrendered to the Fulton County Jail on July 11, 1965, by a man named Hillsman of Ace Bonding Co.

Nine days later, John Willie Reed appeared before Judge Charles A. Wofford of the Criminal Court, entered a plea of guilty, and was sentenced to 12 months on public works. Perhaps because of his illness (the accusation bears the notation, "Active TB Battey Hosp 12 mos."), Judge Wofford directed that the sentence be probated, and that John Willie Reed report at monthly intervals to the Adult Probation Department of Fulton County. Reed was taken downstairs to Probation Officer A. M. Baker, who recorded that his new charge had a fifth-grade education, had not worked since 1962, drew $52 per month for a lung ailment, was unmarried, resided at 82 "Murray" Avenue, S.E., and had a speech impediment. Reed gave references as follows:

Ophelia Regular (Regulus), 201 Chappell Rd.
Thomas McCurry (McCrary), 585 Fair St.
Frank Wood, 108 Murray (Moury) Ave., S.E.

The Fulton County Probation Office at that time had about 25 officers, whose individual case load was about 240 probationers. Such a burden left little time for anything other than the most cursory following of John Willie Reed. He would present himself once a month at the front desk, state

his name, and wait for the clerk to find his folder. Then, upon his statement that he had not moved, changed jobs, or been arrested, the file would be initialed, and he would depart. Except for the first interview with Baker, he never passed beyond the front desk. John Willie Reed did not make an impression. The officer to whom he was assigned, Paschall Burdett, now knows him only as one of 8,000 files for the year 1965. The file shows reporting dates of July 20, Aug. 2, Sept. 1, Oct. 4, Nov. 1 and Dec. 1. For 1966, Jan. 3, and Feb. 1 are listed. For his fidelity in appearing early each month, Reed was termed a "satisfactory" probationer, although there is nothing in the file to account for cessation of required visits after February of 1966—five months before his sentence expired.

The explanation is found in other records of the Criminal Court, specifically in the case of The State vs. John Willie Reed, No. 54478, on the charge of shoplifting. On Nov. 21, 1966, Reed entered the premises of B & H Quality Foods, between the gas station and the shoe repair shop on Jonesboro Rd., S.E., about a mile from Moury Ave. There he attempted to walk off with "two pairs of men's white cotton Superbilt socks, and two pairs of men's multi-colored undershorts of a value of $3.76." Robert Hall spotted the attempt, and detained Reed until Officer L. W. Smith arrived.

Once again the jail doors closed on John Willie Reed. At 2:30 p.m. the following day, he was bound over to the Criminal Court, and remanded to the Fulton County jail to await trial. It was almost a week before bond could be arranged, although it was set at only $100. This time it was posted by Atlantic Bonding Co., on Nov. 24.

This time Judge Wofford was not so lenient. For his unsuccessful attempt to filch $3.76 worth of socks and underwear, John Willie Reed was sentenced on his plea of guilty ". . . to be confined under the jurisdiction of the State Board of Corrections in the State Penitentiary, in a public works camp, or such other institution as the director of corrections may direct for a period of 12 months." That was on Feb. 24, 1966. Reed was once again taken from the courtroom to the Fulton County jail, to await further shipment.

Nine days later the prison physician, Dr. W. A. Reid, examined him, noted his history of tuberculosis, and recommended transfer to the State Penitentiary at Reidsville, Ga. On that same day the order was issued by R. H. Burson, director of the Department of Corrections, to Sheriff T. Ralph Grimes. The order said only, "Deliver to Georgia State Prison."

On March 3, Reed arrived at the penitentiary. He now became "No. GSP 53153, File GM-30292," and another record began. The various examining and classifying functions of the prison described him as of average intelligence, with a speech impediment, and noted he was a "far advanced" tubercular patient. The Classification Committee directed minimum custody and light work. Opposite the category "Programs," it recommended, "Continue present programs." The physician prescribed the drugs inah and P.A.S., with exercise.

With maximum "good time" allowance, John Willie Reed's sentence

expired on Aug. 24, 1966, two years to the day from the expiration of his first imprisonment at Bellwood in Atlanta. On that day he was given $7 in cash, a bus ticket to Atlanta, and a paper attesting his release.

The public records are silent on John Willie Reed from the day he left prison until his death in May of 1968. At one point, he lived with a man named Clyde Reed, not a relative, at 25 Bowen Ave., S.E., two blocks from Moury Ave. From that address he sent to his mother a birthday card on March 21, 1967. And at some time in 1967 he moved into the apartment at 63 Moury. His neighbor Willie Hayes, states:

> It may be he stayed with Clyde Reed while he was trying to get the apartment. Then he moved in there. Put everything he had, which wasn't nothing but a bed and maybe a chair or so.

The disease of tuberculosis, like so many other forces in John Willie Reed's life, had moved on relentlessly. On Oct. 24, 1966, Goody had come down with the illness. She had lived on Moury Avenue for several years. Now she was confined to Battey State Hospital. There she remained until April 20, 1967.

When Goody returned, she and John Willie Reed lived together again on Moury St. She previously had established eligibility for a grant from DeKalb County, just east of Fulton County, under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. But under the "substitute father" rule, which prohibits payments where a mother is maintaining some kind of "relationship" with a man, her entitlement was terminated in August, 1967. According to DeKalb authorities, the substitute father for two children, Nathaniel Walker, Jr., and Robert Kennedy Edwards, was John Willie Reed, though they were not his own.

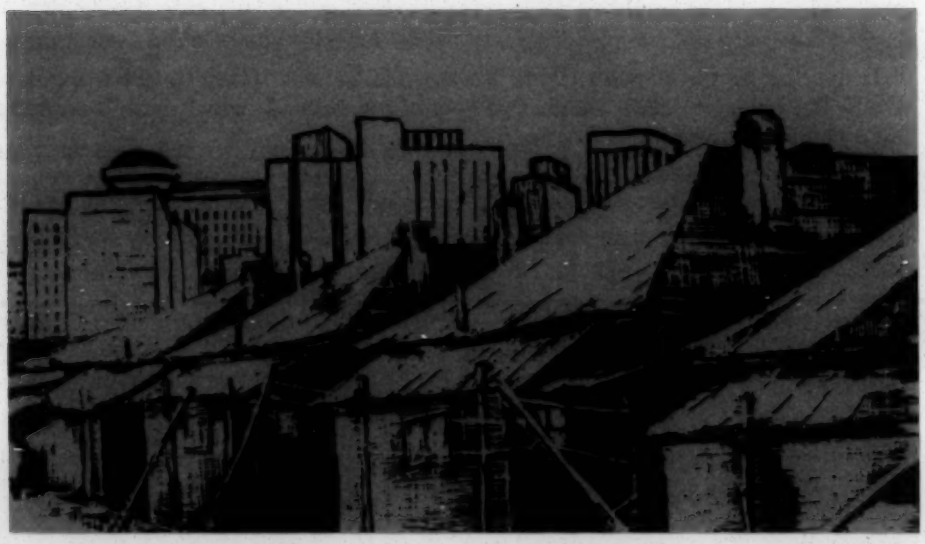
In October, Goody applied to the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services for AFDC. She told welfare agents that Reed had left her, and was "with his people in Alabama." But another investigation disclosed regular visits by Reed to the Lakewood Health Center for treatment of his illness, and his continued "relationship." Thus, Goody's application was denied. Her physical disability was real enough, however, and a small grant under the Aid to Disabled program was established for her effective Oct. 1, 1967.

On Dec. 9, 1967, a child was born to Goody at Grady Hospital, recorded in Birth Certificate #18318 as "Edna Elizabeth Edwards." There is no doubt that John Willie Reed was the father. The evidence stands in the form of a large red Christmas card ("To A Wonderful Mother & Dad at Christmas") with a satin inset, received by William and Edna Reed in Five Points, Ala. Following the printed sentiment is John Willie Reed's message: "From: Mr. & Mrs. J. Reed & Little Edna to Mother. Mama I got a little girl her name is Edna Elizabeth. Tell all hello for me."

Perhaps little Edna, whom they called "Tat," was the one source of satisfaction in Reed's latter years, and possibly of his whole life. Georgia Mae McCrary, a neighbor from Fair St. days, says: "Johnny tole me he

had done married. Said his wife was expecting a baby." Mrs. Regulus relates: "Johnny came out and stayed about a hour before he got killed. He and her—I don't even know her name—brought the baby over here for me to see one Sunday evening. That's the only time I ever see her and the last time I see him." The family also visited in Mattie Fowler's home.

□ □ □



Now John Willie Reed's stock of life was running low. On the Sunday before his death, Mattie Fowler called on the family.

They was telling me about how he was working his garden. He showed me it and I looked at it. But I didn't stay long. He loved that garden. He had cabbage, tomatoes, beans, okra, squash. It was back of the house. It was a real pretty garden.

On the last day of his life, Reed saw two of his best friends, Willie Hayes and Georgia Mae McCrary. Hayes called at the home to pick up Reed for a fishing trip.

The day he got killed I went up there about 7 in the morning, and he say, "Pop, I can't go. My check may come." You have to wait for the checks, 'cause they steal em out of the mailboxes all along here. So we left. When we come back that evening, he was dead.

Georgia Mae McCrary relates:

Johnny came here on the day he got killed. He was real lively that day. He stayed around here a long time with somebody he called "Shorty," a little old dark-skinned fellow. We just sit around the house, and they laughed and talked. I was having trouble with my car. The battery was dead. I said, "Look at my car and see what's wrong with it." He said, "Georgia Mae, you need some batteries. You got any money?" I didn't have any, and he said he

didn't have any either. Then he told me where you can get some re-used batteries. "Tomorrow I'll be back over here. If you haven't got it started maybe I can help you." They must have stayed here until late evening (afternoon).

From Georgia Mae's house on Fair St., John Willie Reed must have returned to Moury Ave., thence to Southview Cemetery, then home for the last time, then to Dorothy St. and his death.

How came the news of Johnny's death? Nathaniel first brought the news to Goody and then to Mary Felton, Reed's sister. And Mary brought it to Mattie Fowler.

Mary Felton, she called me and said, "Mattie, Johnny got shot." And I said "He did?" and she said "Yeah." The lady next door's little boy (Nathaniel) come in and she (Mary) asked him, "Sho' nuf, Bud, is that true?" and he said "Yeah." And she said, "Well I got to go now and see about it." She hung the phone up. She called me back and told me he wasn't there, they had picked him up and took him to Grady. And I said, "Well, I'm goin' go down there." He was dead on arrival. They had already moved him.

Boysie Jordan, Ophelia Regulus' son, brought the news to Georgia Mae McCrary.

The next day—that was a Friday—Boysie knocked on the door. "Have you heard about Johnny?" "What, did he have a wreck?" "Johnny got killed," he said. "He did?" I said. "He was s'posed to come over here today."

The neighborhood grapevine brought the news to Willie Hayes. "I come back about 7 and somebody said when Johnny went home and when he come back the man shot him." James Clayton learned of the news the next day. "I went to bed, and didn't know nothing about it until the next day, when my wife said some fellow got shot across the street."

William and Edna Reed, in Alabama, heard the news when Mattie telephoned Five Points. The news came to the public on page 7 of the Atlanta *Constitution*: "Driver Slain After His Car Invades Yard."

On the Monday following his death, plans for the funeral were made with Alphonso Dawson Mortuary, at 3000 Gordon Rd., S.W. Mattie Fowler undertook to bear the cost.

We went over to Dawson's to arrange for the funeral. The funeral is in my name, but me and my brother and my brother-in-law paid it. They made me put it in my name. We buried him that Wednesday. Mama and Daddy came, and Catherine. Mary Felton's little daughter Linda, me, and Goody. She took the little boy they called "Bud," but she didn't take her *little* boy. Sonny (Alton Lee Tucker) was there, and Mary Lucy Evans and another one named Ella Pearl Martin. I don't know who all the other people was.

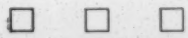
The cost of the funeral was $537.10, including casket, ambulance service, two five-passenger funeral cars for the family, grave diggers, hearse, and a newspaper notice. Mattie Fowler paid $400 in cash, and she and

Raymond signed for the balance, which was paid on the day of the funeral, Wednesday, May 8, 1968. A spray of flowers was ordered from C. E. Rogers, Florist, for which Mattie paid $24.75.

John Willie Reed was buried in grave 12, range A, lot 2, southwest section of Chestnut Hill Cemetery, just off Moreland Ave. across the county line in DeKalb County. "Actually," said cemetery director A. H. Watts, "where they buried him is in the public ground, one-half step ahead of Potter's Field. We provide the lot as a public service. They only have to pay the cost of opening the grave, which comes to $65."

"They got a number, and I don't know the number, on his grave. We haven't put a marker there yet, but I want to put one up," said Mattie Fowler.

Reed's estate consisted of his 1955 Pontiac automobile, which Willie Hayes describes as "a piece o'car;" a lump sum payment for funeral expenses made by the Social Security Administration to Mattie Fowler in the amount of $155.70, after deducting an overpayment for February, 1968, of $99.30; and the proceeds of a life insurance policy taken out by Goody with United Insurance Company of America, through which four and one-half months after Reed's death, the company paid Goody $1,000, plus 85 cents as unearned premium.

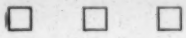


Thus this paper epitaph is complete. A man largely unnoticed, who made not much of an impression upon most of those who encountered him, nevertheless had made his imprint in public and private records: records of a bad education, of debt, of employment, of disease, of legal problems—records, mainly, of his troubles. This epitaph is in large part taken from the records of: Chambers County Colored School Census, Social Security Administration, Civil Court of Fulton County, Atlanta Police Department, Criminal Court of Fulton County, Fulton County Public Works Camp, Fulton County Adult Probation Office, Atlanta Traffic Court, Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services, U. S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia, U. S. Postal Inspection Service, U. S. Probation Office, Battey State Hospital, Georgia State Prison, Georgia Board of Corrections, Fulton County Health Centers, Fulton County Jail, Grady Memorial Hospital, and finally, the Fulton County Health Department (death certificate).

A few commercial documents remain: Davis Brothers Restaurant, United Insurance Company of America, Dawson's Mortuary, and Chestnut Hill Cemetery. No others can be found.

As for private papers, there is a Christmas card and a birthday greeting, along with several letters in a paper carton at the home of William and Edna Reed in Alabama. One photograph, snapped at the Regulus home, shows John Willie Reed dressed in khakis and seated in an easy chair. The right foot is propped over the left knee. Both elbows rest upon the arms

of the chair, and his head is cocked a bit to the right. A cloth hat perches on top of his head, and a cocky grin is on his face.



Of three initial inquiries, one remains. What meant the life of John Willie Reed? Those who knew him respond.

Mrs. Edna Reed lives in a tenant house on the farm of Caesar Lee, four miles west of Five Points, Rte. 1, Box 34. The house is set some 20 yards north of the roadway on a sandy plot beneath three large, white oak trees. The outbuildings include a weathered barn, a shed, a well, and a privy—all unpainted. The house itself is white frame, with four brick and dowel posters supporting a green composition roof. The front door opens into the living room, which is heated by a wood stove. To the right is another room, and a third is to the rear of the living room. A front porch is partially screened, with cord wood stacked on the open end. Edna Reed wears her hair in several tightly twisted pigtails. She has the long face and prominent teeth and slim frame of one who was never fully nourished, and speaks in a soft, open way that seems designed to avoid offense. Her clothing is a brownish cotton dress, sturdy black shoes with laces, cotton stockings, and a brown pullover sweater.

William Reed doesn't make crops any more. He and his wife live on two government checks, his for $45 and hers for $23 monthly, plus what he can earn feeding Caesar Lee's cows—about $1.50 a day. They pay rent of $15 for the house, and have still at home the youngest child, Willie Robert, who is now 17 years old.

The room is chill on a January morning. On the mantle is a color photograph of a cousin and her husband in Dayton, and a blue poster in Gothic script: "Jesus Never Fails." A can of Scotch snuff rests on the mantle, and another is visible through the window on the screened porch. Paper folders containing insurance receipts are tacked to the wall, and a bare light bulb is suspended from the center of the ceiling. Mrs. Reed reminisces:

> Johnny went to the sixth grade at school. He was 17 then, and it look like he just had to come out and help support the rest. There was a big crowd then, and he was the oldest one. He was a good worker. All three of the oldest were—Johnny, Mattie, and Raymond. They were three smart children. They would always hurry up and get through with their work. Johnny was the only one out of the nine that I never had no trouble with. He stuck right by my side all the time. He was sort of shy and timid, and he never sassed his daddy.
>
> He always like to fish and hunt, and he used to go every chance he had. That's what he did when he came back here after the hospital. He didn't talk about the hospital much. Said he got mighty tired of all the shots, but they treated him pretty good. I sure did hate it about that post office. He never talk about that, but some other people said they made Johnny do that. I couldn't understand it, with all the friends he had around here. He wrote to me when he could, and we would go to Atlanta to see him and them once a year. He was always good to me and his daddy, and he always remembered my birthday.

Johnny always have been a good li'l old boy. When he was in school he used to say he was going to be a big engineer on the railroad.

Mattie Fowler remembers him in much the same way:

Johnny liked to farm. He like to, you know, do different things, like cook. He was like a lady about that. He liked to keep house. He liked to go fishing—and he loved children. And every day he loved to read the Bible, but I didn't never know what he reading. He would take it out a certain time and he'd read something. It would be in the evening, like he'd get off work about five. He'd get home and get a little bath. And he wouldn't eat first. He'd go get the Bible and he'd read first, for about 25 or 30 minutes. He growed up in a church. We went to church every Sunday. At Five Points we went to Mount Pleasant Methodist. They say he would go sometime when he was living over here, but I don't know. If he did he went to that church up there on top of the hill that was called Macedonia. He was quiet, he didn't ever bother anybody.

He watched television sometimes. He liked to read some kind of magazine, like a mystery story or something. I doubt if he ever registered to vote. Sometime I would try to talk politics with him, but he wasn't particularly interested. He was a home person.

I imagine he learned pretty good in school, cause I got good grades, and I stayed up with him. . . . He never talked about moving away from home. Ain't but one thing he would always say: "All my little sisters and brothers stay up. I hope don't nothing happen to Mama, because anything happen to Mama, Daddy marry again and that lady wouldn't be right to my sisters and brothers ain't no telling what I would do to her." And that's all he would think about.

But he never would talk about what he wanted to do, or what he wanted to be, or nothing. He was concerned more about the family. He was sort of quiet little boy in school. Didn't nobody pick on him. He got along well with people, you know, coming up.

Eugenia Moreland, the owner of the house where he first stayed in Atlanta, recalls him:

Johnny was a quiet person. He never gave anybody any trouble. He was just like a little boy to me . . . did everything I asked him to do. Sometime he would offer to help with the garden I had over there on Fox St.

Johnny's longtime landlady, Ophelia Regulus, discussed his habits after Hattie Jane returned to Alabama:

I don't allow anybody to bring their women in the house. Johnny brought a li'l old young girl over here. I think she stayed on Walnut St. She came here one or two mornings—he worked at night then—but they didn't stay long. Johnny didn't stay 'round much when he wasn't doing anything. He would come in, stay a little while, and then he'd be gone.

He had a car most of the time. I don't know what he did. On Fair St. I had some flowers, and he used to work in them. Then one year he planted some beans.

Georgia Mae McCrary considered him a very good friend of her family:

Johnny was a good friend of ours. We moved here in 1959, but we lived next door then. He stayed with Mrs. Regulus. My husband trusted him to carry me home—to Opelika. Sometime when we were in my car we would go to see his people in Five Points. Actually, Johnny and I used to go together. He was a very good friend. You know how womens are. Sometimes womens be pretty rough. But my husband, he trusted me to go home with Johnny. That "Georgia Mae" he wrote about in the letter was me.

He told me he had done married. Said his wife was expecting a baby. Johnny said he was trying to get a job as soon as the doctor turned him loose. One time he said he was gone take out some insurance and will it to us. He was that good a friend of ours. I never knew him to bother anybody. I knew he got arrested, but I thought that was for fighting. Seemed like he had a good many friends. He would bring them by here. I have never known him to bother anybody. I don't go no place anyhow, just stay right here, or go see my mother. There's a lot going on that Georgia Mae don't know about.

His friend Willie Hayes speaks with high praise, on behalf of all of his family:

He was a quiet man. He liked to fish. He liked to work when he was able. Sometime he would get something for maybe one or two days, and then have to quit. He was doing something for some people over in Lakewood back when he died. Made maybe three, four dollars at the time. Then he would have to go back to the hospital (health center). He was bad to stutter. He call me "Pop," but he would say "P-p-p-pop." He never talked about his people, except that he came from Alabama.

I knew he was at "Battle" Hospital, but he never said anything about it, except that one time he said he didn't have but one lung. Sure, he would take a little drink once in a while, but I never seen him drunk. He was quiet, nice, respectable, tried to be, so far as we knowed of him. He was one of the quietest fellows in the settlement 'cause I didn't fool with the rough ones. He was one of the mannablest, decent, respectable boys you could find.

He had a piece o' car, what kind I didn't pay no 'tention. He would always ride with me, in that station wagon there. We would go fishing—Jackson Lake, everywhere. One day he say "P-p-p-pop, we not riding with you. We going in my car and see will it run." He bought it about six months before he died.

There was one thing that happened. Four of us was down at the lake. Johnny always rode in the front with me. We stopped, and there were these bushes on both sides of the car. They all got out, and when I got out, I stepped right in the middle of a moccasin, coiled up there, big around as my arm. I holler "Snake snake," and when I look around, Johnny was up on the top of my car, going "Yaaaa, yaaaa, yaaaa!" Jumping all around. I used to kid him about it.

I never see Johnny curse, even on the lake. I never see him in an argument. My family thought a lot of him. The boy was very nice and respectable.

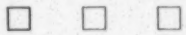
Alton Lee Tucker, called "Sonny," who grew up in Round Oak and Buffalo, Ala., was Johnny's roommate for almost seven years. In addition to a room at the Regulus homes, the two shared a background of Chambers County, the Macedonia school, and confinement at Battey State Hospital. Johnny never discussed his troubles with Sonny, not even the federal prosecution.

I was living with him right up until the time he went to Rome (Battey State

Hospital), and never knowed anything about any arrests. I thought he had gone back home. I never knew he was in jail.

Sonny last saw his friend at the laundry on Fair St.

I was over there at the wash house and he stopped by. We talked for a little while, but I had to go. He told me to come see him but I never got over there. He was a very good fellow, so far as I knowed.



In this brief account of a life there is a strange dichotomy.

John Willie Reed of official records was a failure in every way. He was barely literate. His health was a public menace. His highest calling was kitchen help. He owned nothing. He defaulted on his debts. He admitted guilt to eight crimes and served three prison terms. His relationship with his family was parasitic, and with the women of his life, illicit. His child was illegitimate. He died in an effort to kill a stranger.

But Johnny, the first-born of the family, was always a quiet and respectful boy, who got along well with everyone. He loved the soil and the world of nature. His friends found him gentle and friendly, shy and inoffensive. They knew nothing of his myriad troubles, which he took pains to hide. His employers regarded him as regular and diligent.

Perhaps this paradox is explained by circumstance. What did Chambers County care for a black boy? What did they teach him at Chestnut Corner, Poplar Springs, and Five Points? What was ahead for him there? Sharecropper, sawmill hand, store sweeper.

Circumstances impelled Johnny to a city of strangers, hostile of necessity and exploitive by nature.

But what did Atlanta offer? Did it need another farmhand? Only as kitchen help at $5 a day, lodger at $10 a week, purchaser of hat and trousers and jacket at exhorbitant interest. And beyond awaited all the

sanctions provided for those who fail: debt, suit, judgment, garnishment; arrest, prosecution, imprisonment, disability, dependency, hopelessness.

Johnny was doomed from the beginning to become the John Willie Reed of a dozen official folders, branded with a dozen official numbers. He was destined to pass through the hands of half a dozen agencies, all existing for the express purpose of rebuilding shattered lives: Battey State Hospital, Fulton County and federal probation offices, two health centers, the State Employment Service, Georgia State Penitentiary. What could they do for Johnny?

And the "great strides forward" of recent years—the Civil Rights Acts, the "war on poverty," a panoply of urban efforts—how did they touch his life?

Surely, he sensed the trap which had closed about him. ". . . i am sick mother pray for me you don't no how i feel long way from home no one to look at me i want to be where you are but you no i cant . . . "

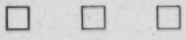
What was the meaning of this life? The search for significance must end with the stark conclusion which candor demands: Johnny counted for nothing in America. A dying countryside and a crumbling slum forced the inevitable metamorphosis of John Willie Reed, a man finally without worth or hope or dream.

Perhaps long ago as a child in Alabama, or as a newcomer to the city, there might have been a dream, a vision of something finer than the rotting poverty of black sharecroppers, or the drudgery of the sawmill, or steaming toil of the kitchen. There might have been hope for something more exalting than the miseries and chaos of Moury Ave., and the degradation of joints and dives and jails.

Perhaps. But if such a thing ever was, it could have been but a brief flaring, a small glow extinguished forever by the oppressiveness of circumstances, a tender shoot which all the human welfare and social development agencies of this most enlightened age could not save.

America counted him as nothing, and so he counted himself. At the end, he tossed away his worthless life amid the garbage and cinders of a stranger's back door.

It is shameful that a man should die as John Willie Reed died. It is tragic, on the scale of a national disaster, that so many must live as Johnny lived.



Johnny is dead. Left behind are Nathaniel Walker, Jr., Robert Kennedy Edwards, and Little Edna Elizabeth. There are Mary Felton's children: Linda, Johnny, Jr., Felice, Robert, Richard, Ernestine, Eddie Frank, Britta Nichelle. Then Johnny's sister Susie has four: Hubert, Elaine, Donna, Jean. Bobbie Nelle has three more. Catherine has one . . . .

But that is another generation.

THE END

Epilogue: Lingering Questions

John Willie Reed's life cuts across many of the rawest problems of the cities, and of rural-urban migration. The questions are numerous, and not all the answers are clear. Some of the questions are submitted here for discussion.

Why did a man with no skills and little education go to the city? Small farms are increasingly being eliminated in the South, as elsewhere, by mechanization and large-capital requirements. Could a man like Reed have easily become a self-sufficient farmer in Alabama? Could he have obtained the credit required? The acreage allotments? Would there have been anything to encourage such ambitions?

If he had chosen to leave the farm but to find a job in his home county, what might have been available? New industry in Chambers County might have helped John Willie Reed—*if* jobs had been available on a non-discriminatory basis. Job training there might have been an answer. But he had to drop out of school to help support his family. Could he have taken training without pay? Would there have been a satisfactory job available for him if he *had* been trained?

He chose to go to the city.

What public or private social services might have made a difference in his success in relating to the city? The State Employment Service? Private agencies, such as Travelers Aid? In the ghetto, a world unto itself, how could these have reached him?

He went to work.

But the work was, at one point, in a restaurant for $5 a day. Restaurants were not then covered by the minimum wage laws. Would that have made a difference? His restaurant pay afterward increased greatly. If the troubles of his life had not closed in on him—creditors, disease, imprisonment—would this change in earning power have enabled him to "make it"?

He tried to pay his bills.

But at one point, when he fell behind, he had to pay 64.9 per cent more than the cost of the items he had bought, not to mention the inflated origi-

nal cost of the credit clothing. It is clear that the basic costs of survival run higher for a John Willie Reed, though he may earn only $5 a day. What might change that?

A "good boy" as a child, a Bible-reader as an adult, he seemed at first to be a law-abiding man.

But finally he came to know jails and the state penitentiary. He first appeared in the police records four years after he arrived in Atlanta, two years after creditors began to sue him, three years before he helped burglarize a post office. What might have made a difference at that point? Was he already simply destined to become a bigger problem for "the law"?

He faced the machinery of justice in a nation whose pledge to the flag refers to "justice for all."

But in 1966, after attempting to steal goods valued at $3.76, Reed was held in jail for a week before he could obtain a $100 bond. For that theft he was sentenced to a year of imprisonment. Would it make sense in such cases to permit restitution (if the goods are missing) and payment of a fine on an installment basis? Was his sentence appropriate?

When he was released from a state penitentiary, he was given just $7 and a bus ticket. No job, no training, no counseling had been arranged for him. He had paid his penalty. Was the state doing its job to return him to his old circumstances without further ado? How many men go back to prison because of just such a release?

After a minor automobile accident, he entered a plea of guilty to a charge of driving under the influence of alcohol. He was sentenced to eight months on public works and a $100 fine, with sentence suspended if he could pay the fine. He could not. Does this pay-or-serve-time practice provide equal justice for rich and poor?

In 13 criminal offenses, 12 proceeded to conviction without Reed's being represented by a lawyer. To what extent should the state provide a lawyer in misdemeanor cases (such as driving under the influence of alcohol, "occupying a dive," and liquor violations)?

To obtain bond, Reed had to pay the bondsmen 10 per cent of the bond (a standard fee). To what extent should prisoners be released without bond, pending trial?

When Reed's debts became the subject of law suits, the court costs, interest and attorneys' fees (not his own) added 64.9 per cent to the amount of the debts. What protection against such costs, if any, should be provided for indigent debtors?

On probation after conviction on state cases, he received hardly any attention from probation officers and apparently no assistance in finding a job or dealing with the various hardships of his life. What might a strong probation system accomplish?

John Willie Reed never received welfare payments.

But because he was present, some of those entitled to payments were denied them. Because he lived with Mary Elizabeth Edwards (Goody) in 1967 (perhaps helping to support the household as best he could), her welfare payments were discontinued. Georgia and some other states have done this under the "substitute father" rule, prohibiting payments when a mother maintained a "relationship" with a man. Reed was deemed to be the "substitute father" of Nathaniel Walker, Jr., and Robert Kennedy Edwards, who were not his own children. Was it reasonable to penalize the children (for whom the welfare payments were made) because a man was in the household? Does this regulation encourage or discourage family unity?

Throughout his life, he never had adequate medical attention.

His story suggests, certainly, that society does not save money by leaving indigents' health problems largely unattended. We know of at least one person (Goody) who probably contracted TB from contact with Reed. After his release from a state hospital, he worked in public places, and he was in close proximity to other people while imprisoned.

In fact, he may have contracted TB while imprisoned earlier. It is common to crowd men in jails without attempting to determine whether they have communicable diseases. Is this unavoidable? After he had been treated for TB in a state hospital, he was assigned to a work program while in prison. Can the state reasonably demand work of a man with a debilitating disease? Can it rightly send him to prison, anyway, rather than consign him to a hospital?

After Reed was disabled by TB, he not only obtained no substantial follow-up treatment; no agency, governmental or private, provided money for his subsistence or for further medical attention. Under those circumstances, it can be argued that he was destined to become a burden on society far more expensive than such services to him would have been.

But a trivial incident intervened, and John Willie Reed is dead.

REESE CLEGHORN
Editor
Leadership Series
Southern Regional Council

Some Southern Regional Council Publications

Radicalism: Southern Style, A Commentary on Regional Extremism of the Right. By Reese Cleghorn. 1968. A study of those factors which make the South peculiarly susceptible and peculiarly resistant to national right-wing extremist movements, with an analysis of the George Wallace presidential campaign of 1968. Published jointly with the American Jewish Committee. 50¢. 40¢ in quantities of 100 or more.

Race Makes the Difference. 1969. An extensive analysis of justice in the South, concentrating on the disparities in the punishment applied to Negro and to white lawbreakers committing the same crimes. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies 20¢.

Cooperatives and Poor People In The South. 1969. An evaluation of nine cooperatives operating in the South, by Al Ulmer. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies 20¢.

Lawlessness And Disorder. Fourteen Years of Failure In Southern School Desegregation. 1968. Single copy 40¢; bulk copies, 30¢ each.

The Delta Prisons: Punishment For Profit. 1968. A special report on the prison systems of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

Black Youth In A Southern Metropolis. 1968. A study of socio-economic characteristics, attitudes and values of Negro high school students in Atlanta by Dr. James E. Conyers and William J. Farmar with the assistance of Dr. Martin Levin. Single copy 50¢; bulk copies, 40¢ each.

Public Assistance: To What End? 1967. An examination of restrictive welfare regulations in the southern states. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

NEW SOUTH, a quarterly review of Southern affairs, is published by the Southern Regional Council in February, May, August, and November. Subscription: $3.00 per year. Single copies: $1.00, less in quantity or for reprints of articles.

Hungry Children. 1967. A report by a team of six eminent physicians on the health and living conditions of Negro children in rural Mississippi. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

The Migrant Farmer; A Psychiatric Study. 1965. An unusual look by Harvard University psychiatrist Robert Coles, M.D., into the lives and problems of migrant farm families. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

Mr. Mayor—Slum Ghettos In Your Town. 1967. A guideline for city officials in facing the total problems of slums. Single copy 50¢; bulk copies, 40¢ each.

Neighborhoods—Where Human Relations Begin. 1967. Experiences and evaluation of three interracial neighborhoods. Single copy 50¢; bulk copies, 40¢ each.

Neighborhood Stabilization. 1966. Guidelines for groups trying to build stable interracial neighborhoods. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

Black Belt Schools; Beyond Desegregation. 1965. A study by four Georgia educators with their sample suggestions of unusual programs for curing rural education problems. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

The Economic Status of Negroes: In The Nation and In The South. By Vivian W. Henderson. 1963. "Unless unforseeable, 'revolutionary' changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the "forgotten man in America's affluent society." Single copy 25¢; bulk copies, 15¢ each.

Publications Subscription Service—All publications released by the Southern Regional Council for a one-year period. (Does **NOT** include subscription to NEW SOUTH.) Yearly $5.00
With subscription to NEW SOUTH Yearly $7.00

These books were published under the auspices of, or with the substantial assistance of, the Southern Regional Council, from which they may be ordered.

STILL HUNGRY IN AMERICA. Text by Robert Coles, photography by Al Clayton, introduction by Edward M. Kennedy. The New American Library, Inc., in association with The World Publishing Co., jointly sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation. A tragic, graphic portrayal of the extent of hunger in the country, as told by the people themselves and as observed extensively by the authors. 115 pages. $6.95 hardback, $2.95 paperback.

In a sense I am very sad that this book has to be published . . . Yet I dare feel a measure of hope, because these dreadful conditions are being exposed . . . and are being documented in this powerful, compelling book, which spares the reader no truth but which treats its subjects—impoverished and defenseless people—with compassion and respect.

—Edward M. Kennedy

CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, The Arrival of Negroes in Southern Politics. By Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn. Introduction by Leslie W. Dunbar. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. A history of the struggle of Southern Negroes to win equality and the ballot in the 1960s, with analysis of the meaning of the new vote, the religious cast of much of the movement, the role of the Southern courts, the emergence of "Black Power," and the roots of much of the present student movement in America. 389 pages. $8.95.

It is a necessary book for those who "want to know."

—Ralph McGill

It is, I believe, a worthy successor to (V. O. Key's) SOUTHERN POLITICS.

—Robert Coles

This book will probably stand as the definitive history of that period.

—Library Journal

They tell it like it was.

—C. Vann Woodward

THE AMERICAN SERFS. By Paul Good. G. P. Putnam's Sons. In telling of the poor of the United States, most particularly the rural poor of the South, Mr. Good suggests that millions of Americans belong to a landless peasant class that exists on the level of the serfs of the Middle Ages. He uses governmental and private statistics and surveys, but his major interest is in the people themselves, who speak throughout this book. 188 pages. $4.95.

Paul Good has captured the words and feelings of thousands and thousands of terribly poor Americans, both black and white. It is of course incredible . . . in the United States of America, with all its wealth and power—that people live the kind of lives here described.

—Robert Coles

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH? By James McBride Dabbs. Funk & Wagnalls Co., Inc. Mr. Dabbs, who remains close to the soil on his Rip Raps Plantation in South Carolina, distills his vision of the South: what it is, how it came to be that way, and what the future holds for it. He explores the South's paradoxes with compassion and suggests what unique contributions it may make to the country. 398 pages. $5.95.

Dabbs' book will help to put (the Southern "image") in proper perspective. Perhaps more important, it will prod Southern whites who value the image to help polish off the racial tarnish.

—The Washington Post

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1970

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

OR QUOTATION

WITHOUT PERMISSION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Officers	ii
List of Staff	iii
Introduction	1
Affairs of the Council	2
Research and Information	4
Office of Director of Information	8
Office of Director of Publications and New South	10
Office of Director of Research	12
The Resources Development Center	14
Housing and Planning	14
The Leadership Project	17
Community Organization	21
Manpower Division	24
Labor Education	24
Employment Discrimination	26
Manpower Practices	28
Other Programs of Resources Development Center	29
Other Programs in Brief	33
Conclusion	35

January, 1970

OFFICERS*

PRESIDENT

Raymond M. Wheeler*

VICE-PRESIDENTS

C. G. Gomillion*

Josephine Wilkins*

Lucius H. Pitts*

Frank Smith*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman

Hodding Carter, III

Henry Marsh

Joan Cashin

McNeill Smith

Julius L. Chambers

John H. Wheeler

Patt Derian

H. Franklin Williams

Donald L. Hollowell

James Youngdahl

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Paul Anthony

*Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

S T A F F

ADMINISTRATION

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Mrs. Jerusha Brothers, Secretary to the Director
James N. Wood, Executive Assistant
Mrs. Ruth House Vick, Secretary-Treasurer
Miss Priscilla Eddy, Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer
Mrs. Nobbie Morgan, Administrative Assistant
Mrs. Betty Childres, Receptionist
Miss Eugenia Kemp, Clerk-Typist
Jesse Hinton, Mailroom Clerk
Ronald Wray, Functional Machinist & Mailroom Clerk
Miss Janet Smith, Publications-Distribution
Miss Marge Manderson, Staff Artist, Special Research

RESEARCH & INFORMATION

Pat Watters, Director of Information
Robert Anderson, Editor (Editor of New South)
Paul Gaston, Director of Research
Mrs. Bernice Morrison, Librarian
Mrs. Doris Reed, Senior Research Associate
Miss Barnetta Jackson, Research Associate
Mrs. Joyce Meekins, Research Associate
Miss Lynn Bowker, Secretary to the Department

RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Emory F. Via, Director
(Director, Manpower & Labor Program Division)
Miss Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Administrative Secretary

HOUSING & PLANNING DIVISION

Moreland Griffith Smith, Director
Arthur C. Campbell, Associate

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

Clarence Wright, Director
Leon W. Hall, Associate
Miss Mozell Varner, Secretary

LEADERSHIP DIVISION

Reese Cleghorn, Director (Editor, South Today)
Mrs. Kitty Terjen, Assistant to the Director
Mrs. Betsy Fancher, Associate Editor, South Today
Mrs. Ruth C. Howard, Secretary

Here follows a report to our contributors, the Members of the Council, and other friends on the work of the Council during 1970.

It is extremely difficult for me to adequately report on the work and talent of the staff or, of our policy leadership. Because of their dedication to the organization, and more importantly, to our purposes and goals, both groups have exceeded what could be asked of them.

To them for their work, and to the foundations and others who have made this work possible, I am deeply grateful.

Paul Anthony

January, 1971

AFFAIRS OF THE COUNCIL:

For the director's office and the administrative staff, though fortunately not for the program staff, 1970 was a year of interruptions.

Having spent much of 1969 watching the legislative process as it dealt with the "tax reform" bill, early 1970 was spent in assessing and adjusting to the new law. Substantial time was spent in providing foundations the information which they required to be assured that our programs were in compliance. We found ourselves in the position of having to spend considerable time in "fund raising" for funds already committed.

A major policy decision had to be made concerning the Voter Education Project, which had been the subject of much Congressional debate and was considerably affected by the new law. After the most serious deliberations the decision was made to create a separate corporation - if that corporation could receive its own tax-exemption from IRS. Tax exemption was granted VEP, Inc., on May 14th, and that agency now has its own board and staff, and is no longer a part of SRC administratively. Apart from the legal reasons, we believe this was a wise move. VEP, Inc., is a mature and experienced

(Affairs of the Council)

agency in its own right, more than capable of operating and producing one of the most important programs in the region, as has been shown during the past months.

Vacations were cancelled for the Director and the Secretary-Treasurer when it was learned in mid-summer that the Internal Revenue Service planned to do a full audit of Council affairs. Three auditors moved into our conference room on July 20th, and remained there for more than three months, in what was the most exhaustive audit in Council history. We have not yet been informed of the results of that investigation.

In January, the members of the Executive Committee elected Dr. Vivian Henderson to serve as chairman of that body. During the year, Mrs. Paul S. Derian of Jackson, and Mr. Hodding Carter, III, were elected to the Executive Committee. Members elected to the Council who began service in 1970 are: Mr. Howard Lee, Chapel Hill; Dr. John Monro, Birmingham; Dr. Ray Marshall, Austin; Mr. William T. Mason, Jr., Norfolk; Mrs. C. Bette Wimbish, St. Petersburg; Mr. Earl Johnson, Jacksonville; Dr. Martin Brooks, Pembroke; Dr. James Lawson, Nashville; Mr. Fred Gray, Montgomery; The Rev. C. K. Yarber, Texarkana; and Mr. E. H. Gadsden of Savannah.

Sadly, four of the Council's long and great champions were lost to us by death during the year. They were:

(Affairs of the Council)

James McBride Dabbs, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dr. Gordon Hancock and Dr. W. D. Weatherford.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION:

In a very real sense this department is the nerve center of the Council and in one sense every member of the staff is a member of the department, contributing to it and making demands on it. Field staff feeds information into this intelligence center, not only for their own needs but for the needs of other groups and agencies in the region. (For instance, information to a day care center about federal funding or a rundown of the housing programs of the Farmers Home Administration.)

The terms "research and information" can be misleading and they are often misunderstood by those who are not familiar with our interpretation of them. To us these functions are programs in an emphatic sense of that word. They are too, I believe, unique both in the degree of results which we get from using them and in the degree of skill and reliability which the Council has developed over a long period.

Our information and research work consists basically of two parts. One responds, the other initiates.

(Research and Information)

The response function is based largely on our internal collection of information. This consists of clipping and filing of about twenty newspapers daily, and of innumerable magazines, community newspapers or newsletters, journals and reports of state and federal governments. Work space is provided for the constant number of persons ranging from students to journalists who come here to use this material and that space is seldom vacant. In addition, more than seven hundred mail and phone inquiries were responded to during the year. This function is not, per se, particularly unique, although the subject areas and more particularly the reliability probably are.

(Senator Walter Mondale, Chariman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, commented on July 1: "It is what we can expect from the Southern Regional Council, which I regard as one of the best, if not the best, source of facts on what is happening in the South, to which we turn almost daily. We are most grateful for the work of your organization.")

The initiating function of the research and information operation is somewhat more complex. In this function we are program oriented, in that whether it be an incident or a basic

(Research and Information)

issue we attempt to get direct attention and action on that incident or issue. Perhaps several examples will best illustrate this approach.

In February 1968, state police fired shotguns into a crowd of black students at South Carolina State College, killing three. The Council immediately issued a report, "Events at Orangeburg," which documented this tragedy and warned of the implications. The report received attention and indeed led to a book by reporters Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, but the indignation and thoughtfulness that should have been forthcoming were not. In May 1970, shortly after the Kent State tragedy, state police fired on black students at Jackson State College, killing two. I, and SRC president Raymond Wheeler, immediately issued a statement which included: "The grave warning implicit in the Orangeburg situation of two years ago was not heeded...until such solutions (of indiscriminate force in the face of conflict) are repudiated as public policy from the Presidency on down, no segment of society, no person is safe."

Thereafter an SRC special report documented the Jackson State tragedy and it received wide, and thoughtful, attention from the media. Because of this, and the efforts of many others,

(Research and Information)

the term "Kent State and Jackson State" was added to our vocabulary. It finally became evident to many that what happened at Kent State has long since occured, and continued to occur at black schools.

As another example, on July 2, it was reported to us that a librarian in suburban Atlanta complained that an agent of the Treasury Department had just called on her demanding a list of persons who were checking out "subversive" books. We responded with an urgency which we felt paralleled the situation. On July 9, we published a special edition of South Today with limited circulation which reported that Treasury agents had visited libraries in Atlanta, Milwaukee and elsewhere, attempting to gather the names of people who had checked out books on explosives and, in some cases, simply books loosely described as "subversive" or "militant". Our disclosure of this intrusion upon the rights of privacy, with all its possible police-state ramifications, was widely publicized throughout the country. The Washington Post, which published the full report on its release date of July 9, called it "a signal service to American freedom" and the Charleston News and Courier commented: "Perhaps it's closer to 1984 than we think."

(Research and Information)

The American Library Association took immediate steps to make it a matter of policy to refuse to reveal the names of readers of library books and the Association of American Publishers supported that position. The Treasury issued a directive to its agents telling them to stop such fishing expeditions.

A major contribution was made in the protection of the individual from unwarranted intrusion from government. Other examples of the rationale of the use of the printed word - and related associations with members of the media - and the results of these approaches will be referred to later in the report.

Office of the Director of Information

One of the important requirements of the successful use of the technique of "Information and Research" as a program tool is that those persons immediately associated with that process must be peers of the best creative minds in the nation. There is no doubt in my mind that the SRC staff in this area fits that qualification. Several persons could be used as examples of this but the activities of Pat Watters, Director of Information, is a good example.

Watters is the senior person in the department, and as such, has responsibility for its total operation. In addition,

(Research and Information)

during 1970 he has published, by Pantheon, the book The South and the Nation, with its appeal for support of the South's real strengths and opposition to its real evils. Reviews in the New York Times, The New Yorker, Washington Post, Commentary, and elsewhere, and public appearances by Watters have given us further exposure for our ideas and point of view.

Watters' third book, a study of the Southern Movement during the 1960's, is scheduled for publication in the fall, and South and the Nation will appear in paperback at that time. He has had articles in Dissent and the New York Times Magazine, the latter reproduced for distribution to the annual conference of the Legal Defense and Education Fund; book reviews in the Yale Review, and Progressive, and has been invited to submit occasional columns to the opposite editorial page of the New York Times.

Watters appeared as interviewer and narrator in an hour-long NET documentary on the present day South. It was presented in November as part of the Realities series on over 200 stations throughout the country.

Activities of this nature and quality with all of our creative staff gives us an outreach and influence, I believe,

(Research and Information)

with literally millions of persons who must - on that scale - be exposed to issues and ideas if there is to be basic social reform in this country.

Office of the Editor of Publications and New South

This office, headed by Robert E. Anderson, Jr., has published four special reports, four issues of New South, and has offered substantial editorial assistance to the staff of the Resources Development Center and to other agencies. (Currently, with Susan Morgan, he is doing a major study on medical care in the region, and he plans to do an analysis of how the staff can best use the 1970 census data.) The published reports include a study of violence in Augusta, Georgia and at Jackson State College; a report on the mood of black high school students at the beginning of the school year; a report on efforts to cripple the Head Start Program in Mississippi (appearing in South Today), and a profile of race relations in Daytona Beach, Florida, reprinted in full in the Daytona Beach News-Journal.

New South articles which received substantial attention include the Mississippi school crisis as reported by Wilson J. Minor, an analysis of the meaning of the Wallace election by

(Research and Information)

Ray Jenkins, and the trial of Cleveland Sellers by Jack Bass. (Also excerpts of the book, The Orangeburg Massacre, by Mr. Bass and Jack Nelson, appeared.)

Others included an exclusive interview by William Winn with Erskine Caldwell, an in-depth look at student activities by three University of Wisconsin professors; an evaluation of Southern churches by Donald W. Shriver, Jr.; an analysis of the "southern strategy" as it affects school desegregation by Hayes Mizell; a look at the religion of poor whites by Harry Lefever, an Atlanta University sociologist; an essay on the South and efforts to exploit its human development by Richard Goodwin, first given at the Memphis meeting of the L. Q. C. Lamar Society meeting; a report of hearings in Jackson on the violence at Jackson State by a Washington Attorney, Harry Huge; an analysis of the strategies available to poor whites in Appalachia by Si Kahn, a young community organizer; excerpts from the book, A Mind to Stay Here, dealing with the work of Lucius Pitts at Miles College; an article on the black writer in the southern experience by Alice Walker, Mississippi novelist; a study of the aftermath of a mill closing in a small Georgia town, by Kathy Kahn; a study of how blacks, whites and Mexican-Americans organized in Houston around a community issue by

(Information and Research)

Professor Harold Nelson; and, an essay on the southern environment by Frank Smith, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

By special arrangement, New South is being received by all members of the newly formed L. Q. C. Lamar Society and has been chosen by the Department of Education of Georgia to be taped in their program for the blind.

This quarterly is the Council's effort to see that there is - from our particular perspective and concerns - one thoughtful and well written journal to reach the interested and the active. We are somewhat surprised, and very gratified at the volume and quality of manuscripts submitted to us and the affirmative response we usually get when some of the best writers and journalists are asked to prepare an article. Authors' fees are few and extremely modest.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

In July, Dr. Paul Gaston, Professor of History at the University of Virginia and author of the book The New South Creed, joined the staff as Director of Research. This is an extremely important position within the staff structure, and

(Office of the Director of Research)

we were all the more pleased that Dr. Gaston agreed to take a leave of absence from the University since the research position had been vacant for some time.

Dr. Gaston has worked with Mrs. Doris Reed, senior research associate, and her staff in making some basic changes in the methods by which we collect and file our materials. He has also made arrangements for temporary help to review and place in better order all SRC records before they are turned over to Atlanta University Library. Negotiations are now underway to have our very substantial collection of clippings and some other materials placed on microfilm (as New South now is through the University of Michigan) and offered for sale to universities and others who have need of them.

In cooperation with the editor, the research staff has done a major review of violence in the region during the past three years for a report which will be issued shortly. Tragically, the analysis and editing of this material has been slowed because of the sheer volume of instances of violence which we found; the first draft of this report, tightly summarizing each instance, came to over 150 pages of single spaced copy.

Dr. Gaston has developed a major interest in the school desegregation process, and is preparing a major portion of the

(Office of the Director of Research)

SRC report on school desegregation in 1970 which will appear in February 1971.

THE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER:

Created in 1969, the Resources Development Center was functional for the first time during 1970. The Center is the Council's effort to bring more coordination to our work in those areas dealing with economic development and the development of the region's human resources.

At present we have staffed work in Housing and Planning, Community Organization, Manpower, and the Leadership Project. Additional areas of interest are concentrated on through consultants and temporary employees on a short term project basis. Dr. Emory F. Via directs the Center as well as our work in manpower and labor.

Housing and Planning

The Housing and Planning Staff consists of Moreland G. Smith, an architect, and Arthur Campbell, a planner. On a temporary basis, Horace Barker serves the division, largely in a research capacity.

(The Resources Development Center)

The group has undertaken a survey of regional and sub-regional housing groups working in rural areas and/or small towns to determine the extent of activity and those places where this staff might be of some significant assistance. Growing partially out of this has been a study of the housing policies and results of those policies of the Farmer's Home Administration. This will be released shortly.

Consultative assistance is being given a group in Fairfield, Alabama which is interested in sponsoring a low-income housing program. Through the cooperation of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing a consultant has been provided to create a corporation and seek funds for a low-income housing project.

A study is almost completed on the problems and patterns associated with racial transition of residential neighborhoods over a ten year period. This information should be of considerable value to neighborhood stabilization groups such as the one in Jackson, Mississippi with which we are working.

Because of the requests for such information, we have collected materials on the problems of equal housing opportunities, a study of state and local fair housing laws in the South, and an assessment of enforcement of the federal open

(The Resources Development Center)

housing act of 1968. In this regard we are also doing background and supportive work toward the aim of organizing an entity to promote fair housing in the metropolitan Atlanta area.

We are hopeful of providing considerable specific assistance to the Panola Land Buyers Association in developing immediate and long range plans for its 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama. Preliminary work of this nature has been done with New Communities, Inc., of Albany, Georgia in planning layout for land utilization for housing, light industries and commercial purposes in the implementation of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity, and gas. (We have also given emergency assistance to families now living on that site.)

We have worked with Tuskegee Institute in their interest in Tuskegee's Model Cities program and in the Institute's attempt to establish a regional agrarian medical service delivery program in a five-county area.

Communication continues with the state and national offices of the American Institute of Architects and the American Institute of Planners to urge them to implement their avowed social responsibility.

(The Resources Development Center)

With the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina, we have advised on land-banking operational techniques and how it might be used for housing development. Toward the end of the year the Council and the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation had tentatively worked out plans whereby the Council during 1971 would establish a regional Low Income Housing Development Corporation with considerable assistance from the North Carolina group. If established, the new regional housing agency would be independent rather than a part of SRC, and would seek very substantial federal funding.

The Leadership Project

Beginning in 1969 the Council created this program as a means of reaching the existing and emerging leadership with information they needed for intelligent decisions which they did not then have, and were not getting through other sources. The project continues to have this purpose but has added as well, a very substantial thrust in achieving program ends through investigative reporting. South Today, the 8-12 page monthly newspaper, is the primary means by which both efforts are carried out.

(The Resources Development Center)

Reese Cleghorn has directed this project since its beginning, with Mrs. Kitty Griffith Terjen and Mrs. Betsy Fancher as Associate Editors of South Today.

In October Reese Cleghorn responded to a complimentary letter about a particular article with this observation: "South Today's best function so far, I think, has been in priming the press to do things it wasn't doing. We haven't yet had an issue that didn't produce some of this. Most surprising, maybe, is the extent to which these reports have been covered in some of the worst newspapers in the Deep South, which if the Associated Press picks up the report, frequently carry them just as nicely as a Washington or New York paper would."

This summarizes well, I think, one of the most significant contributions of South Today. Through this publication we have substantially increased coverage of our concerns and facts in the national media, but for the first time we have gotten this material significantly into the total southern media. And, frequently we see where the information is being used without direct reference to source, such as in a number of "moderate" to "conservative" editorial pages.

Among the 1970 reports selected for program ends through publication in South Today were: those which critiqued Florida state programs dealing with migrant workers; disclosure of

(The Resources Development Center)

widespread ownership of slums by state and local welfare departments; exploration of the plight of local-government employees, such as garbage workers, and the need for better city hall methods of dealing with the lowest-income workers; revelation for the first time nationally of the Treasury Department's use of agents to obtain names of borrowers of certain library books; a report showing that "segregation academies" are busing more children and busing them further than public schools (one of only a number of reports on "segregation" academies), and more recently exposure of IRS tax-exempt policies toward them; an examination of racism in Hollywood films and in Southern college and high school athletics; a study of the Catholic Church's performance on Southern social problems; a report on the price of pollution and corporate collusion with government in the despoliation of Amelia Island, Florida.

To illustrate the program intent and the potential of this type reporting one of the above mentioned reports can be cited. The July-August issue's report on four state welfare departments' use of lien/claim laws to discourage people from being on the welfare rolls, resulting often in

(The Resources Development Center)

state ownership of slums, received widespread coverage. In North Carolina, the practices and the bad ramifications were acknowledged officially, and there may be steps toward change. In South Carolina, the state welfare director disputed the report; but at least one local welfare director in his state then publicly disputed his contentions, agreeing with our conclusions.

From Florida, came a sad letter of appreciation from a Fort Lauderdale woman entitled to welfare payments who has refused to sign a statement entitling the state to her small home upon her death. She said she "went out at 72 years to clean homes" to avoid signing the papers. "My loved little home, bought with sweat and tears will not be taken away" she said.

Virginia, the fourth state, nullified all such liens on welfare recipients' property effective May 5. Our report noted the change, but it may not have sufficiently underscored the fact that Virginia hereafter will not be among the South's biggest slum owners.

The booklet on out migration, "The Chickenbone Special," by Dwayne Walls has been expanded to book length and will be published by Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc. During

(The Resources Development Center)

the year the director of the project testified by invitation before the Mondale education subcommittee on the subject of segregated private schools. We continue to monitor the IRS and its tax-exemption policies with these schools.

Community Organization

This division is headed by Clarence Wright, who joined the staff in September after John Lewis resigned to become Director of the Voter Education Project, Inc. A primary goal of the project is to maintain a file on all significant minority oriented economic development programs and to provide assistance to them where possible, to assist emerging groups in organization and funding, and to encourage the use of indigenous resources in fostering community development.

The first months of the division director's time were spent largely in orienting himself to groups in the region, which has in turn led to much of our program in the latter part of the year. These included establishing a relationship with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and attending their annual meeting in Selma. Relationships have been established with the Hilton Head Shrimp Cooperative and with the Jasper County Catfish Cooperative.

(The Resources Development Center)

The Division Director has assisted in running a training program for the twelve community health trainees of the Beaufort/Jasper Comprehensive Health Center. This has included reviewing the training curriculum and supplying additional materials and information for training, and assistance with the recruitment of doctors for the program.

Consultation has taken place with the St. Helenas' Farm Cooperative and if the land is secured by that group, we are prepared to offer technical assistance in developing 275 acres for low-income housing and a shopping center.

Substantial association has taken place with the Clay County Economic Development Corporation, headquartered in West Point, Mississippi. In addition to other assistance, $10,000 was provided to the Corporation to assist in the re-building of the Corporation's community center after that building was burned, and we have provided $2,500 through a special grant to assist in the building of a home for the widow and children of a murdered civil rights worker. Also, we have assisted in having the Ball Corporation provide a free cannery for the community.

The division has been providing ongoing technical assistance to the Black Appalachian Commission in cooperation

(The Resources Development Center)

with the Legal Defense Fund and the Southern Education Foundation. So far we have assisted this group in planning and writing a proposal and in planning meetings with the Appalachian Regional Commission concerning the lack of services and resources available to Appalachian blacks. As a result of these efforts, the Commission recently received a $25,000 grant to carry on their program for the next six to eight months.

Following the opening of schools and growing out of a meeting in Beaufort, S. C., the division director became convinced that there was a potential for black and white high school students in new environments of desegregation to work out their differences. He further concluded that black and white college students could be of substantial assistance to these teen-agers in their own home towns. From these observations a special program was developed to recruit college students for this purpose. Mr. Leon Hall, former SCLC community organizer, was brought on the staff to direct the program.

The two staffers, Wright and Hall, have worked to establish first programs in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina with encouraging results. For instance, in Mississippi, the three participating colleges are Jackson State, Tougaloo and

(The Resources Development Center)

Millsaps. Fourteen students from Tougaloo have undertaken this program as their Interim Project of study for the school year. They will be working in their home communities full-time through January 22. Meetings with students have also been held in Florida, Alabama, and Virginia, in an effort to initiate programs in those states.

Manpower Division

The manpower project focuses on three main areas: 1) labor education, 2) manpower practices, and 3) employment discrimination as a special part of manpower practices. Emory Via is the director of this division, as well as director of the center.

Labor Education

We recognize in the labor education activities that almost no agencies other than some unions endeavor to reach working people on matters that concern SRC. This is especially true in reaching white workers or workers in integrated situations. Our primary focus continues to be on an intermediate range of leaders. We have provided direct teaching services, usually meaning that the project director serves as an instructor. Included this past year have been participations in two

(The Resources Development Center)

one-week schools for young workers, in an institute for public employee representatives and public employers, a regional education program of a national program for national union staff people with civil rights union responsibilities. We have arranged for other members of the staff to take part in education programs such as Paul Gaston's appearance before the Advanced Southern Labor School. The Manpower Program is frequently called upon to suggest resource people for educational programs, to assist in securing such people, to advise on programs' content, and to recommend and supply materials. We also attempt to expand the idea of labor education with unions and others. We have paid special attention to trying to interest southern universities in establishing full time programs. We envision this as a long run solution, providing a needed resource which can go far beyond the Council's capacities. We have had extended talks during the past year with several Georgia schools and preliminary conversations with representatives of other institutions. These efforts have been coupled with approaches to selected union leaders. In this same effort, the director arranged and chaired the Labor Education Section of the national meetings of the Adult Education Association; the meeting was held in Atlanta on the

(The Resources Development Center)

topic: "Southern Labor Education." The division director has been appointed to an advisory committee to the new Labor Education Department at VPI.

Employment Discrimination

In relating to problems of employment discrimination, the year has been an interesting one though perhaps too restricted to educational and consultative approaches as opposed to participating in the start of pragmatic efforts to attack the problems more directly. The director collaborated closely with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations in planning, supporting, suggesting resources, and by his own participation in their first equal employment opportunity conference. SRC was an important resource in this undertaking and it had educational value for those planning the program (and charged with on-going program activities) as well as for those attending it. Somewhat similarly, we jointly sponsored a program with the Arkansas governor's office aimed at showing the need for greater response by state and local governmental agencies in hiring and upgrading practices. Again we were full participants in planning, providing resources and in all

(The Resources Development Center)

aspects of the conference other than recruiting. The project director also participated as a staff resource in an Urban League sponsored program as part of their apprenticeship outreach effort.

The division director has conferred with senior management of a major national corporation on desirable hiring practices for a large factory which will be built in Georgia. This is largely a matter of manpower consultation, but something of the "leadership project" also in that this was something of an introduction to the region for these corporate leaders.

We have played a small part in attempting to get the various sides together in the controversy in Atlanta about adopting a "hometown plan" for increasing minority participation in the building trades. And we have been consulted by both management and union representatives about other problems related to discrimination.

The director of the manpower project participated in a seminar for Southern public works officials sponsored by the University of Georgia. Although his discussion was concerned with several aspects of employee relations, a primary focus was on matters related to discrimination. Similar services have

(The Resources Development Center)

been supplied for reporters on in-depth stories. The project director has participated in developing data and reports as parts of other studies.

Manpower Practices

The other kinds of manpower activities have been diverse and generally of minimal program consequence to date. The director has participated in a small national level manpower seminar. We are in the process of developing first a core of ideas, then a seminar, and later some action guidelines and proposals that relate to the implementation of new manpower policies. This effort is directed primarily toward the moves to decentralize certain manpower activities thereby placing greater responsibility in the hands of state and local governments. Although decentralization can assist the efficiency of manpower efforts, it can be done even better if there are reasonably sophisticated "watchdogs" (regarding adequacy and discrimination) and persons prepared to play advisory roles in such manpower efforts.

In expanding the Manpower Project director's responsibilities to include directing the Resources Development Center,

(The Resources Development Center)

we have necessarily reduced the project's activities considerably. Our efforts to hire a manpower specialist thus far have failed.

Other Programs of The Resources Development Center

Largely through the work of Jim Wood, we continued in 1970 to give special attention to the relief and recovery efforts following Hurricane Camille in Mississippi. The U. S. Senate Public Works Committee held hearings, the subject of which was: "Federal Response to Hurricane Camille." We were invited to testify before the committee twice, first at the January hearings in Biloxi where we entered the joint SRC-AFSC Report titled "In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response." Our second testimony was made in Washington in May, and was directly related to proposed new disaster legislation. A new disaster law became effective on December 31, 1970. While this law does not contain all of our recommendations, it is a large step forward. We began in December to work with groups in Mississippi in an attempt to develop a strategy for economic development for low-income families with the ten Mississippi counties most effected by the storm. In August, we went to Corpus Christi following

(The Resources Development Center)

Hurricane Celia. Here we found that administrative changes in the Federal and Red Cross response had brought about vast improvement in the delivery of services to the victims of the storm. Recommendations made by us and others have been accepted. Unfortunately, many similar recommendations are yet unheeded.

Through the use of consultants we have done further work in identifying poverty among whites in the region, including an unpublished background study of the characteristics of poor whites in an urban area. Other interests, largely in Appalachia, are referred to in our publications program.

The staff of the Center spent a day in Knoxville with the Senior staff of the Tennessee Valley Authority as a means of both staffs becoming more familiar with the work and resources of the other.

Research Seminar

SRC through its Resources Development Center and the Ford Foundation, through George Esser, held a research seminar October 9-11. A small group of scholars gathered at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel to consider research needs related to the economic and social development of the South. Discussion

(The Resources Development Center)

was not limited to those topics which SRC might undertake by itself.

A conscious effort was made to have a variety of disciplines represented. Nineteen persons accepted our invitation to participate. They came from 12 institutions of higher learning, and four agencies with research interests. The invitees were joined by two members of the Ford Foundation staff, and eight members of the SRC staff. About half of the participants were new to the Council.

The seminar was important in giving us a new opportunity to think through research needs with people of varying perspectives. It was not a seminar which laid out an agenda of research needs, even though this had been one original aim. It did underscore the utility of what SRC now does and pointed to the need to expand our interaction with existing research efforts. The researchers were, in general, pleased at the opportunity to get to know each other and the Council staff. Our staff has made valuable contacts through this effort with individuals and programs which have already led to idea and data sharing.

If financial resources could be found it would be most useful to carry through with one idea developed during the

(The Resources Development Center)

seminar. This would be to establish a research center as a part of SRC, which could help generate useful research ideas calling for more extensive research than is now generally possible for us, but which would still hold to standards of relatively quick production and high relevance to problems. By using an SRC based research center, we can better select those individuals in institutions and elsewhere who are most likely to be able to perform according to those standards, to insure application of findings, and to provide for more popular interpretation of results where that is needed.

Education

The Resources Development Center recognizes that there are crucial problems in education that must be faced. While we have been unable to find the funds for a permanent full-time staff member, we have been active. In the reports of the Community Organization Division and the Leadership Project, there are descriptions of a student desegregation program and efforts to expose and monitor the segregationist academies. We made a small grant to the Norfolk Committee on Improvement of Education. The purpose of this grant was to aid the committee's work in introducing Black History into the public school system.

(The Resources Development Center)

We sponsored in January a meeting of several agencies, all of whom have at least a regional concern in the area of school desegregation. The discussion was around the immediate problems of Mississippi and the expected problems of the fall term which would come with greatly expanded school desegregation. In the spring, Professor Bickel of Yale announced his retreat. We assisted in seeing that he was challenged. The chief challengers were Charles Morgan, Pat Watters, Hayes Mizell, and Reese Cleghorn. In the fall we worked with HEW and private agencies in an effort to make the Emergency School Assistance Program effective. Closely related to this effort was the holding of several discussions about the creation of a Regional Education Institute that could express our kinds of concerns.

OTHER PROGRAMS IN BRIEF:

We have conferred with two governors elect on establishing state human relations commissions, provided materials to their staffs and hope to interest them enough that we can continue to provide consultative services.

SRC is an initial sponsor of the National Alliance for Safer Cities, and the Executive Director serves on the executive committee of this new program.

(Other programs in brief)

We continue to work closely with Ed Stanfield and the Southwest Council on Intergroup Relations, an agency which we substantially formed and staffed during its early stages.

Dr. Raymond Wheeler worked closely with Martin Carr on the CBS documentary on hunger. We are providing assistance to Mr. Carr for a similar NBC documentary on innocent children behind bars.

We have agreed to sponsor a three month trip for the Reverend and Mrs. Theo Kotze of Capetown, South Africa. Mr. Kotze is director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. Others are raising funds for this trip, and SRC will administer them.

During the year we received and briefed more than one hundred-fifty foreign visitors.

During the year we have made grants totaling $18,022.50, to thirty local agencies for food and medicine for children. No contributions received by us have been spent by either SRC, or local recipients, for any other purpose.

CONCLUSION:

At the Annual Meeting in November, it was decided that at this time the Council should do a thorough review and assessment of itself, its program, its structure, its purposes, and its effectiveness. This was an extremely wise decision; one that should periodically be made by every agency and one that certainly we should make as we enter the decade of the 1970's.

It was also wisely decided that persons in addition to those most intimately associated with SRC should be asked to serve on this review committee. Accordingly, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, as President, appointed a committee of twenty-one in December, and that group held its first weekend meeting in mid-January and scheduled a second meeting on the last weekend of the month. This is a demanding responsibility on the part of those asked to serve, and we are most grateful that each has agreed to do so.

Members of the committee are: Mr. Frank Smith (Chairman), Director, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee; Dr. John Griffin (Vice-Chairman), Executive Director, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. John Walker (Secretary), Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas; Mrs. Paul Derian, Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. Joel Fleishman, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Executive

(Conclusion)

Director, The United Negro College Fund, Inc., New York; The Honorable Howard Lee, Mayor, Chapel Hill, N. C.; Mrs. Joan Cashin, Huntsville, Alabama; Mr. Joseph Haas, Attorney, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Aaron Henry, Pharmacist, Clarksdale, Mississippi; Mr. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. Charles Silberman, Fortune Magazine, New York; Mr. Harold Fleming, President, Potomac Institute, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Raymond Wheeler, President-SRC, Charlotte, N. C.; Dr. Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia; Miss Jean Fairfax, Director, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., New York; Mr. Will Campbell, Committee of Southern Churchmen, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. John H. Wheeler, President, Mechanics & Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.; Dean David A. Shannon, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Dr. Herman H. Long, President, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; and Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

I believe the existence and potential of this committee is a healthy and encouraging indication that the agency born in 1944 remains in early 1971 a productive and flexible resource for social change in the region and the nation.

(Conclusion)

Again, to those who have been associated with and supportive of the Southern Regional Council during 1970, I am most deeply grateful.

Paul Anthony

THE ATLANTA ELECTIONS OF 1969

by Charles S. Rooks

The Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE ATLANTA ELECTIONS OF 1969

by

Charles S. Rooks

The Voter Education Project, Inc.

An organization assisting minority groups participating in the southern political process

Atlanta, Georgia

June, 1970

Published by

The Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Copyright, 1970, by VEP

Price: $1.00

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable contribution to this study which was made by Misses Pat Madsen and Emma Jane Neelley. Their patient computation of voting returns provided the basis for the entire report. Not only did they make it possible for this study to be done without the aid of a computer, but the charm and good humor which they displayed in their work made the author thankful at times that a computer was not available.

Special appreciation is also due to Mrs. Janet Shortt, who typed this study, and to Miss Marge Manderson, who drew the graphs for it.

C.S.R.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
LIST OF TABLES		iii
LIST OF FIGURES		v
I.	The Atlanta Elections of 1969: Introduction	1
II.	The Mayoralty Election: October 7	6
III.	The Mayoralty Election: October 21 Run-Off	19
IV.	Voter Turnout in Mayoralty Elections: October 7 and October 21	25
V.	The Vice-Mayoralty Election: October 7	34
VI.	The Board of Aldermen Elections	41
VII.	The Board of Education Elections	52
VIII.	Bloc Voting and Racial Polarization in the 1969 Atlanta Elections	58
IX.	Conclusion	67

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Comparison of Vote Received in Black Precincts by Massell and Tate, October 7, 1969	7
2	Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates in Black Precincts of Highest and Lowest Socio-Economic Rank, October 7, 1969 (in Percentages).	8
3	Comparison of Vote Received in Different Groups of White Precincts by Cook, Millican, and Massell, October 7, 1969	15
4	Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates in White Precincts of Highest and Lowest Socio-Economic Rank, October 7, 1969 (in Percentages)	16
5	Voting Support Received by Massell in White Precincts, October 7, 1969	22
6	Percentage of Registered Voters Casting Ballots in Mayoralty Elections, 1969 . .	27
7	Voter Turnout in Precincts of Highest and Lowest Socio-Economic Status in 1969 Mayoralty Election	29
8	Levels of Turnout Among Different Groups of Voters: Number of Precincts in Which Different Percentages of the Registered Voters Cast Ballots in Mayoralty Elections, 1969	32
9	Voting Support Received by Maynard Jackson From Different Groups of White Voters October 7, 1969	35
10	Inverse Relationship Between Areas of Strong Support for Maynard Jackson and Areas of Strong Support for Millican: Distribution of Precincts in Maynard Jackson's Highest and Lowest Quartiles for Millican and Distribution of Precints in Millican's Highest and Lowest Quartiles for Maynard Jackson	37

List of Tables - continued.

Table		Page
11	Levels of Turnout Among Different Groups of Voters in Aldermanic Elections: Percentages of Registered Voters in Each Group Who Cast Ballots in Different Types of Aldermanic Elections on October 7 and 21	48
12	Levels of Turnout Among Different Groups of Voters in Board of Education Elections: Percentages of Registered Voters in Each Group Who Cast Ballots in Different Types of Board of Education Elections on October 7 and 21	56
13	Voter Cohesion Among Blacks and Whites: Percentage of Vote Received by Candidate Who Was the Leading Vote-Getter Among Black and White Voters in Each Election	62
14	Percentage of Vote Given by Voters of One Racial Group to Candidates of the Other Racial Group	66

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Precinct Map of Atlanta, Showing Different Categories of Voters (DeKalb County Omitted)	11
2	Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates from Different Groups of Voters, October 7, 1969 (in Percentages)	13
3	Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates from Different Groups of Voters, October 21, 1969 (in Percentages)	20
4	Proportion of the Vote Received From Different Groups of Voters by Massell on October 7 and 21 and by M. Jackson on October 7 (in Percentages)	39
5	Proportion of the Vote Received from Different Groups of Voters by Arrington, Dodson, I. Jackson, and Massell on October 21 and M. Jackson on October 7 (in Percentages)	45

I. THE ATLANTA ELECTIONS OF 1969:

INTRODUCTION

Significant changes occurred in Atlanta politics in 1969. The elections of that year may prove to be a turning point in the city's political history. What happened in 1969 was a major alteration in voting patterns and the emergence of a new "coalition" of voters. The mayor, the vice-mayor, and several members of the aldermanic and school boards were elected by a different group of voters from that which previously controlled city politics. The composition of this new group was predominantly black. Whether this new "coalition" stays together and extends its influence or whether different alliances are forged in the future, the events of 1969 signal the end of an era in Atlanta politics.

Since 1953, at least, Atlanta's mayors had been chosen by a coalition composed of virtually all black voters, most of the middle and upper-middle class whites who live on the northside of the city, and a minority of whites elsewhere. Aligned against this group of voters were most of the city's working-class whites, located mainly in the center and southside of the city, and a minority of other whites.*

---

*See the article by Jack Walker entitled, "Negro Voting in Atlanta: 1953-61" in the Winter, 1963, issue of Phylon.

Although black support was necessary for victory, the black voter was the junior partner when it came to selecting candidates. The dominant influence in the alliance was northside whites. These whites have been described as a group interested in "good government" and "civic progress" who generally follow the political cues of the city's business leaders.

The previously successful coalition of blacks and northside whites was shattered in 1969. Most whites, from all parts of the city, supported the losing mayoralty candidate. Almost all blacks, plus a minority of whites from all areas, supported the winner. Thus, upper-middle class whites and the city's traditional "power structure" lost their former position of influence in deciding city elections, while blacks greatly enhanced their influence. Working-class whites continued in their position on the losing side.

These changes in the relative importance of different groups of voters in the 1969 election resulted from a combination of factors. One was the break-up of the black-white coalition over the question of which candidate to support. This year black voters were not willing to support the choice of the white business elite. Rather than having only the usual choice between the favorite of northside whites and another candidate whose racial views made him anathema, black voters in 1969 had additional alternatives. For the first time there was a black candidate, and also there was a white candidate whose reputation was more liberal than

other white candidates, past or present. Both of these candidates were more attractive to blacks than the candidate supported by their former northside allies.

A second factor, which made it possible for this break-up to produce the consequences which occurred, was the continuous growth of black voting strength in Atlanta. The proportion of blacks among the city's registered voters increased from about 29 per cent in 1961 to almost 41 per cent in 1969. This growth of black voting strength was due both to the increase in the proportion of Negroes in the total population, which rose from 38 per cent in 1960 to 49 per cent in 1969, and to an increase in the proportion of eligible blacks who are registered to vote.* Another factor, which will be examined later, is that black registrants in Atlanta tend to have a higher voter turnout than whites in mayoralty elections.

The variety of candidates available in 1969 gave Atlanta the opportunity to follow one of several trends exhibited in recent elections in other American cities. The seven names on the ballot included Sam Massell, a liberal Democrat; Horace Tate, a black educator; Rodney Cook, a moderate Republican; and Everett Millican, a conser-

---

*In 1962, approximately 44 per cent of eligible whites and 31 per cent of eligible blacks were registered in Fulton County. In 1968, the proportion of eligible voters registered was 71 per cent among whites and 63 per cent among blacks. Atlanta constitutes about four-fifths of the population of Fulton County.

vative Democrat whose campaign created for him the image of a "law and order" candidate. The eventual choice of a majority of the voters was Massell, who associated himself with the interests of blacks and attacked the city's "power structure." Moreover, the city elected Maynard Jackson, a young black, as vice-mayor over a well regarded white alderman, Milton Farris. The number of blacks on the Board of Aldermen was increased from one to five, and the number on the Board of Education rose from two to three.

This study is an effort to analyze this important election. It is designed to show how various groups of citizens voted and how the support of each candidate was composed. In order for the results of this examination to be properly understood, it is necessary at the outset to explain briefly how the study was done. Unless otherwise specified, all of the data was derived from Fulton County precincts in which 90 per cent or more of the registered voters were either black or white. The seven precincts in DeKalb County are not included, except in city-wide totals, because the racial composition of these precincts individually was not available. Thus, for example, the "white vote" was determined by examining all the precincts in Fulton County which are 90 per cent or more white in composition. There is, of course, a slight error built into this calculation, since an entire precinct is labelled black or white even though it may include a few voters of the opposite race, but

this does not have a serious effect on the findings. In fact, the composition of over two-thirds of the precincts being used is between 98.5 and 100 per cent black or white.

Subcategories of black or white voters will be explained as they are introduced, but they will always be derived from the type of precincts just described. Because of the residential patterns in Atlanta and the demarcation of precinct boundaries, most of the city's voters are included by this mode of analysis -- 116 of 149 precincts are covered, and these precincts included 174,612 of the 215,026 registered voters.

II. THE MAYORALTY ELECTION

OCTOBER 7

The introductory statements about the 1969 vote in Atlanta refer to the results of the run-off election held October 21. A more complex pattern of voting was exhibited in the initial election October 7. With four major candidates competing, all voting groups were more divided in their candidate support in the first election.

The Black Vote

Although they demonstrated near unanimity in their vote in the run-off, black voters were far from united in their choice of candidates October 7. The black vote was closely split between Tate, the only black candidate, and Massell, a liberal white. Tate was supported by 49 per cent of the blacks, and Massell by 44.2 per cent. Most of the remaining votes went to Cook. It is estimated that between 44,000 and 45,000 blacks voted in this election.

There was some variation in the voting among black precincts, as Table 1 indicates. Although Tate was the front-runner in most individual precincts, just as in the overall black vote, there were a number of precincts in which Massell was the leading candidate. In precincts that were 90 per cent or more black, Tate led in 31, with a majority in 22 of these, and Massell in 14, with a majority

in 7 of them.*

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF VOTE RECEIVED IN BLACK PRECINCTS
BY MASSELL AND TATE, OCTOBER 7, 1969

	Percentage From All Blacks Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support						
		Under 35 %	35-39.9 %	40-44.9 %	45-49.9 %	50-54.9 %	55-59.9 %	60% and Over
Massell	44.2	4	10	11	13	3	4	-
Tate	49.0	1	7	6	9	12	8	2

There may be some underlying factors which explain this variation, but there is no apparent pattern to it. For example, when precincts of high and low socio-economic status within the black community are compared, as in Table 2, there is little

*Atlanta's precincts vary considerably in size. Nevertheless, references will be made to the results in individual precincts for two major reasons. First, this will provide some indication of the range of behavior that is lumped together into an overall average for a large number of precincts. Second, this procedure may suggest the presence of voting patterns that require further explanation. For example, some of the variation among voters might be accounted for by differences in socio-economic status. The precinct analysis will be presented, however, even when the variation cannot be explained by the present study. It is hoped that this might be helpful to those who are making further investigations.

difference in their voting behavior.*

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF THE VOTE RECEIVED BY LEADING MAYORALTY CANDIDATES IN BLACK PRECINCTS OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANK, OCTOBER 7, 1969
(IN PERCENTAGES)

High Status Precincts	Massell	Tate	Cook	Millican	Turnout
7N	47.4	48.1	3.5	0.3	58.5
3J	44.6	49.9	4.9	0.1	64.5
3R	33.1	61.1	5.0	0.2	54.7
7D	56.4	37.9	4.9	0.3	59.8
3B	55.6	39.4	4.2	0.4	60.7
TOTAL	47.1	47.5	4.5	0.2	60.2
Low Status Precincts					
1K	38.6	53.6	7.2	0.3	33.1
3M	34.8	55.6	7.6	0.4	47.4
6L	49.5	39.9	8.7	0.6	42.6
6J	55.0	36.9	5.9	0.7	50.0
9K	42.9	52.0	3.7	0.6	42.1
TOTAL	45.7	45.9	6.6	0.6	43.6

The percentages for each precinct do not total 100 because there were 3 other candidates who received a small proportion of the vote.

*To make this comparison, census tracts which were 90 per cent or more black both in 1960 and 1969 were rank ordered on each of the following measurements: family income, years of schooling completed, and nature of male employment. Five precincts which were located in tracts nearest the top and five precincts in tracts nearest the bottom on all three measurements were selected. Because some tracts ranked differently on each measurement and because census tract boundaries and precinct boundaries did not always adequately coincide, this selection of precincts cannot be taken absolutely as the five highest-ranking and the five lowest-ranking black precincts. Such a designation would be very near correct, however. It should also be noted that this is a ranking of black census tracts, and a precinct given high status rank in this comparison would not occupy a high ranking if white tracts were included in the scale.

The combined vote in five of the highest-ranking black precincts was: Tate, 47.5 per cent; Massell, 47.1 per cent; and Cook, 4.5 per cent. The distribution in five of the lowest-ranking precincts averaged together was: Tate, 45.9 per cent; Massell, 45.7 per cent; and Cook, 6.6 per cent. Moreover, the precincts within each category exhibited a wide variation in the amount of support given to the leading candidates.

The White Vote

It is estimated that between 55,000 and 56,000 whites voted October 7. Among these voters, the leading candidate was Cook, who received 44.8 per cent of their votes at that time. Millican ran second with 31.1 per cent, and Massell polled 21.6 per cent. Tate received almost no white support, picking up less than 2.0 per cent of their votes.

When white voters are separated into different groups and examined, significant variations in the white support of candidates are visible. For this study, white voters were divided into three categories: "Northside" whites, "Southside" whites, and "Other" whites. This classification is based primarily on income, education, and occupational characteristics although, as some of the names suggest, there is much coincidence between socio-economic status and geographical locations in the city.* Figure 1 shows the location of these precincts in the city.

---

*Census tracts that were 90 per cent or more white, both in 1960 and 1969, were rank-ordered in the same way as described earlier for the black census tracts. The rank of the precincts within each category is described in the text.

Northside whites are those in precincts in the northern parts of the city. All of these precincts rank in the top quarter of the city's white precincts in each of the following measurements: family income, years of education and "high level" employment, e.g., professional, managerial, technical, and proprietary occupations.

Southside whites are those in precincts located mainly in the southeastern and central sections of the city. These precincts rank in the lower half of the city's white precincts in white collar employment and education, and most of them are in the lower half in terms of family income.

Other whites are those in the remaining white precincts, which are largely located in the southwestern and near northeastern parts of the city. They rank between the other two categories in socio-economic terms; most of them are in the upper half of the city's white precincts in terms of education and white collar employment, but not so high as the Northside group in years of education and proportion of high-level employment.

In very rough terms, these three categories might be labelled upper-middle-class, middle-class, and working-class groups.* Ob-

---

*A more precise and extensive classification of voters was not attempted since the author doubted the validity of an exact ranking of all precincts on the basis of data that was fully available only in a nine-year-old census report. Although precincts near the top and bottom of the socio-economic scale can be identified with some confidence, the great bulk of precincts which fall between these two groups can only be roughly categorized. The construction of a classification on the basis of a few sample precincts which are alleged to be of a particular status was rejected, because such precincts could not be tested to see if in fact they truly represented what they were supposed to.

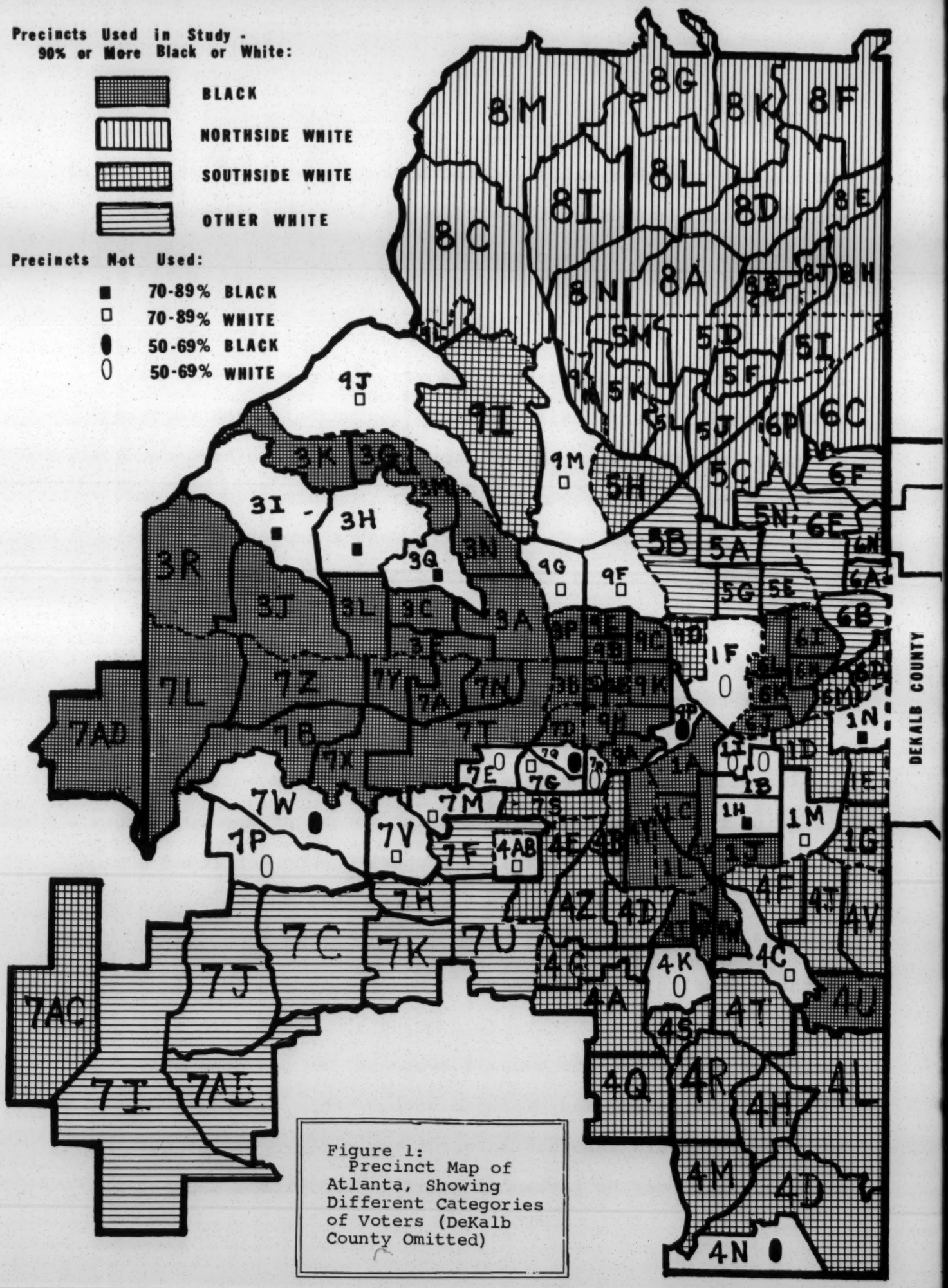


Figure 1:
Precinct Map of Atlanta, Showing Different Categories of Voters (DeKalb County Omitted)

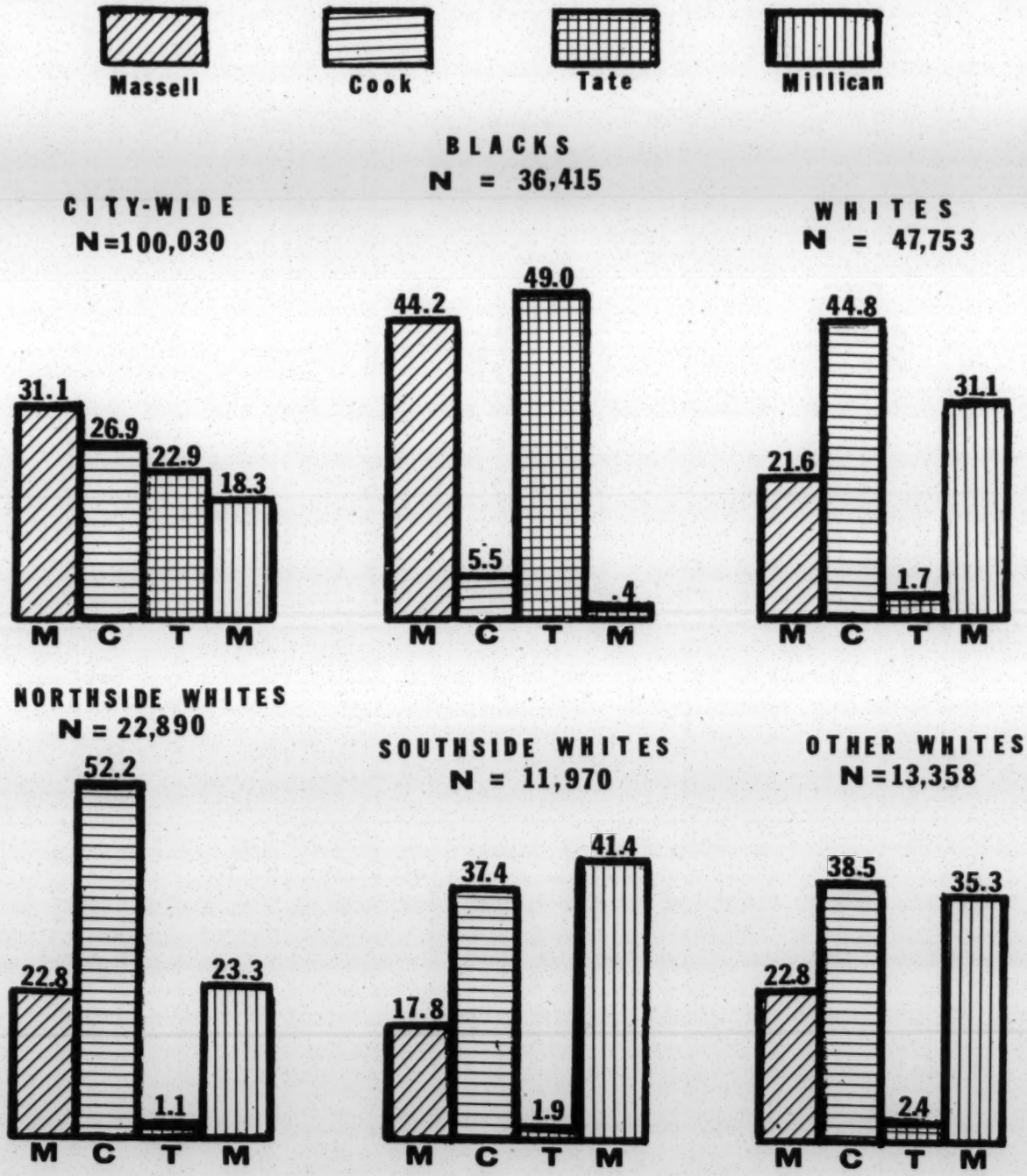
viously, every voter within a precinct will not match the general socio-economic status of the entire precinct, but presumably most voters will fit the classification into which his precinct falls.

As Figure 2 indicates, among Northside whites, Cook ran far ahead of the other candidates. He was supported by 52.2 per cent of these voters, while Millican and Massell each received slightly less than half this number of votes. Southside whites, on the other hand, favored Millican, giving him 41.4 per cent of their votes. Among these voters, Cook's support dropped to about 37.4 per cent and Massell's to 17.8 per cent. In the Other category, Cook had a slight lead over Millican, 38.5 per cent to 35.3 per cent, and Massell received about the same amount of support as in the Northside.

Cook, then, ran well among all white groups, but he did considerably better among the upper-middle-class voters of the Northside than among the working-class voters of the Southside. In contrast, Millican's heaviest support was concentrated more in the Southside, and he did not fare so well in the Northside. Massell ran third among all white groups, doing somewhat worse in the Southside than elsewhere.

While it is instructive to combine the votes from a large number of precincts into overall averages, as was done above for the three categories of white voters, this procedure may also conceal certain information about the pattern of voting. For example, there may be instances where a candidate's support was

Figure 2: Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates from Different Groups of Voters, October 7, 1969 (in Percentages).



The percentages do not total 100, because there were three other candidates who received a small proportion of the vote. This classification includes only precincts in which the registration is 90 per cent or more black or white. Therefore, the number of voters in each category in this chart may not accurately reflect the total number of voters who would fit this classification, because some of them are located in precincts which are too racially mixed to be included here.

much higher or lower than his overall average, but these high and low points may be balanced out in the averaging. Table 3, therefore, is designed to give some indication of the range of support each candidate received. It is based on the 71 precincts which are 90 per cent or more white.

There were no precincts in which Cook's support dropped very low; he received less than 30 per cent in only 1 precinct, and there it was 29.6 per cent. He received over 50 per cent in 17 precincts. In the Northside, his support fell below 40 per cent only once, and all but 2 of his strongest precincts, in which he polled a majority, were in this area, including 4 which gave him over 60 per cent of their ballots.

Millican's support exhibited greater variation. In 2 precincts, both on the Southside, he received a majority of the vote, while in 9 precincts, all on the Northside, he received less than 20 per cent. There were only 3 Northside precincts which gave him as much as 30 per cent of their vote. On the other hand, only 2 precincts on the Southside and only 3 in the Other category dropped below 30 per cent in their support for Millican.

Massell's white support exceeded 30 per cent in only 6 precincts. In 2 of these, however, he received over 40 per cent of the votes; these 2 precincts, 6C and 8C, both have relatively large numbers of Jewish voters.* On the Southside, he polled less

---

*No precise data on the number of Jewish residents in the city's various precincts are available, but informed observers say that these two precincts have the heaviest concentrations. It should be noted, however, that the proportion of Jewish voters in these precincts is not high enough to say that the election results in these precincts is the same as "the Jewish vote."

than 20 per cent of the votes in 21 of 27 precincts.

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF VOTE RECEIVED IN DIFFERENT GROUPS OF WHITE PRECINCTS BY COOK, MILLICAN, AND MASSELL OCTOBER 7, 1969

	Percentage From All Precincts in Category Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support				
		Under 20%	20-29.9%	30-39.9%	40-49.9%	Over 50%
Northside						
Cook	52.2	-	-	1	10	15
Millican	23.3	9	14	3	-	-
Massell	22.8	8	15	1	2	-
Southside						
Cook	37.4	-	-	21	5	1
Millican	41.4	-	2	8	15	2
Massell	17.8	21	5	1	-	-
Other						
Cook	38.5	-	1	11	5	1
Millican	35.3	-	3	11	4	-
Massell	22.8	7	9	2	-	-
Total White						
Cook	44.8	-	1	33	20	17
Millican	31.1	9	19	22	19	2
Massell	21.6	36	29	4	2	-

Although it was suggested above that the voting in the Northside and Southside might serve as rough indicators of the behavior of voters of high and low socio-economic status, respectively, a somewhat more refined comparison of such voters can be found

in Table 4. This table lists five precincts at the top, and five at the bottom of the socio-economic scale of white precincts.*

TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF THE VOTE RECEIVED BY LEADING MAYORALTY CANDIDATES IN WHITE PRECINCTS OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANK, OCTOBER 7, 1969 (IN PERCENTAGES)

High Status Precincts	Massell	Tate	Cook	Millican	Turnout
8G	25.0	0.5	57.2	16.9	58.3
8L	12.5	0.4	63.1	24.0	59.2
8I	20.3	1.1	59.0	19.5	61.1
8M	26.4	1.1	52.6	19.5	58.5
8N	14.6	0.1	62.4	22.6	60.2
TOTAL	19.7	0.7	58.9	20.5	59.7
Low Status Precincts					
1D	18.6	1.4	37.5	40.0	32.4
6D	22.3	-	31.3	42.5	36.6
7S	19.7	3.1	36.7	39.1	36.5
9D	27.6	1.8	30.0	38.9	38.4
4B	19.5	1.9	30.4	44.9	42.1
TOTAL	21.7	1.8	33.3	40.8	37.1

The percentages for each precinct do not total 100, because there were three other candidates who received a small proportion of the vote.

In effect, this selection represents the highest ranking precincts of the Northside and the lowest ranking precincts of the Southside. Voters in the precincts with the highest socio-economic status were

*These precincts were selected by the same method described in the footnote on page 8 and thus are subject to the same qualifications.

even stronger in their support for Cook than were Northside whites generally. Among these voters, Cook received 59 per cent of the vote, and Millican and Massell maintained approximately the same relationship to one another, although, of course, at a lower level.

Voters in the precincts with lowest status, however, did not display an amplification of the general Southside trends. Millican's percentage averaged about the same in these precincts and in the Southside as a whole. Massell's support rose and Cook's support dropped, each by about four percentage points, among these low ranking precincts. Thus, in comparison with working-class whites in general, the poorest white voters tended to favor Massell slightly more, Cook slightly less, and Millican about the same.

The City-Wide Vote

Turning once again to the city-wide results, it can be seen that each candidate had a somewhat different base of support. Massell, who was not the front-runner in any of the "communities" examined above, was the only candidate who received a substantial degree of support from all groups, black and white, although most of his support came from black voters. This combination gave him the largest vote in the city October 7. His total of 31,096 was composed of approximately 19,000 black votes, and 12,000 white votes. Cook, who finished second in the balloting with 26,891 votes, was quite strong among all whites, but he received little support in the black com-

munity. His support was composed of close to 25,000 white votes and slightly over 2,000 black votes. Tate placed third in the outcome with 22,869 votes. He drew virtually all his support from black voters, receiving only around 1,000 of his votes from white precincts. In fourth place with 18,290 votes was Millican, who ran strong among middle and working-class whites and made a fair showing among upper-middle-class whites. He drew almost no support -- less than 1,000 votes -- from blacks, however.*

One significant factor in the October 7 election which has not been discussed is the turnout rate among the various groups of voters. This problem will be examined below in connection with the turnout in the run-off election.

---

*The actual number of black and white votes each candidate received is, of course, an estimate.

III. THE MAYORALTY ELECTION

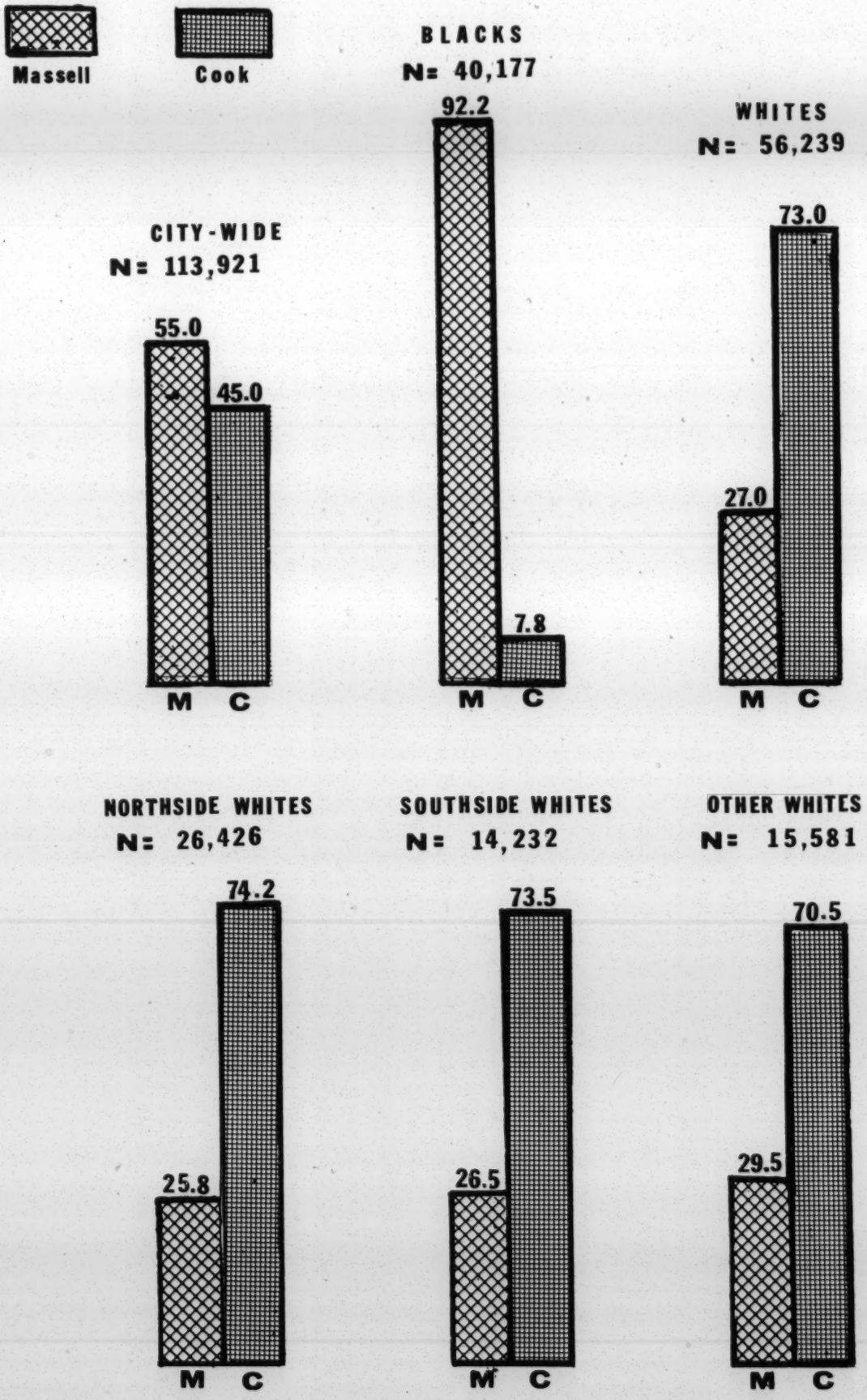
OCTOBER 21 RUN-OFF

In the run-off election between Massell and Cook October 21, Massell won with 55 per cent of the 113,921 votes cast that day. His victory was based on the support of almost all black voters and about one-fourth of the white voters. Of Massell's total of 62,632 votes, it is estimated that slightly more than 45,000 came from the black community and about 17,500 from the white community. Cook's total of 51,289 was composed of almost 47,500 white votes and about 3,800 black votes.

The Black Vote

In the black community, most of those who had supported Tate on October 7 apparently switched to Massell in the run-off. Massell's percentage of the black vote jumped from 44.2 per cent to 92.2 per cent in the two elections, while Cook's percentage of this vote increased from 5.5 per cent to 7.9 per cent. In only 7 of the 45 black precincts did Massell receive less than 90 per cent of the vote, the lowest being 87.6 per cent. His highest precinct gave him 95.4 per cent. Voters in the sample of black precincts with high socio-economic rank supported Massell slightly more than voters in the precincts at the bottom of this scale, 93.6 per cent to 91.6 per cent, respectively.

Figure 3: Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates from Different Groups of Voters, October 21, 1969 (in Percentages).



The White Vote

In white areas, most of Millican's backers shifted their support to Cook, although Massell apparently picked up the votes of some of them in the run-off. Cook's percentage of the overall white vote rose from 44.8 per cent to 73 per cent and Massell's increased from 21.6 per cent to 27 per cent.

According to Figure 3, there appears to be very little variation in the voting behavior of the different categories of whites. Cook polled 74.2 per cent of the Northside vote, 73.5 per cent of the Southside vote, and 70.5 per cent of the vote of Other whites. In fact, however, there was more variation than these figures would indicate.

Voters in the sample of high status precincts gave Cook 78.1 per cent, a higher proportion than in the Northside as a whole. And in the sample of low status precincts, Cook's support was only 68.5 per cent, which was lower than his proportion of the overall Southside vote. Thus, there was a difference of almost ten percentage points in the support Massell received from voters at the opposite ends of the socio-economic ladder, 21.9 per cent from those at the top, and 31.5 per cent from those at the bottom.

The differences in white voting for mayor are also shown by an examination of individual precincts. As Table 5 reveals, there was somewhat more consistency in the level of support Massell received in Southside precincts than elsewhere.

TABLE 5

VOTING SUPPORT RECEIVED BY MASSELL IN WHITE PRECINCTS
OCTOBER 21, 1970

	Percentage From all Precincts in Category Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support						
		Under 20 %	20-24.9 %	25-29.9 %	30-34.9 %	35-39.9 %	40-44.9 %	45% and Over
Northside	25.8	5	9	6	4	-	-	2
Southside	26.5	-	8	12	5	-	1	1
Other	29.5	3	2	4	6	2	1	-
Total White	27.0	8	19	22	15	2	2	3

In the precincts of the Northside and Other categories, there was greater variation in his proportion of the vote. In these latter categories, a few precincts with rather strong Massell votes partially offest in the overall average a number of precincts where the level of support was much lower. For example, in the Northside there were five precincts in which Massell received less than 20 per cent of the vote, but in two precincts (6C and 8C) he received 47.7 per cent and 49.9 per cent. The only other precinct in which Massell obtained over 45 per cent was a very small Southside precinct with a very low turnout, which did not have much effect on the average for that category.

Massell's proportion of the vote was higher October 21

than on October 7 in every precinct but two. But this improvement was notably greater in some areas than in others. In the Northside, his percentage rose by only 3 points in the run-off, whereas in the Southside, it jumped by 8.5 points, almost 3 times the increase in the Northside. Among Other whites, the increase was 6.7 points, more than twice that of the Northside. Massell's increase among the voters in the 5 precincts with the lowest socio-economic status was even greater than the Southside as a whole. His proportion of the votes in these precincts October 21 was 9.8 percentage points higher than in the first election. In contrast, the sample of precincts with the highest socio-economic rank showed an increase for Massell of only 2.2 percentage points. His average increase for all white precincts was 5.4 points.

There were 14 precincts in which Massell increased his proportion of the vote in the run-off by 9 points or more. Of these 14, 11 were in the Southside and none in the Northside. He showed an improvement of 12 points in 8 of these precincts, all but 1 in the Southside. Massell's increase was 3 points or less in 18 precincts. Of these 18, 15 were in the Northside, including 2 where his proportion decreased slightly below his October 7 level, and none in the Southside.

As indicated earlier, Massell's overall proportion of the October 21 vote was about the same among Northside, Southside, and Other whites. The above-average increase in his support among Southside whites in the run-off was necessary to bring

him up to the Northside level, which was considerably higher than the Southside on October 7.

The relatively large increase in Massell's October 21 support in the Southside was also associated with an above-average increase in the turnout in most precincts in that area. This will be discussed in the next section.

IV. VOTER TURNOUT IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS OCTOBER 7 AND OCTOBER 21

Thus far, this report has been mainly concerned with how various groups in the city distributed their support between mayoralty candidates. The turnout rate, or the percentage of eligible members of a group who actually voted, has been mentioned only briefly. Obviously, the turnout rate is a crucial factor in determining the amount of influence a group will have on the outcome of an election. A group's potential influence, based on its proportion of the electorate, may be enhanced or diminished by how heavily its members vote relative to other groups. And previous indications of the percentage of a group's support received by one candidate or another gain their full significance only when related to the total number of votes cast by that group. This total, of course, reflects the turnout rate.

On October 7, 100,030, or 46.5 per cent of the city's registered voters, cast ballots in the mayor's election. On October 21, this figure rose to 113,921, or 53 per cent of the total registration.* Between these two dates, the question of voter turnout had become a public issue. Mayor Ivan Allen called the low October 7 turnout a "disgrace" and made a strong appeal on television for a much higher number

---

*In the heated election of 1961 when Ivan Allen defeated Lester Maddox, the turnout was about 70 per cent, but in 1965 when Allen was re-elected, it was around 42 per cent.

of voters in the run-off. Various business and civic groups volunteered their services to "Operation Vote," and an active campaign was mounted to increase the turnout. In addition to public appeals, a telephone campaign was conducted, and transportation to the polls was offered.

A number of Massell's supporters interpreted the pleas for a higher turnout to mean in fact a call for a higher turnout among certain white voters.* They charged that the campaign, led by the Chamber of Commerce, was being used to aid Cook through its selective application to particular segments of the city.

It is not the intent of this report to question the sincerity or fairness of the efforts to promote a larger turnout, and nothing presented here will resolve the controversy that developed over this issue. What this section will do, however, is show the rate of turnout among each group of voters in the two elections and reveal where and by how much the turnout increased in the run-off.

Table 6 shows the proportion of different groups which voted on the two dates. It should be remembered that this table is based on only those precincts in which one race or the other constitutes 90 per cent or more of the registration. Because the turnout in more racially heterogeneous precincts

---

*See, for example, the article in the October 16 issue of the Atlanta Journal on the statements of three labor leaders.

tends to be lower than in the precincts listed here*, the percentage of all blacks and all whites who voted was somewhat lower than the figures in Table 6. It is estimated that about 51 per cent of the registered blacks and 43 per cent of the registered whites voted October 7. The estimates for October 21 are 56 per cent of the blacks and 51 per cent of the whites.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED VOTERS CASTING BALLOTS IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS, 1969

	October 7 %	October 21 %	Increase in Turnout Rate on October 21 (In Percentage Points)
All Voters	46.5	53.0	6.5
Blacks	51.5	56.3	4.8
Whites	46.4	54.1	7.7
Northside	52.4	60.1	7.7
Southside	40.4	48.8	8.4
Other	43.5	50.7	7.2

Considering now only those precincts that are included in Table 6, it can be seen that the black turnout exceeded the white turnout in both elections.** The difference between whites and blacks was considerably less in the run-off, however, dropping from

*See Appendix B for the turnout in the other precincts.

**Walker, in the article cited above, indicates that in previous mayoralty elections, blacks turned out at a higher rate than whites.

5.1 to 2.2 percentage points. In other words, in the run-off the increase in turnout over the first election among whites was almost twice that of blacks. The black turnout increased by 4.8 points to 56.3 per cent, while the white turnout jumped by 7.7 points to 54.1 per cent. The comparison of black and white turnout increases can also be made another way. Among black precincts, 12 exhibited an increase which equalled or exceeded the city-wide average increase of 6.5 points, and 33 were below this average. Among white precincts, 56 had an increase at or above the city average, and only 15 were below.

Since most white voters supported Cook and most black voters supported Massell in the run-off, the greater improvement in white turnout relative to black turnout benefitted Cook. If the turnout rate had remained the same as on October 7, Massell's margin of victory would have been even greater than it was.

As usual, there were significant differences in the behavior of the various white groups. In both elections, a considerably larger proportion of whites in the Northside than elsewhere turned out to vote. As Table 6 shows, their turnout rate was 11 to 12 points higher than in the Southside, and 9 to 10 points above Other whites. The Northside turnout was also higher than the black turnout on each date.

There was even greater disparity between the turnout in the sample of precincts with the highest socio-economic status and the sample of lowest ranking precincts. As Table 7 shows,

the proportion of white voters in the top-ranking precincts was about 23 percentage points higher in both elections than the proportion in the low status precincts.

TABLE 7

VOTER TURNOUT IN PRECINCTS OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN 1969 MAYORALTY ELECTION

	Percentage of Registered Voters Who Cast Ballots			Difference in Turnout Between High & Low Status Precincts (In Percentage Points)
	All Precincts	High Status Precincts	Low Status Precincts	
White Precincts				
October 7	46.4	59.7	37.1	22.6
October 21	54.9	67.7	44.8	22.9
Increase*	8.5	8.0	7.7	
Black Precincts				
October 7	51.5	60.2	43.6	16.6
October 21	56.3	65.6	50.1	15.5
Increase*	4.8	5.4	6.5	

*Increase in turnout on October 21 (in percentage points).

Southside whites demonstrated the most improvement in turnout. The percentage of registrants there who voted in the run-off was 8.4 points higher than the percentage casting ballots two weeks earlier. All but 2 of the 27 precincts in this category had increases above the city average. Comparable figures for the other white areas were: Northside, 18 of 26 with above-average increases; and Other, 12 of 18 above. The precincts with very large increases

were concentrated more in the Southside than elsewhere.

In comparison with other white areas, the Southside exhibited in the run-off both a larger increase in turnout and a greater increase in the proportion of the vote given to Massell. It must be emphasized that the result of these increases still left the turnout rate in the Southside considerably below that of other white areas and brought Massell's proportion of the vote in that area only slightly above his level in the Northside and below that he received from Other whites.

In the Southside, as among whites generally, Cook polled almost three votes for every one Massell received. The increase in turnout thus worked to Cook's advantage. But the benefit received by Cook was slightly moderated by the improvement in Massell's proportion of the vote in the run-off. In the October 7 election, Massell polled less than one out of five votes cast by Southside whites. If Massell had not obtained a larger proportion of the October 21 vote, the increased turnout would have helped Cook even more.

Unfortunately, since the matter has stimulated a great deal of speculation, a study of this kind cannot answer the question of why the increase in Massell's proportion of the vote was larger in the Southside than among other white groups. It is theoretically possible that the additional votes Massell received October 21 came solely from people who voted in the run-off but not in the first election. The increase in turnout

produced more than enough new voters to account for the enlargement of Massell's support. However, it is more likely that those who voted for the first time October 21 would split their votes in a similar fashion to those who voted on both occasions, and thus some of Massell's votes probably came from people who had voted for other candidates, mainly Millican, on October 7.

There were also significant differences in turnout among black precincts. Table 8 shows the range of voting levels in the black community and indicates that in some black areas the percentage of registrants who voted was quite low, even though the overall black average was higher than the white average. Whereas socio-economic ranking appeared not to affect the direction of black votes in the mayor's election, the opposite is true in terms of the turnout rate.

In both elections the turnout in the sample of high status black precincts was more than 15 points higher than in the sample of low status black precincts, as indicated in Table 7. Blacks in low ranking precincts voted more heavily than low status whites, the difference being about six percentage points in each election. The turnout rates in the high status black sample and the high status white sample were about the same.

Although the increased white turnout in the run-off worked to Massell's disadvantage, this was not a serious threat to Massell's success because of his strong support from black voters. The black vote determined the outcome of the election, and this

decisive influence was due to the greater solidarity of their vote and their higher rate of participation.

TABLE 8

LEVELS OF TURNOUT AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS: NUMBER OF PRECINCTS IN WHICH DIFFERENT PERCENTAGES OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS CAST BALLOTS IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS, 1969

	Percentage of Registered Voters Who Cast Ballots						
	30-34%	35-39%	40-44%	45-59%	50-54%	55-59%	60%
	Number of Precincts						
City							
Oct. 7	17	24	25	33	16	15	12
Oct. 21	3	6	24	23	26	29	31
Black							
Oct. 7	4	2	4	11	10	7	7
Oct. 21	-	2	3	3	12	10	15
White							
Oct. 7	5	17	11	20	5	8	5
Oct. 21	-	-	15	13	11	17	15
Northside Whites							
Oct. 7	-	1	-	10	3	7	5
Oct. 21	-	-	1	-	3	9	13
Southside Whites							
Oct. 7	4	10	7	6	-	-	-
Oct. 21	-	-	9	8	6	4	-
Other Whites							
Oct. 7	1	6	4	4	2	1	-
Oct. 21	-	-	5	5	2	4	2

After the October 7 election, a controversy arose between some of Tate's supporters and some of Massell's supporters over what the

results would have been if those blacks who had voted for Massell had instead given their support to Tate. It is clear that Tate would not have won the election on the first ballot even if he had received all the votes cast by blacks, since these amounted to only about 43 to 44 per cent of the total city vote. He certainly would have been in the run-off, however, if he could have added to his own vote the approximately 21,000 votes received by Massell and Cook in the black community. Whether he could have then gone on to defeat Cook in a run-off would have depended upon the size of the black and white turnout and the way whites voted in the second election. Assuming the October 21 turnout would have remained the same under these conditions and that Tate continued to receive all black votes, a victory by Tate would have required about 8,000 white votes. Tate received little more than 1,000 white votes on October 7. Whether or not he could have picked up the necessary amount of white support to win under the circumstances outlined here obviously cannot be answered, except by those who wish to engage in pure conjecture.

V. THE VICE MAYORALTY ELECTION
OCTOBER 7

The new coalition of voters produced by the change in Atlanta voting patterns in 1969 not only elected the new mayor, but essentially this same group of voters determined the outcome of the vice-mayoralty election. The man they elected was Maynard Jackson, a young attorney, who was the city's first black candidate for this office. He won a decisive victory on the first ballot over a highly respected white alderman, Milton Farris.

Jackson received 58.2 per cent of the votes. Farris was supported by 39.1 per cent of the voters, and two other candidates together polled 2.7 per cent of the ballots. Jackson's total of 56,369 was composed of approximately 41,000 black votes and about 15,000 white votes.

In the black community, Jackson received almost total support, with 97.8 per cent of the vote. In no precinct where the registration was 90 per cent or more black did Jackson receive less than 94.3 per cent of the ballots. A majority of the white community voted for Farris (68.3 per cent), but Jackson obtained substantial support among whites, receiving the votes of 27.7 per cent of them.

There were significant differences among whites in the support given to Jackson, however. In the Southside, he obtained only 17.5 per cent of the vote, while in the Northside, he received almost double that percentage, 33.2, and

and Other whites gave him 26.3 per cent. Table 9 reveals the range of support given to Jackson within each of these categories. In 4 precincts, 3 of which were in the Northside, Jackson polled over 40 per cent of the vote. He received less than 15 per cent in 11 precincts, all but 1 in the Southside. The sample of white voters with the highest socio-economic status gave Jackson 30.9 per cent of their vote, which was less than he received in the Northside in general. The sample of low status whites gave him 17.2 per cent of their support, which was about the same as the overall Southside vote.

TABLE 9

VOTING SUPPORT RECEIVED BY MAYNARD JACKSON FROM DIFFERENT GROUPS OF WHITE VOTERS OCTOBER 7, 1969

	Percentage From All Precincts in Category Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support							
		Under 10	10-14.9	15-19.9	20-24.9	25-29.9	30-34.9	35 39.9	40-44.9
Northside	33.2	-	-	-	1	5	12	5	3
Southside	17.5	1	9	8	6	3	-	-	-
Other	26.3	-	1	3	6	2	3	2	1
TOTAL WHITE	27.7	1	10	11	13	10	15	7	4

The number of people voting in the vice-mayor's race was almost the same as that in the mayor's election October 7. In the city as a whole, 45.1 per cent of the electorate voted for vice-mayor compared to 46.5 per cent for mayor. The drop-off in the percentage of registered voters casting ballots in the vice-mayor's election, as compared to the initial mayor's election, was approximately the same for all the various categories of voters examined in this report, the difference ranging from 1.2 to 2.1 percentage points. Thus, based on precincts that are 90 per cent or more black or white, the turnout for vice mayor was: Northside whites, 51.3 per cent; blacks, 50.3 per cent; whites (all categories), 44.8 per cent; Other whites, 41.9 per cent; Southside whites, 38.3 per cent.

Jackson's performance in relation to mayoralty candidates can be seen by comparing Table 9 with Figures 2 and 3. Tate received slightly over half of the percentage obtained by Jackson in the black community. Among the various groups of white voters, Jackson polled from 9 to 30 times as many votes as Tate.

In relation to Millican's performance, Jackson ran strongest where Millican was weakest, and he was weakest where Millican was strongest. In the Northside, Jackson's support was almost 10 points above Millican's. But in the Southside, Millican was almost 24 points above Jackson. The support Other whites gave Jackson was 9 points lower than that given to Millican.

The relationship between the support of these two candidates is demonstrated in another fashion in Table 10. When precincts are rank-ordered from the highest to the lowest percentage of vote received by each candidate, it can be seen that, with one exception, the precincts composing the top quarter of Jackson's support all ranked in the bottom half of the scale according to the support given to Millican. And the precincts in the lowest quarter of Jackson's support are, with one exception, in the top half in terms of their vote for Millican.

TABLE 10

INVERSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AREAS OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR MAYNARD JACKSON AND AREAS OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR MILLICAN: DISTRIBUTION OF PRECINCTS IN MAYNARD JACKSON'S HIGHEST AND LOWEST QUARTILES FOR MILLICAN AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRECINCTS IN MILLICAN'S HIGHEST AND LOWEST QUARTILES FOR MAYNARD JACKSON

	Number of Precincts in Each Quartile of Millican Support			
	High	Second	Third	Low
Highest Jackson Quartile	-	1	7	10
Lowest Jackson Quartile	11	6	1	-

	Number of Precincts in Each Quartile of Jackson Support			
	High	Second	Third	Low
Highest Millican Quartile	-	-	7	11
Lowest Millican Quartile	10	7	1	-

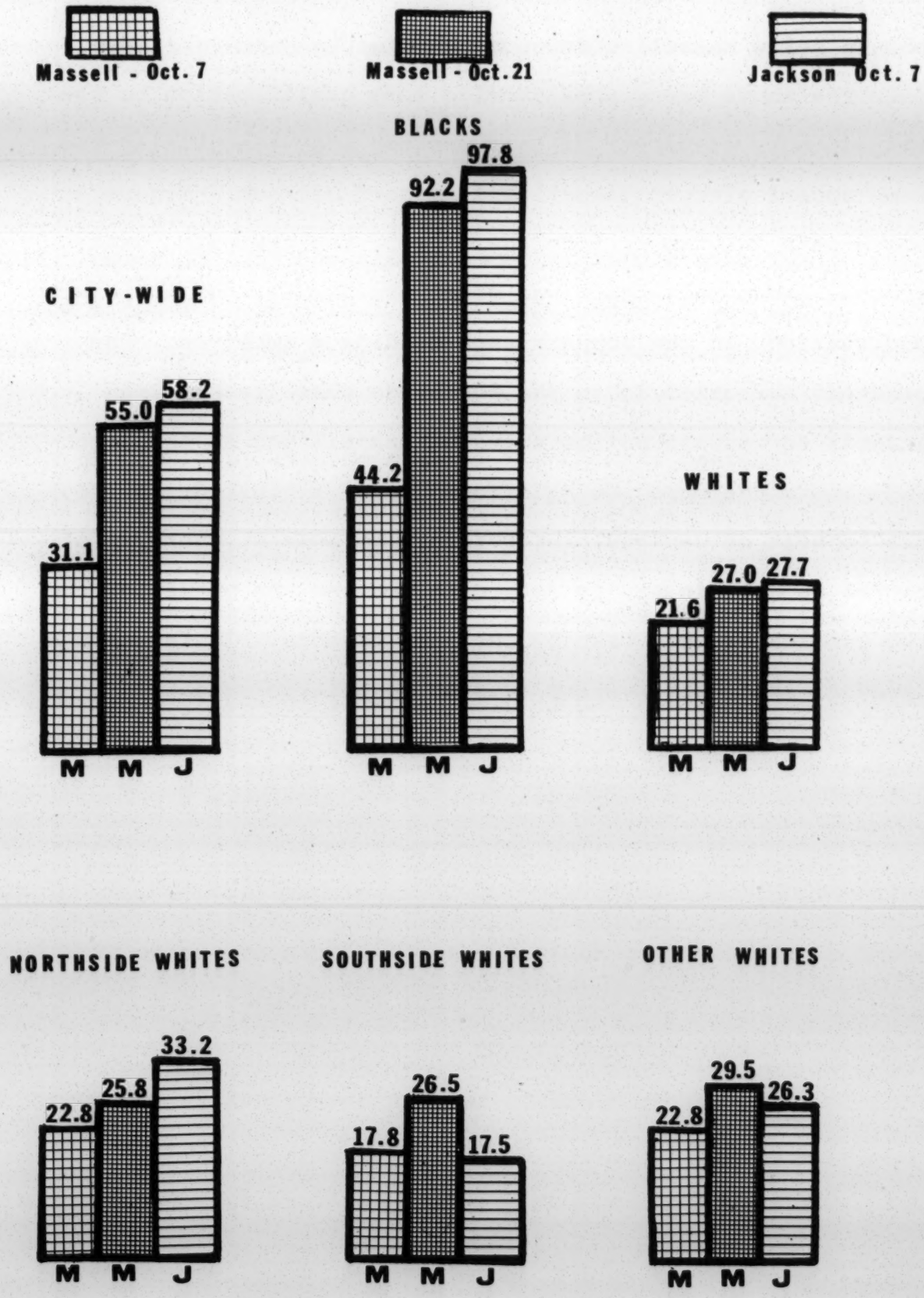
Jackson's vote in the white community generally followed the same direction as Cook's, although there was a large difference in the proportion each received. The area of strongest support for both was the Northside and the area of least strength was the Southside. Jackson's drop-off in the Southside was proportionately worse than Cook's, however.

The relationship between Massell's vote and Jackson's vote is shown in Figure 4. In the Northside, Jackson ran better than Massell did in either the October 7 or October 21 elections. Jackson's vote of 33.2 per cent was 10.4 points higher than Massell's proportion in the first race and 7.4 points above Massell's vote in the run-off. In only two precincts did Massell surpass Jackson. In both 8C and 6C, the two precincts with relatively heavy concentrations of Jewish voters, which were Massell's strongest white precincts, Jackson received 37.9 per cent of the vote. Massell's support in these precincts was 40.2 per cent and 42.9 per cent October 7, and 47.7 per cent and 49.9 per cent October 21.

In the Southside Jackson and Massell ran about evenly October 7, but Massell's performance in this area was much better October 21. Massell's proportion of the vote in the run-off was about 9 points higher than the 17.5 per cent Jackson obtained October 7.

Among Other whites, Jackson ran ahead of Massell October 7, but Massell's support in the run-off exceeded Jackson's performance on the earlier date. Jackson's vote of 26.3 per cent was 3.5 points above Massell's initial vote, but 3.2

Figure 4: Proportion of the Vote Received from Different Groups of Voters by Massell on October 7 and 21 and by M. Jackson on October 7 (in Percentages).



points below Massell's subsequent vote.

The above paragraphs provide some qualification to the introductory statement of this section that essentially the same voters elected Massell and Maynard Jackson. Figure 4 which puts in graphic form the data of the preceding paragraphs, shows that there was great similarity, but not exact duplication, in the support each candidate received. The greatest variation is in the Northside where Jackson ran several percentage points ahead of Massell and in the Southside where the opposite relationship was exhibited. Without the benefit of personal interviews with voters, there is of course no certain way to determine whether the votes for the two candidates were cast by the same persons. It is assumed, however, that this overlap existed to a large extent.

VI. THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN ELECTIONS

The 1969 elections brought important changes in the composition of the board of aldermen. Only 12 of 18 incumbents sought to retain their seats, but one of these was defeated, resulting in 7 new aldermen. Black representation on the board jumped from 1 to 5, as a consequence of the reelection of the single black incumbent and the victories of 4 new black candidates.

This section will examine some of the general features of the voting in the aldermanic elections and the specific features of a few contests of particular significance. The results of all elections are in Appendix A, along with an indication of the kind of support each candidate received from the various groups of voters. In Atlanta, the board of aldermen is made up of two members from each of the nine wards. Although a member must reside in the ward from which he runs, election is based on a city-wide vote.

There were 8 elections in which all the candidates were white. In these elections the white and black communities generally tended to support the same candidate. Only in the election won by Wade T. Mitchell did blacks and whites exhibit strong opposition to one another in their choice of candidates. In that contest, most whites voted for Mitchell, while a large majority of black voters supported an opposition candidate. Except for the two elections won by Hugh Pierce

and Wyche Fowler, the remaining winners polled a majority from whites and blacks. Pierce and Fowler were the leading candidates in the black community, but they received only a narrow plurality from black voters. Although George T. Cotsakis, Richard G. Freeman, Cecil Turner, and W. T. Knight were supported by a majority of blacks and whites, in 3 of these contests the support of blacks was not as heavy as that of whites. Turner, on the other hand, received a substantially larger majority from blacks than from whites.

The different groups of white voters exhibited some variation in their voting in these elections. In all the elections just described, each group gave the winner a majority, but there were sometimes considerable differences in the size of the majority. In 2 contests, Southside whites gave the winner more support than voters in the Northside, while in 5 contests, the Northside support was heavier. The differences in the level of support ranged from 6 to 26 percentage points.

Two aldermanic elections had only black candidates, and in these contests, like the all-white elections, both blacks and whites tended to support the same candidate. Q. V. Williamson polled a substantial majority among every group of voters except Southside whites, and there he missed 50 per cent by only a fraction of a point. Joel C. Stokes, the other winner, barely avoided a run-off with 50.5 per cent of the total vote. He was the front-runner among every group of voters, but he received a majority only from Northside whites. In both con-

tests, the proportion of Northside votes received by the winner was higher than that received from black voters. Stokes also received heavier support from Other whites than from blacks. Although both candidates were the front-runners among Southside whites, their support among these voters was almost 30 percentage points below that received in the Northside. The support from Other whites ranged between the levels of the Northside and Southside.

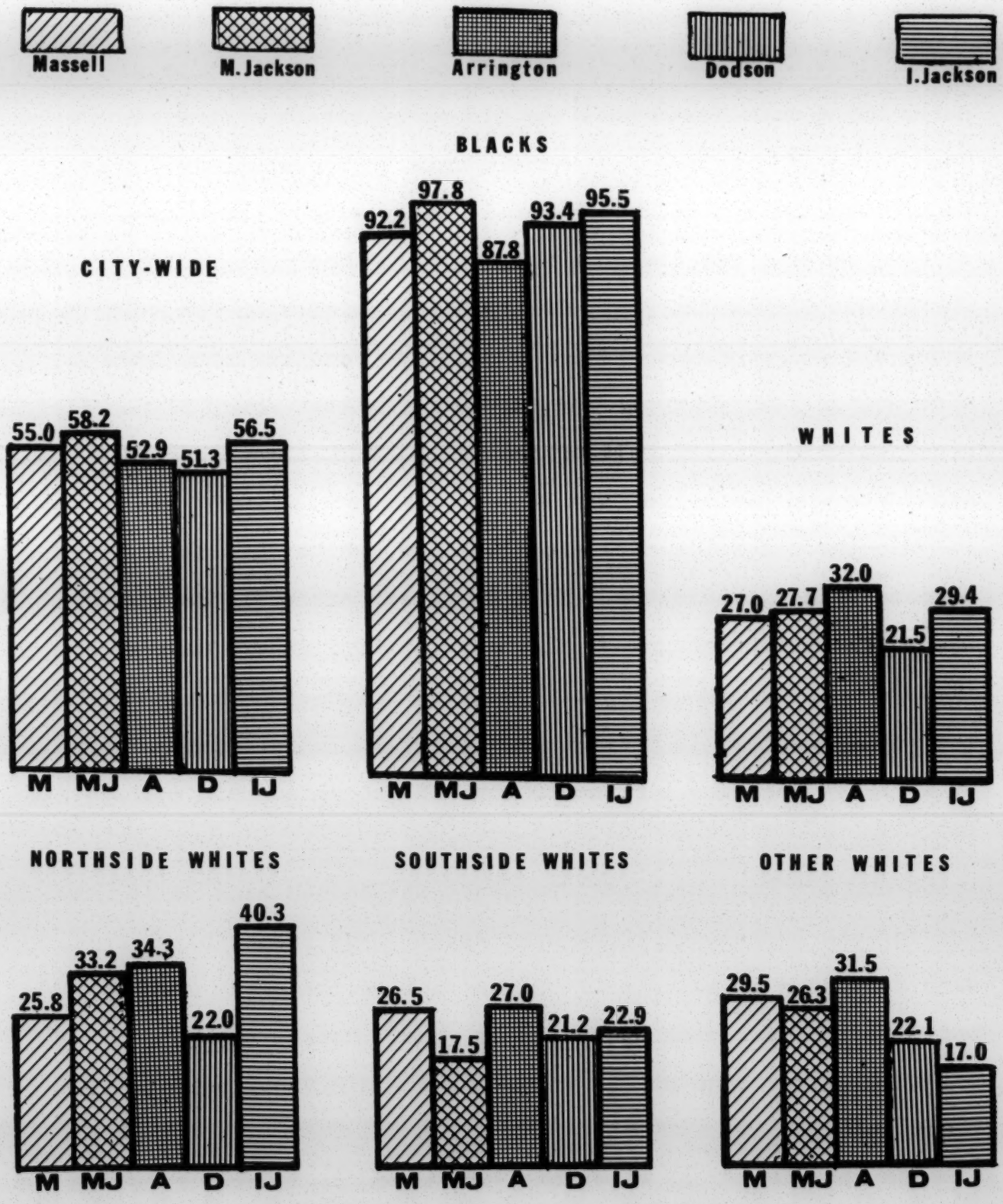
The 8 remaining aldermanic elections involved both white and black candidates. Five of these were won by whites and 3 by blacks. In these elections, there were substantial differences between black and white voters in their support of candidates.

It was stated at the beginning of this report that some members of the board of aldermen were elected by essentially the same group of voters who brought victory to the mayor and vice-mayor. This statement referred to the 3 black candidates -- Marvin Arrington, H. D. Dodson, and Ira Jackson -- who defeated white opponents. The vote they received was not identical to that of Massell or Maynard Jackson, nor was it the same among themselves. Nevertheless, there was considerable similarity in the composition of the support each of these candidates received. The victories of all 5 of them were based on almost solid support from the black community and between 21 per cent and 32 per cent of the white vote.

All 3 of these aldermen were elected in run-off elections, and the discussion here will refer to these votes. (The results of the first ballot can be seen in Appendix A.) The support they received in the run-offs, along with Massell's October 21 and Maynard Jackson's October 7 performances, is shown in Figure 5. A comparison of the support received by these several candidates must be made with caution, of course. Since the number of voters in each election was not the same, the percentages being used in Figure 5 do not all have the same base. Thus, identical percentages do not represent the same number of votes when a larger number of people voted in one election than in another. For example, Massell and Arrington received almost the same percentage in the Southside, but Massell received more votes from this group because the turnout in his election was almost 49 per cent compared to a turnout of about 36 per cent in Arrington's contest. It is theoretically possible, of course, that the people voting for one of these candidates were not the same as those who voted for another of the candidates, but this is not thought to be likely.

Arrington was the only one of this group who received less than 90 per cent of the black vote, but he was not far below this level. Both Arrington and Ira Jackson received the support of almost one-third of the white community. Dodson, who ran against an incumbent, obtained a lower level of white support, but this still amounted to slightly over

Figure 5: Proportion of the Vote Received from Different Groups of Voters by Arrington, Dodson, I. Jackson, and Massell on October 21 and M. Jackson on October 7 (in Percentages).



one-fifth of the white votes. Dodson's lower proportion of the white vote was due mainly to the relatively light support he obtained in the Northside. Unlike the other black candidates being considered here, he did no better in this area than among other groups of white voters. Ira Jackson's support in the Northside was particularly strong, amounting to over 40 per cent, but his proportion of the votes of Other whites was rather low, only 17 per cent. Arrington ran well among all white groups and the support he received from Southside whites, 27 per cent, and from Other whites, over 31 per cent, was higher than that of any other black aldermanic candidate who had white opposition.

In the other 5 aldermanic elections, white candidates defeated black candidates. In 4 of these contests, the winner was an incumbent and won on the first ballot. There was no incumbent in the remaining contest, and a run-off was required. The voting pattern in this run-off election, which was won by R. A. Petree, was similar to that in the aldermanic elections described above. The significant difference was that white support for the black candidate was not as high as it was for the successful black candidates. The losing black candidate here received over 90 per cent of the black vote, but only 18.6 per cent of the white vote. Petree thus received 81.4 per cent of the white votes and 8.9 per cent of the black votes.

In the other four elections, the black candidates received

a smaller proportion of both the black and white vote than did the black candidates who were discussed above. Black support for the black candidates in these contests ranged from 68 to 80 per cent, and white support for them ranged from 5 to 16 per cent. The successful white candidates received the following support: E. Gregory Griggs, 76.5 per cent from whites and 14.1 per cent from blacks; John M. Flanigen, 89.1 per cent from whites and 26.5 per cent from blacks; Charles Leftwich, 77.6 per cent from whites and 16.3 per cent from blacks; and Jack Summers, 73.5 per cent from whites and 29.6 per cent from blacks. All of these candidates except Summers received heavier support in the Northside than in the Southside.

Turnout*

Not as many people voted in the aldermanic elections as in the mayoralty and vice-mayoralty elections. The drop-off was greater among blacks than among whites. Whereas blacks had a higher turnout rate in voting for mayor and vice-mayor, whites participated more heavily in most cases in the balloting for aldermen.

As Table 11 shows, if the turnout for all October 7 aldermanic races are averaged together, the percentage of

---

*The term "turnout" will be used to refer to the percentage of registered voters who cast ballots in each particular election. Because some voters cast ballots in some elections and not in others, the "turnout" will vary.

blacks voting in these elections was only 28.4 per cent*, a reduction of 23.1 points from their rate of participation in the October 7 mayoralty election. The corresponding figure for whites is 34.3 per cent turnout for aldermen, a reduction of 12.1 points from the percentage voting in the first mayoralty election. In the October 21 run-offs for positions on the board of aldermen, the turnout rates were considerably higher among both blacks and whites and closer to one another.

TABLE 11

LEVELS OF TURNOUT AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS IN ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS: PERCENTAGES OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN EACH GROUP WHO CAST BALLOTS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 AND 21

	Percentage of Registered Voters Casting Ballots in:					
	All Elections Combined		Elections With Black & White Candidates		Elections With Only Black Candidates	Elections With Only White Candidates
	Oct.7 (N=17)	Oct.21 (N=4)	Oct.7 (N=8)	Oct.21 (N=4)	Oct. 7 (N=2)	Oct. 7 (N=7)
City-wide	29.7	39.8	29.9	39.8	31.4	29.1
Black	28.4	41.4	28.8	41.4	36.4	25.7
White	34.3	43.0	34.0	43.0	32.2	35.3
Northside	39.2	45.8	38.1	45.8	37.2	40.5
Southside	27.3	37.4	27.9	37.4	24.5	27.6
Other	31.8	41.6	31.9	41.6	29.5	32.4

*These turnout figures refer only to those voters who were in precincts that are 90 per cent or more black or white. The turnout rate for all blacks or for all whites was probably somewhat lower than these figures. See the discussion on turnout in the section on the mayor's election.

The proportion of blacks voting rose to 41.4 per cent and that of whites to 43 per cent. Compared to the turnout for mayor on October 21, this was a reduction of 14.9 percentage points for blacks and 11.1 points for whites.

Only in the aldermanic contests in which all the candidates were black was the turnout of blacks higher than whites. This was not so much the result of a decline in the number of whites voting, although there was a slight drop-off, as it was the result of a substantial increase in the number of blacks casting ballots in these elections. In contests where all the candidates were white, white participation was slightly above that in other elections, while the black turnout dropped to its lowest point, just slightly more than one-fourth of the registered voters.

For those elections where both black and white candidates were involved, the average turnout for black and white voters was between the levels for all-black and all-white contests. Whites voted more heavily in the mixed contests than in all-black elections, while more blacks participated in mixed contests than in all-white ones. There was considerable variation in the black turnout for mixed elections; the percentage of voters participating ranged from 24.5 to 35.7.

Just as in the elections examined in earlier sections, the turnout rate varied among the different groups of white voters. On October 7, participation by Northside whites continued to be highest at 39.2 per cent, with Other whites second

at 31.8 per cent, and Southside whites lowest at 27.3 per cent. The reduction from the percentage voting for mayor on October 7 was about the same for all these groups, just over 13 points in the Northside and Southside and just under 12 points among Other whites. On October 21 the turnout rates of these groups remained in the same order, but the differences between them were narrowed considerably. This resulted from a larger increase in the percentage of Southside and Other whites voting. All three groups followed approximately the same pattern in their participation in different types of contests; slightly fewer voted in all-black contests and slightly more in all-white contests.

In the sample of white precincts with the highest socio-economic status, the turnout in aldermanic elections was 45.5 per cent on October 7 and 53.4 per cent on October 21. This was several points higher than the turnout in the Northside as a whole on both occasions. In the sample of low status white precincts, the turnout was 23.5 per cent on the first date and 33.1 per cent on the second date. These figures are below the turnout rate for the entire Southside.

There was a similar disparity between the participation rates of black precincts of high and low socio-economic rank. On October 7, 35.8 per cent of the registration in the sample of high status black precincts voted, compared to only 18.9 per cent in the sample of low-ranking black precincts. There was a substantial increase in the rate of participation in the

run-off elections, a rise to 51.4 per cent in the top-ranking black precincts and to 31.3 per cent in the low status ones. Thus, in the second election, there was little difference between the turnout in the high-ranking white precincts and the high-ranking black precincts or between low status white precincts and low status black ones, although on October 7 the black precincts were considerably below their white counterparts.

VII. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS

The voting patterns in each individual board of education election can be seen in Appendix A. The board of education is composed of one member from each of the 9 wards plus 1 at-large member. The entire city votes for all positions, although candidates for the ward seats must live in the ward from which they run.

The 1969 election brought 5 new members to the 10-man board of education. Seven incumbents ran for re-election, but 2 of them were defeated. As was true for the board of aldermen, the election resulted in more black members than before, the number increasing from 2 to 3. One black incumbent did not seek to retain his seat; thus 2 of the 3 blacks elected were new members.

While none of these elections exhibited the same pattern of voting that elected the mayor, vice-mayor, and 3 of the black aldermen, there were 3 contests that had some similarities. Victory in these 3 elections was based on a substantial majority in the black community combined with a sizable minority of the white votes. In these elections, the black support for the winner was somewhat lower and the white support somewhat higher than in the "coalition" of voters which elected Massell, M. Jackson, Arrington, I. Jackson, and Dodson.

All of the candidates in these 3 board of education

elections were white. Two of them won in run-offs. Howard E. Klein, who won on the first ballot on October 7, received the largest percentage of black votes (79.4 per cent) and the smallest proportion of the white vote (36.8 per cent). June Cofer's black support in the run-off amounted to 78.6 per cent and her white support was 42.3 per cent. On October 21 Jerry Luxemburger's proportion of the black vote was the lowest of the three at 64.9 per cent, but his percentage of the white votes was highest at 44.7 per cent. With the exception of Luxemburger, these candidates received approximately the same level of support from each group of white voters. Luxemburger's support from Southside and Other whites was similar to Cofer's and Klein's, but Luxemburger was backed by a majority of the voters in the Northside.

There were two other contests in which all the candidates were white. Both of these were two-man races and were decided on October 7. In one of these, W. Tom Beebe won almost identical majorities from both black and white voters, 64 per cent of the blacks and 65.4 per cent from the whites. In the other election, Fred M. Shell received a majority from both blacks and whites, but there was a substantial difference in the proportions. Blacks gave him 52.1 per cent of their votes, compared to 79.7 per cent from whites. Both of these candidates were supported by majorities from all white groups, although Beebe's were at a lower level. In both cases, the proportion of Northside votes given to the winner was around 13 percentage points higher than Southside support.

In only one election were all the candidates black. Asa C. Yancey won this race on the first ballot over two opponents. He received majorities from all groups, and his proportion of the white vote (74 per cent) was slightly higher than the percentage he received from blacks (72.9 per cent). Although all white groups gave him a majority of their votes, Southside support was almost 30 percentage points below Northside support.

Four elections included both black and white candidates. In 2 of these contests, which were won by blacks, victory was based on a majority among both black and white voters. Benjamin E. Mays, running against 1 white and 1 black opponent, polled 82.9 per cent of the black vote and 56.4 per cent of the white vote to win on the first ballot. The second successful black candidate was J. A. Middleton, who defeated two white opponents on October 7. His support was 90.8 per cent in the black community and 51.5 per cent in the white community. Both men received majorities from Northside whites and very close to majorities from Other whites, but both of them ran second to white opponents in the Southside.

In the two elections in which whites defeated blacks, the winner's base of support consisted of a strong majority from white voters and about one-fourth of the black voters. Ann Woodward, whose victory came on the first ballot, received 71.4 per cent of the votes in the white community and 25.5 per

cent of the votes in the black community. A run-off was required in the other election, won by Bill C. Wainwright. His support from whites in the run-off amounted to 85.6 per cent and his support among blacks came to 25.7 per cent. All the white groups gave him about the same level of support. Woodward's support was higher in the Northside than elsewhere.

Turnout

The number of people who voted in the board of education elections on October 7 was not quite as high as for the aldermanic elections, but the difference was slight. The same was true for October 21, except for Northside whites, who voted more heavily for school board members than for aldermen on this date. The turnout rate of the different categories of voters on October 7 followed the same pattern as in the aldermanic elections; the largest turnout was among Northside whites, followed in descending order by Other whites, blacks, and Southside whites, as Table 12 shows.

The number of blacks who voted varied considerably with different elections. The turnout was highest, 39.5 per cent for the election in which Mays won over a white and a black opponent. The next largest number, 36.3 per cent, voted in the all-black contest won by Yancey. In the other election in which a black, Middleton, defeated white opponents, the turnout was 31.6 per cent. In the two contests in which white candidates, Wainwright and Woodward, successfully ran against blacks, the respective percentages of eligible black voters

who cast ballots were 26.4 and 22. Under 25 per cent of the blacks voted in any of the elections which had only white candidates.

TABLE 12

LEVELS OF TURNOUT AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS IN BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS: PERCENTAGES OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN EACH GROUP WHO CAST BALLOTS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 and 21

	Percentage of Registered Voters Casting Ballots in:						
	All Elections Combined		Elections With Black & White Candidates		Elections With Only Black Candidates	Elections With Only White Candidates	
	Oct. 7 (N=10)	Oct. 21 (N=3)	Oct. 7 (N=4)	Oct. 21 (N=1)	Oct.7 (N=1)	Oct.7 (N=5)	Oct.21 (N=2)
City-wide	28.0	38.0	29.2	37.3	30.4	26.7	38.4
Black	27.3	34.7	29.5	32.0	36.3	23.5	36.1
White	32.3	44.6	32.4	44.0	30.4	32.5	44.9
Northside	37.1	50.4	37.2	50.2	35.3	37.3	50.5
Southside	24.7	37.2	24.7	37.8	22.6	25.1	36.9
Other	29.5	41.6	29.8	42.0	27.8	29.6	41.4

There was not so much variation in the number of whites who voted in these elections. The turnout ranged only from 30.4 per cent to 35.4 per cent. The nature of the candidates involved seemed to have little effect on the turnout. A slight exception was that the turnout of each group of white voters for the all-black contest was at or near the bottom of the range.

On October 7, the sample of black precincts with high socio-economic status exhibited an average turnout of 35 per cent compared to an average turnout of 17.5 per cent in the low status black precincts. These figures rose to 43.9 per cent and 24.8 per cent on October 21. In the samples of white precincts, an average of 43.7 per cent of the high status whites and 21.6 per cent of the low status whites cast ballots on October 7. In the run-offs these averages were 57.9 per cent and 32.9 per cent. Whereas the differences in turnout in aldermanic races between the corresponding black and white samples was almost removed in the run-offs, in the board of education elections the differences exhibited on October 7 were not overcome on October 21.

VIII. BLOC VOTING AND RACIAL POLARIZATION

Throughout this study, comparisons have been made between the voting of blacks and whites, and comments have been made about the influence of one group or the other on the outcome of an election. In this section, the overall results of the 1969 elections will be examined, so that the voting behavior of blacks and whites in relation to one another can be placed in better perspective. How often were most whites and most blacks on opposite sides of these electoral contests? How cohesive were these groups in their candidate support? To what extent was one racial group willing to vote against a candidate of their own race for a candidate of the opposite race?

There were 30 offices to be filled in the 1969 city elections: mayor, vice-mayor, 18 positions on the board of aldermen, and 10 positions on the board of education. Since 1 incumbent was unopposed, there were only 29 contests on October 7.

In 10 of the 29 elections, the black and white communities voted similarly, each giving a majority of their support to the same candidate. In 3 more contests, the winner received a plurality from black voters and a majority from white voters. Of course, as earlier sections have described, there were sometimes considerable differences in the size of the majority given by blacks and whites in a particular election. These 13 contests included 2 with both

black and white candidates, 8 with white candidates only, and 3 with all black candidates.

Thus there were 16 other elections in which black and white voters exhibited substantial opposition to one another. In these elections, a majority of one racial group supported the winner, and the other racial group gave either a majority or a plurality to an opposition candidate. Half of these contests were settled on October 7, and the other half on October 21.

In the 8 contests decided on the first ballot, white voters were on the winning side 6 times. On October 21, the black-supported candidates were successful in 6 of the 8 elections. With the exception of Massell, the candidate receiving the majority of a group's support in a run-off election was also the leading vote-getter among that group on the first ballot. Massell ran second to Tate among blacks on October 7 but in the run-off against Cook, Massell received an overwhelming majority of the black vote. (Exact comparisons of a candidate's support on the two dates can be made by consulting Table 13).

An examination of the final outcome of all 16 elections in which most white and most black voters were on opposite sides in their support of candidates shows that the white voters' choice was victorious in 8 elections and the candidate with black support won in 8 elections. All 8 of the candidates successfully supported by whites were white, but only 4 of the candidates who won with black support were black.

In terms of offices, the black vote was primarily responsible either on October 7 or October 21 for the election of mayor, vice-mayor, 3 aldermen, and 3 members of the school board. In these elections, a majority of black voters supported the winner and a majority of white voters backed the loser. White voters were likewise decisive in the election of 6 aldermen and 2 school board members. Black and white voters jointly elected 9 members of the board of aldermen and 5 members of the board of education.

While it was true that most whites were on the losing side in 8 elections, a somewhat different picture emerges when whites are divided into groups. Northside whites gave a majority of their vote to a losing candidate in only 7 elections. Southside whites, however, supported a losing candidate 10 times, and in 3 other elections, they gave only a plurality to the winner. There were 8 instances when Other whites supported a loser, and 3 other times when they gave the winner only a plurality.

The next question is concerned with how much solidarity blacks and whites displayed in their voting. This discussion will not deal with the question of why a group voted as a bloc, although, of course, this would be a crucial consideration if one were going to pass judgment on such behavior. The examination here will simply measure the degree of cohesion each racial group exhibited in their voting and indicate something about the nature and outcome of the elections in which such

cohesion was shown.

Table 13 shows in descending order the percentage of the vote received by the leading candidate among blacks and whites in each election. This table also indicates how the opposite racial group voted in each election, as well as the race of each candidate and which candidate was victorious. Since the turnout varied in these elections, these percentages can only be used as a measure of the solidarity among those in a group who actually cast ballots in each particular contest.

Any attempt to talk about a "bloc vote" immediately encounters the problem of how one is to define this phenomenon. One must specify what degree of solidarity is to be described as a "bloc vote," and by choosing different levels, quite different conclusions can be reached about the tendencies of blacks and whites to vote in this manner.

If the level is set at 70 per cent, then blacks and whites each "bloc voted" 12 times October 7. Whites were far more successful in this voting than blacks. Eleven of the white-supported candidates won outright victories and the remaining candidate obtained a place in the run-off. Only 6 of the candidates supported by blacks won on the first ballot, and 1 other candidate gained a position in the run-off.

On October 21, black support for a candidate exceeded 70 per cent in all 8 of the contests. The white vote was above this level in 5 of the elections. On this date blacks were more successful. Six of the 8 candidates with black support won, compared to only 2 of the candidates who received over 70 per cent of the white votes.

TABLE 13

VOTER COHESION AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES: PERCENTAGE OF VOTE RECEIVED BY CANDIDATE WHO WAS THE LEADING VOTE-GETTER AMONG BLACK AND WHITE VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION

Column 1 = Percentage of voters who supported listed candidate.
" 2 = * indicates victory; - indicates place in run-off.
" 3 = Name of the candidate.
" 4 = Race of candidate: B=Black, W=White.
" 5 = Percentage of vote received by candidate who led among opposite racial group. "Same" indicates that same candidate led among both groups.
" 6 = Race of candidate who led among opposite racial group.

October 7

Black Voters						White Voters					
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
97.8	*	M. Jackson	B	(68.3-W)		89.1	*	Flanigen	W	(73.5-B)	
90.8	*	Middleton	B	(same-51.5)		89.1	*	Freeman	W	(same-54.0)	
88.0	-	Dodson	B	(76.9-W)		79.7	*	Shell	W	(same-52.1)	
85.4	*	Turner	W	(same-65.1)		77.6	*	Leftwich	W	(69.0-B)	
82.9	*	Mays	B	(same-56.4)		76.9	-	Dennis	W	(88.0-B)	
80.1		Reed	W	(74.7-W)		76.5	*	Griggs	W	(44.5-B)	
80.1	-	Finley	B	(48.2-W)		74.7	*	Mitchell	W	(80.1-W)	
79.4	*	Klein	W	(50.8-W)		74.5	*	Fowler	W	(same-47.4)	
74.6	-	Arrington	B	(43.3-W)		74.0	*	Yancey	B	(same-72.9)	
74.5		D. Jackson	B	(71.4-W)		73.5	*	Summers	W	(68.4-B)	
73.5		Doe	B	(89.1-W)		72.6	*	Cotsakis	W	(same-58.1)	
72.9	*	Yancey	B	(same-74.0)		71.4	*	Woodward	W	(74.5-B)	
69.6	-	Cofer	W	(54.9-W)		68.6	*	Williamson	B	(same-62.6)	
69.0		Watley	B	(77.6-W)		68.3		Farris	W	(97.8-B)	
68.4		Canty	B	(73.5-W)		65.4	*	Beebe	W	(same-64.0)	
64.9	-	Luxemburger	W	(44.8-W)		65.3	*	Pierce	W	(same-39.0)	
64.0	*	Beebe	W	(same-65.4)		65.1	*	Turner	W	(same-85.4)	
62.6	*	Williamson	B	(same-68.6)		60.4	-	Wainwright	W	(59.5-B)	
59.5	-	Hunter	B	(60.4-W)		60.0	*	Knight	W	(same-55.9)	
58.1	*	Cotsakis	W	(same-72.6)		58.3	*	Stokes	B	(same-44.8)	
55.9	*	Knight	W	(same-60.0)		56.4	*	Mays	B	(same-82.9)	

TABLE 13 - Continued

October 7
(continued)

Black Voters					White Voters				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) (6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) (6)
54.0	*	Freeman	W	(same-60.0)	54.9	-	Cox	W	(69.6-W)
52.1	*	Shell	W	(same-79.7)	51.5	*	Middleton	B	(same-90.8)
49.0		Tate	B	(44.8-W)	50.8		Schilling	W	(79.4-W)
48.6	-	I. Jackson	B	(35.0-W)	48.2	-	Petree	W	(80.1-B)
47.4	*	Fowler	W	(same-74.5)	44.8	-	Cook	W	(49.0-B)
44.8	*	Stokes	B	(same-58.3)	44.8		Allen	W	(64.9-W)
44.5		Matthews	B	(76.5-W)	43.3	-	Irwin	W	(74.6-B)
39.0	*	Pierce	W	(same-65.3)	35.0	-	Mundy	W	(48.6-B)

October 21

95.5	*	I. Jackson	B	(70.6-W)	85.6	*	Wainwright	W	(74.3-B)
93.5	*	Dodson	B	(78.5-W)	81.4	*	Petree	W	(91.1-B)
92.2	*	Massell	W	(73.0-W)	78.5		Dennis	W	(93.5-B)
91.1		Finley	B	(81.4-W)	73.0		Cook	W	(92.2-W)
87.8	*	Arrington	B	(67.9-W)	70.6		Mundy	W	(95.5-B)
78.6	*	Cofer	W	(57.7-W)	67.9		Irvin	W	(87.8-B)
74.3		Hunter	B	(85.6-W)	57.7		Cox	W	(78.6-W)
73.9	*	Luxemburger	W	(51.9-W)	51.9		Allen	W	(73.9-W)

All these percentages are based on the results in precincts in which 90 per cent or more of the registered voters are either white or black.

As suggested earlier, black voters were more likely to give heavy support to white candidates than vice versa. With one exception, all the candidates who received 70 per cent or more of the white vote were white. Black voters gave this level of support on either October 7 or 21 to 6 white candidates.

If the level is moved up to 80 per cent, then blacks showed a much greater tendency than whites to "bloc vote." In the first

election, black voters displayed this degree of solidarity 7 times and whites only twice. In the run-offs, 5 candidates received 80 per cent or more of the black vote, and only 2 candidates received this level of support from whites.

There were 5 instances on either October 7 or 21 when the black support for a candidate exceeded 90 per cent. The greatest solidarity whites exhibited was 89.1 per cent, and this occurred only twice.

In some elections, one racial group would vote with great unity, while in the same contest, the other group would exhibit a much lower degree of cohesiveness. But in a number of contests, both groups voted heavily for opposing candidates. On October 7, there were 4 elections in which blacks gave 70 per cent or more of their votes to 1 candidate, and whites gave 70 per cent or more of their votes to an opposition candidate. (If the measure is dropped to 68 per cent or more, then there were 7 elections on October 7 in which the 2 groups of voters opposed one another with this degree of solidarity.) In 1 election, the same candidate obtained over 70 per cent from both groups. On October 21, in 5 of the 8 elections, whites and blacks gave over 70 per cent of their respective support to opposing candidates.

As a final consideration, a look will be taken at some of the situations which revealed the opposite tendency from racial polarization. In some elections which involved a contest between black and white candidates, one can see a willingness

among some black and white voters to support a candidate of the opposite race. There were 14 elections on October 7 in which black and white candidates competed with one another. As Table 14 shows, whites gave over 10 per cent of their votes to 1 or more black candidates in 11 of these contests. Black voters supported white candidates in this manner in 10 of the elections. The support given to candidates of the opposite race exceeded 25 per cent 6 times among each group of voters. In 2 instances among white voters and once among blacks this support was over 50 per cent.

On October 21, there were 5 elections which pitted black candidates against white opponents. The support the 5 black candidates received from white voters ranged from 14.4 per cent to 32.1 per cent. Only 2 white candidates received over 10 per cent of the black vote, 25.7 per cent in 1 instance, and 12.1 per cent in the other.

As the preceding discussion indicates, the 1969 elections displayed a variety of voting behavior. There was "bloc voting" in some contests, and in others, the various groups of voters revealed deep divisions of opinion among themselves. There were instances of polarization of blacks and whites in their choice of candidates, but there were also instances in which both groups were in substantial agreement with one another. And there were still other situations where black and white voters chose not to support a candidate of their own race, but instead showed their preference for a candidate of the opposite race.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF VOTE GIVEN BY VOTERS OF ONE RACIAL GROUP TO CANDIDATES OF THE OTHER RACIAL GROUP

October 7

Black Voters-White Candidates	White Voters-Black Candidates
Per Cent	Per Cent
51.0 - Massell, 44.2; Cook, 5.5; Millican, .4.	62.1 - Mays, 56.4; C. Jackson, 5.7.
40.5 - Wainwright, 16.5; Conrad, 12.6; Hicks, 7.5; Keys, 3.9.	51.5 - Middleton
31.6 - Summers, 29.6; Belluso, 2.0.	35.7 - I. Jackson, 24.5; Patrick, 5.3; Smith, 2.4; Ware, 1.2; Daniels, 2.3.
26.5 - Flanigen	
25.5 - Woodward	28.6 - D. Jackson
25.3 - Pierce, 10.2; Irvin, 9.5; Coppeak, 3.1; Swetlitz, 2.5.	27.7 - M. Jackson
	27.3 - Arrington
21.0 - Leftwich, 16.3; Jones, 10.4; Flournoy, 4.3.	18.3 - Dodson
19.9 - Monti, 10.0; Petree, 9.9.	16.2 - Canty
19.4 - Griggs, 14.1; Kennebrew, 5.3.	15.8 - Matthews, 8.5; Curington, 7.3.
12.0 - Dennis, 8.9; Beeks, 3.1.	13.9 - Finley
	10.9 - Doe

October 21

25.7 - Wainwright	32.1 - Arrington
12.1 - Irvin	29.4 - I. Jackson
	21.5 - Dodson
	18.6 - Finley
	14.4 - Hunter

(Only those contests where the percentage was over 10 per cent are included.)

IX. CONCLUSION

Further elections will reveal which features of the 1969 elections represented new trends, which were remnants of a past era, and which were transitional steps toward a new politics, the character of which is not yet determined. Nevertheless, it is clear that 1969 was a turning point in Atlanta politics. The traditional form of politics was disrupted and new patterns of voting emerged. Even if in future elections there should be another alliance between blacks and upper-middle class whites superficially resembling that which existed prior to 1969, the black influence in deciding the course of action for such an alliance would almost certainly be far greater than in the past. This arrangement, of course, is only one of several possibilities for future politics in Atlanta.

Because of the significance of the 1969 elections, it is important to understand as well as possible what actually happened in this year, and perhaps it is equally important to understand what did not happen. It is hoped that the exposition in the preceding sections and the data presented in the appendixes will provide an adequate basis for such understanding. There are a few points, however, which merit further attention in this final section. The matters to be discussed here are by no means the only ones of importance in these elections, but they have been the subject of considerable confusion, judging from some of the comments heard in Atlanta after the election.

The most significant developments of the 1969 elections were: (1) the break-up of the traditional alliance between blacks and northside whites; (2) the success of blacks along with a minority of whites in determining the outcome of a number of elections, including those of mayor and vice-mayor; and (3) the increase in the number of black candidates who were elected. These events should not, however, be interpreted to mean that blacks took control of the city government, or that they displayed a narrow racist orientation in their voting behavior.

Without even considering the question of how much any official is "controlled" by those who voted him into office, the contention that blacks gained control of the city is clearly fallacious. In some elections, the black vote was decisive in electing their preferred candidate over the opposition of most white voters, but this was not true in most elections. Fifteen of 18 aldermanic and 7 of 10 school board elections were not decided in this fashion. In a number of instances, candidates with heavy black support lost, and in other elections, the winner was the leading candidate among both blacks and whites.

Altogether there were 9 blacks among the 30 officials selected in these elections. Blacks, therefore, now occupy 30 per cent of the elective offices in a city in which their proportion of the population is 49 per cent. In addition to this, 4 white candidates were elected by a majority of the

black vote over the opposition of a majority of white voters. There is no question that the influence of blacks on these elections, and presumably thereby on the future operation of city government, was greater than in the past. But the results of the 1969 elections could hardly be labelled a black take-over.

Although there was a three-fold increase in the number of blacks elected to office in 1969, this was not the result of black voters displaying a single-minded determination to elect black candidates whenever possible. It is true that in several elections, black voters gave almost all their support to a black candidate running against a white candidate. But it is also true that in other instances a considerable number of blacks gave their support to the white opponent of a black candidate. The same thing was true of white voters. Sometimes they gave almost all their support to a white candidate who had black opposition, and at other times a signficant proportion of the white voters bypassed the candidate of their own race and supported a black candidate. Although there are some differences in the number of times white and black voters behaved in these ways, the differences are not great. One cannot credit or blame one group of voters for this kind of voting behavior without extending basically the same judgment to the other group.

In the mayor's election alone, the voting behavior of blacks provided considerable evidence to discredit any allega-

tion of racism in their support of candidates. If blacks were mainly interested in electing black candidates, surely they would have demonstrated this in the election of the single most important official in the city government. But instead of voting solidly October 7 for the black candidate for mayor, slightly over half of the black voters gave their support to white candidates.

Another concern expressed by some people was over the question of bloc voting by blacks. In fact, whites also bloc voted on occasion. But there were many other instances when each group exhibited considerable division among its members over whom to support. While blacks showed a somewhat greater tendency than whites to bloc vote, blacks also demonstrated a greater tendency than whites to give such a vote to a candidate of the opposite race. Furthermore, bloc voting is sometimes a rational form of political behavior, especially when the choice of candidates involves an issue of overriding importance to all members of a group. Thus a concern about bloc voting in Atlanta should carry with that concern an awareness that all groups of voters sometimes vote in this manner, as well as the reasons why a group acts this way.

In none of the foregoing discussion was there an intention to imply judgments about the wisdom of any of the actions described. It is not the purpose of this study to suggest that one candidate was more deserving than another, nor to suggest that the behavior of one group of voters was more rational or

praiseworthy than any other group. Instead, it is hoped that this study will provide the basis for making more accurate interpretations of the 1969 elections and will thereby help to avoid the formation of attitudes based on erroneous impressions of what happened in these elections.

: - :

APPENDIX A

RESULTS OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN AND BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 AND OCTOBER 21

-- The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of registered voters who cast ballots.
-- Except for the city-wide total votes column, all other figures are percentages.
-- Race of candidate: B=black; W=white.
-- *=candidate was incumbent.

Board of Aldermen

Ward 1, Position 1	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(40.2)	(43.1)	(42.4)	(44.0)	(37.7)	(41.5)
Dodson (B)	51.3-44,294	93.5	21.5	22.0	21.2	22.1
Dennis*(W)	48.7-42,084	6.5	78.5	88.0	88.8	87.9
October 7	(31.7)	(33.0)	(34.4)			
Dodson (B)	46.3-31,604	88.0	18.3			
Dennis*(W)	49.2-33,614	8.9	76.9			
Beeks (W)	4.5- 3,048	3.1	4.8			
Ward 1, Position 2						
October 7	(30.8)	(30.2)	(34.3)	(38.5)	(27.9)	(32.0)
Griggs* (W)	51.7-34,199	14.1	76.5	79.8	71.0	73.8
Kennebrew (W)	7.1- 4,663	5.3	7.7	6.6	10.4	8.4
Curington (B)	18.8-12,433	36.1	7.3	6.2	10.0	7.7
Mathews (B)	22.4-14,837	44.5	8.5	7.4	8.6	10.1
Ward 2, Position 1						
October 21	(38.3)	(38.1)	(42.6)	(46.3)	(37.3)	(40.5)
Petree (W)	52.8-43,530	8.9	81.4	82.9	76.8	81.3
Finley (B)	47.2-38,923	91.1	18.6	17.1	23.2	18.7
October 7	(28.4)	(26.7)	(32.8)			
Petree (W)	34.6-21,140	9.9	48.2			
Finley (B)	38.4-23,510	80.1	13.9			
Monti (W)	27.0-16,499	10.0	37.9			

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 2, Position 2	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 7	(27.1)	(24.5)	(32.0)	(36.5)	(25.1)	(29.6)
Flanigen* (W)	66.6-38,836	26.5	89.1	90.2	87.3	87.9
Doe (B)	33.4-19,510	73.5	10.9	9.8	12.7	12.1
Ward 3, Position 1						
October 7	(33.1)	(38.9)	(33.3)	(38.5)	(25.4)	(30.4)
Williamson* (B)	64.0-45,519	62.6	68.6	77.8	49.4	60.8
Hunter (B)	20.2-14,388	34.3	8.0	6.8	10.6	9.0
Follette (B)	15.8-11,212	3.1	23.4	15.4	40.0	30.2
Ward 3, Position 2						
October 7	(29.8)	(33.9)	(31.1)	(35.9)	(23.6)	(28.4)
Stokes (B)	50.5-32,320	44.8	58.3	68.1	38.6	49.6
McKinney (B)	25.0-16,038	37.3	14.2	10.0	24.5	16.9
Amos (B)	12.3- 7,848	11.6	12.4	9.8	15.6	15.6
Dobbs (B)	12.2- 7,840	6.3	15.1	12.1	21.3	17.9
Ward 4, Position 1						
October 7	(29.1)	(26.3)	(34.3)	(37.7)	(30.2)	(31.6)
Pierce* (W)	54.5-34,111	39.0	65.3	71.9	55.2	59.4
Tumlin (W)	14.1- 8,859	31.4	5.2	4.3	7.4	5.4
Barnes (W)	12.6- 7,884	6.3	14.4	10.9	19.4	17.8
Others (W)	18.8-11,766	23.3	15.1	12.9	18.0	17.4
Ward 4, Position 2						
October 7	(30.1)	(25.5)	(36.6)	(40.4)	(32.3)	(33.4)
Leftwich* (W)	56.6-36,588	16.3	77.6	81.6	69.5	75.2
Watley (B)	26.2-16,915	69.0	5.5	5.5	3.7	6.6
Jones (W)	11.0- 7,117	10.4	10.2	-	-	-
Flournoy (W)	6.2- 4,052	4.3	6.7	-	-	-

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 5, Position 1	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 7	(30.2)	(26.4)	(37.2)	(43.0)	(27.5)	(34.4)
Cotsakis* (W)	66.4-43,132	58.1	72.6	75.6	63.1	71.7
Wester-gaard (W)	27.3-17,723	33.4	23.5	22.3	27.5	23.5
Lipps (W)	6.3- 4,072	8.5	4.0	2.1	9.4	4.8
Ward 5, Position 2						
October 7	(28.4)	(24.8)	(34.8)	(40.5)	(26.0)	(31.5)
Fowler (W)	63.1-38,528	47.4	74.5	82.9	57.3	66.8
Walters (W)	22.3-13,619	43.1	10.6	7.3	18.4	13.0
Ecker (W)	10.5- 6,453	5.5	11.4	7.6	18.7	15.0
Pulverenti (W)	4.1- 2,494	4.0	3.5	2.2	5.6	5.2
Ward 6, Position 1						
October 7	(28.4)	(23.9)	(35.6)	(40.9)	(26.5)	(33.2)
Freeman* (W)	77.3-47,129	54.0	89.1	91.1	85.3	87.2
Davis (W)	22.7-13,853	46.0	10.9	8.9	14.7	12.8
Ward 6, Position 2						
October 7	(30.1)	(28.4)	(35.3)	(39.7)	(27.9)	(33.3)
Turner* (W)	73.9-47,913	85.4	65.1	59.4	78.2	68.4
Clements (W)	26.1-16,890	14.6	34.9	40.6	21.8	31.6
Ward 7, Position 1						
October 7	(30.6)	(29.5)	(34.9)	(38.8)	(27.3)	(33.8)
Summers* (W)	57.5-37,867	29.6	73.5	71.7	78.9	73.8
Canty (B)	34.9-23,004	68.4	16.2	19.6	9.4	13.8
Belluso (W)	7.6- 4,971	2.0	10.3	8.7	11.7	12.4

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 7, Position 2	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(42.6)	(45.2)	(44.2)	(48.1)	(42.9)	(39.7)
Jackson (B)	56.5-51,750	95.5	29.4	40.3	22.9	17.0
Mundy (W)	43.5-39,875	4.5	70.6	59.7	77.1	83.0
October 7	(32.9)	(35.7)	(34.8)			
Jackson (B)	32.4-22,945	48.6	24.5			
Mundy (W)	22.4-15,838	1.7	35.0			
Patrick (B)	13.4- 9,519	24.3	5.3			
Wood (W)	10.9- 7,725	0.9	17.3			
Smith (B)	9.4- 6,668	18.8	2.4			
Blanton (W)	7.3- 5,189	0.5	12.0			
Ware (B)	2.2- 1,588	3.8	1.2			
Daniels (B)	1.9- 1,353	1.4	2.3			
Ward 8, Position 1						
October 7	(31.2)	(29.0)	(37.2)	(44.2)	(29.3)	(32.9)
Mitchell (W)	51.8-34,728	16.1	74.7	81.5	56.0	68.1
Reed (W)	39.9-26,740	80.1	16.5	13.6	18.3	20.8
Bryant (W)	8.3- 5,520	3.8	8.8	4.9	25.7	11.1
Ward 8, Position 2	(No opposition to incumbent Fowlkes.)					
Ward 9, Position 1						
October 7	(26.0)	(21.2)	(32.5)	(37.2)	(25.6)	(29.8)
Knight* (W)	60.3-33,757	55.9	60.0	55.0	68.0	65.1
Griffin (W)	39.7-22,192	44.1	40.0	45.0	32.0	34.9
Ward 9, Position 2						
October 21	(38.2)	(39.2)	(42.4)	(44.9)	(36.4)	(40.8)
Arrington (B)	52.9-43,439	87.8	32.1	34.3	27.0	31.5
Irvin (W)	47.1-38,657	12.1	67.9	65.7	73.0	68.5

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 9, Position 2	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 7	(27.3)	(25.4)	(32.3)			
Arrington (B)	41.9-24,680	74.6	27.3			
Irvin (W)	30.4-17,849	9.5	43.3			
Pierce (W)	19.4-11,414	10.2	20.9			
Coppeak (W)	4.6- 2,685	3.1	4.5			
Swetlitz (W)	3.7- 2,177	2.5	4.0			

RESULTS OF BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 AND OCTOBER 21

Ward 1	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(38.3)	(36.9)	(43.8)	(48.6)	(36.8)	(40.9)
Cofer (W)	55.1-45,437	78.6	42.3	44.4	39.3	40.0
Cox (W)	44.9-36,990	21.4	57.7	55.6	60.7	60.0
October 7	(26.8)	(24.7)	(31.5)			
Cofer (W)	46.0-26,471	69.6	34.8			
Cox (W)	45.2-25,979	25.9	54.9			
Pressley (W)	8.8- 5,074	4.5	10.3			
Ward 2						
October 7	(25.6)	(22.0)	(31.1)	(35.7)	(23.9)	(28.7)
D. Jackson (B)	45.1-24,865	74.5	28.6	24.2	37.4	32.3
Woodward* (W)	54.9-30,231	25.5	71.4	75.8	62.6	67.7
Ward 3						
October 7	(30.4)	(36.3)	(30.4)	(35.3)	(22.6)	(27.8)
Embry (B)	6.1- 3,989	4.1	6.9	5.0	11.2	8.2
Quinn (B)	22.4-14,640	23.0	19.1	12.8	34.2	23.6
Yancey* (B)	71.5-46,769	72.9	74.0	82.2	54.6	68.2
Ward 4						
October 7	(25.7)	(22.2)	(31.0)	(34.4)	(27.0)	(77.8)
Shell* (W)	69.8-38,535	52.1	79.7	83.6	71.1	77.8
Waller (W)	30.2-16,647	47.9	20.3	16.4	28.9	22.2

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 5	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(38.5)	(35.2)	(45.9)	(52.3)	(37.0)	(41.8)
Allen* (W)	45.4-37,533	26.1	51.9	43.5	66.7	59.8
Luxemburger (W)	54.6-45,149	73.9	48.1	56.5	33.3	40.2
October 7	(28.5)	(24.5)	(35.4)			
Allen* (W)	41.4-25,388	28.3	44.8			
Luxemburger (W)	48.6-29,799	64.9	44.7			
Nicholson (W)	10.0- 6,111	6.8	10.5			
Ward 6						
October 7	(27.0)	(23.8)	(32.9)	(37.6)	(24.4)	(31.0)
Hines (W)	13.2- 7,686	12.9	12.4	10.3	16.9	13.9
Klein* (W)	51.1-29,671	79.4	36.8	38.3	34.5	35.3
Schilling (W)	35.7-20,697	7.7	50.8	51.4	48.6	50.8
Ward 7						
October 7	(32.9)	(39.5)	(32.6)	(37.6)	(23.9)	(30.4)
Jackson (B)	10.8- 7,665	16.0	5.7	5.0	6.9	6.3
Mays (B)	66.9-47,364	82.9	56.4	65.0	38.2	49.2
Pierce (W)	22.3-15,789	1.1	37.9	30.0	54.9	44.5
Ward 8						
October 7	(25.5)	(22.2)	(31.9)	(36.7)	(23.2)	(28.4)
Beebe* (W)	63.1-34,567	64.0	65.4	69.9	56.4	61.2
Hopkins (W)	36.9-20,253	36.0	34.6	30.1	43.6	38.8
Ward 9						
October 7	(29.0)	(31.6)	(30.9)	(35.4)	(24.0)	(28.3)
Barrett (W)	25.1-15,631	5.5	37.7	35.9	41.4	39.2
Middleton (B)	66.1-41,196	90.8	51.5	57.0	38.7	47.8
Well (W)	8.8- 5,489	3.7	10.8	7.1	19.9	13.0

Appendix A - continued.

At-Large		City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21		(37.3)	(32.0)	(44.0)	(50.2)	(37.8)	(42.0)
Hunter	(B)	34.6-27,754	74.3	14.4	13.1	14.8	14.8
Wain-wright*	(W)	65.4-52,448	25.7	85.6	86.9	85.2	85.2
October 7		(29.1)	(26.4)	(34.8)			
Conrad	(W)	11.9- 7,434	12.6	11.1			
Hicks	(W)	16.5-10,331	7.5	21.3			
Hunter	(B)	23.7-14,801	59.5	4.2			
Keys	(W)	3.5- 2,201	3.9	3.0			
Wain-wright*	(W)	44.4-27,753	16.5	60.4			

APPENDIX B

VOTING IN RACIALLY HETEROGENEOUS PRECINCTS: PERCENTAGE OF REGISTRANTS VOTING AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTE RECEIVED BY SELECTED CANDIDATES IN PRECINCTS WHICH ARE LESS THAN NINETY PER CENT WHITE OR BLACK

		Mayor - October 7 (In Percentages)					Mayor-October 21 (In Percentages)		Vice-Mayor-October 7	
Precinct	% White	Massell	Cook	Tate	Millican	Turnout	Massell	Turnout	M. Jackson	Turnout
9J	87.5	15.9	28.4	8.3	46.2	40.4	33.2	43.3	24.8	38.1
4C	85.8	20.4	29.2	3.2	45.9	39.6	31.3	44.7	25.6	37.0
1M	84.5	14.9	25.9	14.1	42.5	42.1	37.4	48.5	29.4	39.4
9F	84.5	11.2	35.1	8.8	44.2	28.2	32.5	32.4	21.8	25.2
9M	82.0	23.6	41.2	13.5	21.4	43.2	38.8	50.9	46.3	40.4
7G	81.3	23.6	31.8	13.7	30.1	35.9	43.8	41.8	36.9	34.7
7V	79.3	21.7	30.0	20.2	27.5	36.2	38.8	41.6	42.6	35.3
7M	77.8	24.5	23.5	25.1	26.2	35.7	52.5	39.7	49.5	34.4
4AB	77.5	18.8	27.0	18.8	34.0	30.9	45.6	39.9	40.7	30.1
9G	75.1	16.2	31.8	17.3	34.1	40.9	37.3	48.3	39.8	38.1
4K	65.8	18.0	18.5	34.9	28.6	23.1	47.9	26.1	52.9	21.3
7P	64.7	26.3	21.5	36.2	15.1	47.5	61.3	50.5	66.7	46.7
1I	63.0	39.3	24.7	20.8	12.9	29.8	59.5	38.0	60.0	25.9
1F	61.5	38.4	27.8	14.7	18.2	41.1	55.0	45.1	55.8	39.1
7E	56.5	37.2	15.4	32.6	13.9	40.7	71.4	45.8	67.2	39.1
1B	53.3	31.6	17.4	22.3	26.7	32.9	65.1	40.3	54.2	31.8
7R	52.2	37.0	15.8	30.1	17.1	38.1	65.2	41.2	30.6	32.3
	% Black									
1N	86.9	44.0	6.9	44.2	4.0	43.7	85.2	51.8	90.7	41.5
3I	85.8	36.5	5.4	53.3	3.3	41.9	85.8	49.4	88.4	40.7
3Q	83.7	46.8	7.0	43.3	2.9	49.1	89.8	55.2	92.9	48.0
1H	71.7	39.2	12.3	34.8	12.3	31.9	81.6	38.7	76.7	31.1
3H	70.7	38.4	9.6	44.5	5.3	44.2	82.2	48.7	85.5	42.3
9P	63.9	25.0	25.0	50.0	0.0	11.1	83.3	16.6	80.0	13.8
4N	57.3	33.3	7.9	55.4	2.9	33.7	78.5	35.4	91.4	30.8
7Q	55.1	30.7	14.6	37.8	16.1	42.1	71.7	46.3	72.5	40.5
7W	50.4	36.0	18.1	34.0	11.9	53.3	73.2	56.8	77.2	52.6

These precincts were not included in the calculations in the foregoing study. Atlanta precincts in DeKalb County are not included in this table.

The Chickenbone Special

By Dwayne Walls

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
LEADERSHIP SERIES NO. 2

THIRTY CENTS

The Chickenbone Special

By Dwayne Walls

Leadership Series
Number 2
Reese Cleghorn, Editor

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Price: 30 cents, single copy. 20 cents, quantities of 10 or more.

The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Officers: Raymond M. Wheeler, President; Vivian Henderson, Chairman, Executive Committee; Josephine Wilkins, Charles G. Gomillion, Lucius H. Pitts, Frank Smith, Vice Presidents; Paul Anthony, Executive Director.

Drawings by Marge Manderson.

Copyright (C) 1970, Southern Regional Council.

The contents may be quoted without permission for review, news coverage and general purposes of critical analysis.

Dwayne Walls, a general assignments reporter for The Charlotte Observer, *has won 14 awards in journalism. In 1969 he won two of the highest honors in his field, the Sidney Hillman Award and the George Polk Memorial Award, for his reporting on rural poverty in North Carolina. In writing* The Chickenbone Special, *he spent weeks with the family he reports on and traveled with Donnie Gibson from the tobacco fields of South Carolina to the ghettos of New York.*

This is the second in the Leadership Series of publications issued by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council. The first in the series, John Willie Reed: An Epitaph, *by Charles Longstreet Weltner, has been widely used by study groups and is the subject of a television documentary and a play. It is available from the Southern Regional Council.*

Preface

America's rural-to-urban migration has been called the greatest movement of human beings in history. This is a story about one of those human beings.

During the past 30 years almost 30 million people left the nation's farms and rural small towns for urban life. This silent, deep-running, sometimes Stygian flow of migrants rolled on unassisted, undirected and largely unnoticed, bloating the cities with former tenant farmers, displaced hillbillies and young blacks running from nothing to nothing.

Finally the cities began to explode from indigestion a few years ago, and now the nation is being told that migration, directly and indirectly, is a basic factor in many of our nation's deepest problems: hunger, poverty, social unrest and personal alienation.

The President's Commission on Rural Poverty said it in November of 1967. The Kerner Commission said it seven months later. Countless educators, legislators and bureaucrats have said it repeatedly since then in monographs, statistical reports, speeches and symposium discussions.

Still, the streams of migrants flow on. They have thinned out since the 1950s. But the headwaters, once principally in cotton country and the Appalachians, now are to be found also in the tobacco fields of Georgia and the Carolinas, where the potential for future out-migration is perhaps greater than that of any other section of the nation.

Tobacco is the economic mainstay of more than half a million farm families in eight Southern states. Flue-cured tobacco alone covers more than 600,000 acres each year in five of the states, from Southside Virginia to Northern Florida and a tip of Alabama. For the most part this is small-farm acreage, dependent upon intensive hand labor and largely impervious in the past to large-scale mechanization.

But modern technology now threatens to do to the tobacco fields of the Coastal Plains region what the mechanical cotton-picker did to the Mississippi Delta. Increasingly the little tobacco farmer—the sharecropper and the tenant trying to make do on five acres or less—is being squeezed off the land. At best he is barely holding on, unable to offer his sons any kind of future in farming.

Because farming is declining faster than industrial development can replace it, the sons and the daughters of the little farmers are doing exactly what they have done for years. They are migrating off the farms by the

tens of thousands, not so much into the urban centers of the South to stem a labor shortage as into the human pressure-cooker of the Northeast. As surely as fish and fowl follow the same routes year after year in nature's ordained migration, so does the migrating Southerner follow a path tramped out for him by decades of travel by friends and relatives. Many Deep South Negroes go straight north to Chicago and the neighboring cities or join the migratory stream of Upper South Negroes heading toward the urban Northeast. The Appalachian whites, in general, head north and northwest into the Ohio Valley, and on toward the industrial centers bordering the Great Lakes. Perhaps today it is easier for a rural Southern youngster to move into a large city outside the South, where he may have friends and relatives, than to move into one of the Southern cities, where he may know no one.

It also may be true, as some of the region's professional boosters claim, that the exodus from the farms has leveled off. Certainly measures have been taken to slow the flow. Some of them are working. In North Carolina, for example, efforts by the North Carolina Fund and later the Manpower Development Corporation of Chapel Hill to redirect rural out-migration into the state's Piedmont section are beginning to show small but noticeable results. Other efforts will begin to show an effect in several years.

At the least, there is evidence that the exodus was much slower in the 1960's than in the 1950's. But how much of a decline has there been? Even if it were 50 per cent, which is not likely, this would suggest an out-migration since 1960 of about 250,000 people just from the area designated by the federal government as the Coastal Plains Economic Development Region. This region covers only the eastern sections of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

The youngsters from the tobacco fields keep moving north. This is the story of one such youngster and his trip in the summer of 1969. It is not replete with appropriate statistics because it is not intended to be a statistical report. If it lacks a happy or tragic ending it is because the story's ending—happy or otherwise—cannot be foretold. The story is not fiction. Donnie Gibson and his family are real people, warm and kind, but otherwise very ordinary. The names are their names. The feelings, spoken and unspoken, are their feelings, given graciously and generously and in simple trust that they would not be misused.

No one in the Gibson family read any part of the story before it was printed. No one asked to read it. Whatever its value to the reader, the story hopefully is written true enough so that no one in the Gibson family will find any reason to question the trust he had in the writer.

The Farm

Otis Gibson sat on the cool side of the porch looking across the little cotton patch to the corn field beyond. Watching the corn he could tell when the next breeze was coming by following the ripples it made as it moved toward the house.

It was late afternoon, and Otis still had not made up his mind whether to shave. He had been thinking about it for a long time now, maybe an hour or more. The trouble was, he was not exactly straight on what day it was. Sometimes he thought that was the most bothersome thing about the stroke: not the wheelchair and the dead right arm and the dead right leg, but the trouble in his head.

Most of the time he could think straight. He knew what he wanted. But sometimes he could not say it. Like the other day when he wanted a drink of water. Donnie had had to make three or four trips into the house bringing things out before he finally understood what Otis wanted.

Otis had thought he said water each time. Finally, all he could do was nod when Donnie guessed right.

But there were times, like today, when Otis could not himself understand what his mind was saying. He wanted to be shaved for Sunday. He could not go to church in the wheelchair. But some of the folks might come by, and he wanted to be shaved and dressed.

Was it yesterday that Donnie had graduated? Or the day before? It must have been last night, and that meant today was either Friday or Saturday. He could not be sure, but he reckoned that was close enough.

"If it's Saturday," he reasoned, "I better shave because there won't be no time in the morning. If it's Friday then I might as well shave anyway because everybody will be busy tomorrow."

Besides, he concluded, the shave would last.

Having made that decision, Otis twisted slightly in the wheelchair so his voice would carry through the screen door into the back of the house.

"Donnie," he called, "come shave me."

Calling his youngest son to shave him was as natural to Otis Gibson as picking up a razor would be to any other man. For more than a year now, since that morning when they had found him slumped over the side of the bed, Otis had relied on Donnie for almost everything, it seemed, except breathing.

The Gibsons—Otis and Julia and their seven children—always had been a close family. Close in a way that a lot of people could never understand. The children, for example, had grown up never using the words "Mamma" and "Daddy." To them Otis had been Otis and Julia had been Julia. But there seemed to be a special bond between Otis and his youngest. Everybody in the family had recognized it years ago, long before Otis' stroke in March of 1968. The bond had been strengthened after Otis came home from the hospital. Now, it seemed to Otis, Donnie had become his right arm and his right leg and sometimes, he knew, even part of his head. Donnie shaved him and took him to the new bathroom they had put in the house after he came home. When he was not in school, Donnie sometimes fed and even cooked for Otis. Julia had her hands full looking after the farm and the grandbabies, and so Donnie had learned to cook (mostly rice and fried chicken) and to help with the washing.

Donnie was the one who stayed home on Sunday so the rest of the family could go to church. At first Donnie and Julia took turns on that. But then Donnie sent off for a Bible study course, and after that he stayed home Sundays working on his Sunday School lesson with Otis. He would read the lesson and then fill out answers to the questions and mail it all off.

Donnie was the one who knew best how to figure out what Otis wanted when Otis could not talk plain. He was the one with the patience to keep on guessing and trying and running back and forth when he could not figure it out. It was Donnie who nailed the board across Otis' favorite side of the front porch so the wheelchair would not roll off. And it was

Donnie who had put up the railing next to Otis' good left hand, so that Otis could place his pipe and tobacco there within easy reach.

Otis was reaching for the pipe when it occurred to him that Donnie was taking a long time getting the razor and soap together.

"Donnie," he called again.

"Be right there, Otis."

Otis did not notice a few minutes later that Donnie came to the porch empty-handed.

"I'm gonna give you the shave later," Donnie said. "But I want to talk to you first."

"What you want to talk about?" Otis asked.

Donnie pulled the chair up facing Otis and turned his head away, looking toward the corn field.

"This is the last shave I'll be giving you," he said.

"After today somebody else will have to shave you. Jessie, maybe." Jessie, a year older than Donnie, was the only other child living at home, not counting the grandbabies.

"What are you talking about?" Otis said.

"I'm through school now, Otis, and I'm taking a ride tomorrow."

If Otis had been still a normal man, if his head had been as clear as it once was, the meaning would have registered in an instant. Almost anybody in Williamsburg County, S. C., would have known what those words meant—almost anybody, that is, who was black and who had reared a son or daughter to the age of 16 or 17.

Otis Gibson is a Negro, and he had heard the words "taking a ride" or something like them at least five times in recent years. But now the term left him confused.

"Ride? Ride where?" he asked.

"*NEW* York," Donnie said, stressing the first word in that lilting calypso-like speech common to black people and many whites in the South Carolina Lowcountry. "I'm going to New York."

"Oh, Lord Jesus," Otis thought. "Now we're losing Donnie, too."

He held back the tears until Donnie had finished shaving him an hour or so later.

Raymond Carl Gibson, who has been called Donnie for as long as he can remember, had known for five days that he would be leaving Williamsburg County as soon as he got his diploma. He had known it and dreaded it, and yet found it impossible to hold back a feeling of excitement.

Williamsburg County, the city of Kingstree, the little farm near the community of Salters, the church up the road and the school in Greeleyville a few miles away—all this was home to Donnie. Without ever really thinking much about it, he knew that it had been a good home for 17 years. He had never wanted to live anywhere else.

There had been times when he wanted to travel. Once just after he started high school he had seen a postcard his brother Leon had sent from

Hawaii. He had said to himself then that some day he wanted to go to Hawaii. Twice he had been to Columbia, the state capital, with the high school chorus. He still thought it would be great to spend a week there sometime. But those things could wait. He figured he would get drafted in a year or two and that would give him a chance to do all the traveling he wanted.

Donnie never bothered looking beyond the draft, and he never had done any real planning at all. He did not make a deliberate, conscious decision to stay in the county when he began applying for a job in April. He did it because that was the normal thing to do; it did not occur to him not to do it. He knew that jobs were scarce in Williamsburg and surrounding counties, even if he did not know the awful statistic. And he could not think of not getting a job. He had better than average grades, and in six weeks he would have a diploma. That ought to count for something.

He went first to Albany Felts, the textile mill in St. Stephen, where Jessie worked. Then he went to the Douglas plant at St. Stephen and to Georgia Pacific's office at Russellville. The routine was the same at each place. He filled out the application, turned it in and was told that there was no foreseeable opening but that he would be contacted if anything came up.

He had heard nothing from his applications when Renea called from New York the Sunday before graduation. What did he plan to do after graduation? she wanted to know. Donnie told her about the applications, and the story was a familiar one to his sister. It could have been her 1965 graduation all over again. She forced back the anger.

"Donnie," she said, "if you ain't heard anything by now you ain't gonna hear. Why don't you come to New York?"

There were jobs available, she told him, and he could live with her until he got work. If he were coming, though, he ought to come as soon as he could. The New York high schools would not have graduation until two weeks after Williamsburg County. He ought to start applying before then.

"I don't know," Donnie said. "The man at St. Stephen said something might come up."

"Well, why don't you just come up and visit for a while. I'll send you the money. That's your graduation present."

They left it that way. If he decided to come he would call back and she would wire the money.

Donnie thought about it a long time that night. At the baccalaureate service that day he had talked with some of the boys who were going north. He knew at least 10 in his class who were leaving the day they got their diplomas.

He thought about New York. He wanted to see Central Park almost as much as he wanted to see Hawaii. There would be a chance to see the Mets and all the skyscrapers.

He thought about Archie and Leon. Both of them had had to drive all the way to Thomasville, where Otis worked, to find jobs after they got out of

school. Then they had moved to New York, anyway. Belle had found a job in Fayetteville and then moved to New York. She was one who was always taking pictures and sending them back home. Everywhere she went she was always taking pictures.

He thought about Jessie. Jessie had graduated in 1968 and filled out applications at six places. It was not until October that he finally got a job, and that was almost by accident. Albany Felts called him. He went down there one Saturday morning and talked with the superintendent. He had been waiting a long time, Jessie told the man, and he needed a job because he had a sick daddy at home. Jessie went to work the next Tuesday in the spinning room at $1.70 an hour. He was making $1.85 now, but he was bringing home only $63 a week unless he got overtime. He worked the second shift, and he had to drive nearly 60 miles a day, 28 miles each way. In New York, Donnie knew, jobs were paying $2 and $3 an hour.

Donnie thought about the farm and Otis and Julia. It was not much of a farm any more. It was a good home, a good place to live, but not much of a farm: only a modest, asbestos-sided house with eight small rooms; a large shade tree; a vegetable garden; and 8.2 acres of sandy loam on the back side of a larger farm whose owner had been better able to survive the failing economy of small farms. To get there you turned off the paved country road and followed a sandy lane for about a quarter of a mile, past hog pens and tobacco barns and through the corn field.

The Gibsons inherited the farm when Julia's father died in 1937, and technically part of it belonged to Julia's 11 brothers and sisters. But they were all gone, living in Richmond and Philadelphia and New York. Julia and Otis had raised Julia's two youngest brothers, and with their share the Gibsons owned outright a little over three acres. But the others had signed over the rest of the property for the Gibsons to live on and Otis had built the house there in 1955.

The farm never was more than a little extra income. Julia and the kids did the farming. Otis gave up full-time farming in 1952, first to take public work and later to try sawmilling and then to take a job with the railroad. When the railroad cut back its staff, Otis finally found a job with a furniture plant in North Carolina. He boarded up there through the week and came home on weekends to help Julia with the farm. It was a long way to drive, but the job paid pretty good money—$45 and $50 a week even without overtime. He was working there when he had the stroke.

Julia managed pretty well on the farm at first. They had a one-acre

tobacco allotment and a three-acre cotton allotment. She had the mule, and the kids were at home to help. In a good year she could clear maybe $600 to $800. But the government kept cutting back the tobacco allotment, and one year she planted only two acres of cotton and lost the other acre in the allotment. It became harder and harder to make the crop as the children grew up and left home. When Otis had his stroke, she gave up farming and rented out to a neighbor what was left of the tobacco and cotton allotments.

The tobacco land, down now to just over half an acre, was rented out for 15 cents a pound. If the man made a good crop Julia would realize $141 in rent. The two acres of cotton would bring in $15 an acre in rent. That would come once a year, in the fall.

No, Donnie knew he did not want to farm. But he knew also that he could not wait around for months, as Jessie had done, hoping for a job. Except for the little bit of rent money and money Julia got from New York for keeping the grandbabies and what Jessie paid in board, the only money coming in now was Otis' Social Security check. That had been $119 a month. But it would be cut as soon as Donnie left home or went to work.

New York. Brooklyn. Archie and Leon seemed to be doing all right. The girls, too. Geraldine didn't like living up there. He knew that. She had come home last year to look for a job and finally had gone back. He figured the others didn't like it either. All of them wanted to come home some day.

But I don't have to like it, Donnie reasoned. I don't have to stay. I can visit, and if I find a job I'll take it. If I don't like it, I'll come home. I ought to come home anyway if Jessie passes the draft. At least I can be earning some money instead of waiting for a job.

Donnie had made up his mind by the time he drifted off to sleep that Sunday night, and he told Julia the next afternoon.

Julia was on the porch by herself when Donnie got home from school. He would tell her now, because he did not want to tell Otis yet.

"Julia, I'm going up the road," he said.

"You've made up your mind, have you?"

"Yes'm," Donnie said, "I reckon I have."

"But you done put in for a job down here," Julia said. "What you gonna do about that?"

"That's been nearly two months ago," Donnie said. "Nobody has called yet and it don't look like anybody is gonna call. But if somebody calls I'll come back, and if Jessie passes the draft I'll come back."

When she tried later to remember what she had said and how she had felt that afternoon, Julia found that the two things were different.

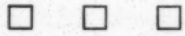
What she had said to herself was, "Lord, I don't want him to go. I really don't want him to go. What am I gonna do without him? When I get ready to tend to business I won't have no one to stay with Otis. When I get ready to go to the store I won't have no one to stay with him and when I get ready to go to church I won't have no one to stay with him."

But she knew her son, and she knew there was no need to try to talk him out of it. And so she also said to herself: "I'll do the best I can. I'll make the best of it I can."

To Donnie she said, "Donnie, I wish you wouldn't go. Not right now."

"Jessie'll be here," Donnie said. "And if he passes the draft I'll come back."

So it was settled. They called Renea that night. The only thing now was to tell Otis. Donnie worried all week about that, and kept putting it off.



The $35 money order from Renea came Thursday, the day of graduation, and Donnie decided he would leave on Friday. The commencement program Thursday night was just the ceremony. The seniors had to go back Friday morning to pick up their diplomas. He would take the afternoon train on Friday.

Donnie thought about taking the bus. But Julia insisted on the train, although it was more expensive. "That bus makes too many stops," she told him. "I don't want you wandering around no bus stations getting lost or getting left behind or maybe getting into trouble. You get on that train in Kingstree and you don't have to get off 'til you make New York. And Renea'll be waiting for you there."

It was Julia's idea also to change wallets. She remembered the story Archie told once about this man in New York who had had his wallet stolen by a pickpocket who just slit the man's pocket with a razor and pulled the wallet right out.

Donnie's old wallet was a good one. But a couple of years earlier he had made some money priming tobacco and bought this special wallet—a burglar-proof wallet, it was called—and it cost $5.50. It had a thick chain through a hole in one corner and the chain had a ring on the end that you ran your belt through.

So Donnie took all the pictures and cards and things out of the old wallet and put it into one of the suitcases he would take. "If this thing is burglar-proof," he said of the new wallet, "I'll give it a real test in New York."

Thursday night Donnie came home from commencement still worried about how to tell Otis and nervous about leaving the next day. He knew he needed some help. Normally Donnie's prayers were much like those of any teen-ager of moderate religious bent—simple and quick, in the phrases learned as a child, and spoken in the mind, not aloud. Sometimes he forgot to perform even that much. When he needed real help, though, it was different. And now he needed help.

When he had finished dressing into pajamas he knelt at the foot of the bed—something he had not done for a long time—and let his forehead drop to his hands clasped at the edge of the mattress.

"Dear God," he said, and this time the words passed through moving lips. "Dear God, please help me. Help me to tell Otis and help me in New

York. Please let everything work out all right. Let New York be like I think it is. Don't let me be disappointed. Please don't let me get in no trouble. . . ."

There was more, but then almost as if he couldn't help it, he went back to the same pleas and the words tumbled out over and over in the same sentences. "Please, please, Dear God, please. . . ." Donnie was not sure, but he thought he felt better when he finally climbed under the sheet. He thought about that prayer the next day.

Julia started washing his clothes and packing his bags Friday morning and the washing machine broke down. She took his clothes into town later to do them at the laundry, but by then it was too late to catch the Friday train. They decided he would take the Saturday train. Donnie was sitting at the kitchen table trying to figure out how he was going to tell Otis when Otis called him to come and shave him. Neither of them said much. When the shave was finished Donnie knew he had not done what he had wanted. He had not said any of it. He had not even said goodbye to Otis, and he knew already that he could not face Otis again in the morning. "Either I'll cry or he'll cry," he thought. "I don't want to cry and I don't want to see him cry."

So when Donnie and Julia and Jessie left for the train station Saturday morning, Donnie went out the back door to the place where Jessie was washing the car. Otis saw them leave in the car and he was glad Donnie had not stopped at the wheelchair. Otis was sitting on the cool side of the front porch, looking toward the corn field and not really seeing it.

The Station

The Seaboard Coast Line station in Kingstree is like many railroad stations in small towns anywhere else in the nation, but it is cleaner, and, at certain times of the year, busier. For reasons that might go back a decade and a half to the time Williamsburg County remodeled its ante-bellum courthouse into a gleaming and rather aseptic monument to the region's rich history, the train station is headquarters locally for that little band of down-home philosophers characteristic of almost every county seat town in the rural south.

In other towns this mixed brigade of the elders and the unemployed—sometimes all white, sometimes all black and often racially mixed—gravitates naturally toward the county courthouse or the benches around a local monument to the Civil war. But in Kingstree the bronze soldiers and granite shafts are benchless, and the alabaster elegance of the courthouse —for whatever reason—remains unspoiled by the stains of tobacco juice and the remains of dead cigarettes. The philosophers gather at the train station, which is roughly in the middle of the four-block business district.

The station is convenient to those who must walk. Nearby there is free parking space for those who can afford cars, provided the owners do not dally too long in discussions about the weather, the crop conditions, the comings and goings of friends and relatives, and the sad state of local employment. The discussion groups usually are small and short-lived, because the philosophers are members of a fluid club. They do not come into town every day, and there are other stops to make.

Kingstree gets only four passenger trains a day and two of them do not always stop. The Gulf Coast Special carries almost all the traffic: on the southbound train, which stops at 1:20 in the afternoon, or the northbound train, which stops an hour and 20 minutes later. The Everglades comes through at 8:53 at night, southbound, and at 5:40 in the morning, heading north. The Everglades trains do not have much business at Kingstree. The Champion, which is mostly Pullmans, almost never stops.

So on many days of the year the non-travelers are the major source of movement around the station, and the railroad, in the person of its local agent, maintains a tolerant attitude as long as the club meets in the open air. Agent E. B. Bailey, a man of generous girth and nature, believes in functional cleanliness and efficiency. He puts down a fresh coat of paint when it is needed, even if it must be the billious gray dictated by railroad tradition. And he obviously believes that the fresh paint and the benches and the air-conditioning in the waiting room are there for the benefit of ticket-holders.

On the hot Saturday morning that Donnie and Jessie and Julia Gibson arrived at the station, agent Bailey was about as near as he ever comes to being fretful. Holidays and graduations are trying times for railroad and bus

station agents throughout the rural Coastal Plains region of the Carolinas.

Jessie parked the car at the station and then they went up the street to cash Renea's money order and linger over a sandwich and a soda. When they returned to the station just after noon they were surprised at the size of the crowd that had gathered. When they had first arrived they had noticed the usual small clusters of people. But now the little yard between the station and Main Street was jammed with people and suitcases. It was hot, in the high 90s, and there was little movement in the crowd except when someone jockeyed for a spot in the shade next to the building. Mostly the people there stood silently beside their bags or talked sparingly in family groups.

The one person who seemed to be doing a lot of moving was Rufus Miller, a roving photographer who has worked the train station at selected times of the year for at least a decade. He lent a dash of festive flavor to the scene with his Polaroid camera and his chant. "Just 60 seconds," he said over and over as he moved slowly but constantly through the crowd. "Just 60 seconds. That's all it takes. Take a little bit of Kingstree with you so you'll feel like comin' back. Just 60 seconds."

Julia and Donnie went inside the station to get the ticket, joining a short line at the ticket window. Half the waiting room was full. The other half had been blocked off because of a fresh coat of paint. It was cool inside, but Agent Bailey was having some trouble keeping it that way. "Please close the door," he called out repeatedly. "We're trying to keep it cool in here."

Julia was ahead of Donnie in the line and when the youngster in front of her got his ticket and turned to leave Julia moved up to the wire-mesh window to order Donnie's ticket.

"All right?" the agent said.

"A ticket to Brooklyn, New York, please."

"All right. One way?"

"Yessir. One way," Julia said.

The agent lifted a yellow ticket out of a cubbyhole to his right and quickly ran it through the old Aurora dater on the counter, pulling the ticket through with his left hand and rapidly stamping it four times with the heel of his right fist. He ripped the bottom section off of the ticket, dropped it into his receipts drawer and slipped the three remaining portions into a bright orange and white envelope decorated with two palm trees, a sleek passenger train and the letters "SCL" in large black print at the top. Across the bottom was printed "Seaboard Coast Line Railroad."

"One way to New York," the agent said, sliding the envelope through the window toward Julia. "That'll be twenty-eight-seventy-four."

Donnie had reached for his burglar-proof wallet while the agent was making out the ticket and then remembered that he had put the cash from the money order into his shirt pocket. Not such a good beginning on looking out for my money, he thought, as he pushed two green bills across the counter.

"Twenty-eight-seventy-four out of thirty," agent Bailey said, counting the change. "Thank you, and the train leaves at 2:40."

Donnie put the silver into his pocket. The dollar bill and the five he still had went into the wallet. Six dollars and something. That was not much, but he reckoned he wouldn't need much. There would have been more, counting all the money—maybe $10 or $12—which neighbors had given him for graduation and the $4 he had earned working Mr. Canty's tobacco last week. But he had given all but $1 of it to Julia and he had blown the $1 on sodas and candy the last week of school.

Julia picked up the ticket envelope and now she handed it to Donnie. "Now you take good care of this ticket," she said. "You lose it and they'll put you off the train."

Outside they went back to the car, where Jessie was waiting with the bags. Donnie felt the need to end it quickly, and he started to say something, but Julia cut him short. "Well, you take care of yourself, now," she said, "and call every chance you get." It was done, and Donnie turned quickly without saying anything and headed back through the crowd. He thought there might be a shady spot left over to the side of the building, on the track side, next to the platform.

Jessie carried one of the bags and then left to do some shopping. Julia sat in the car fanning herself and trying not to think of anything. She would not leave the car until after the train pulled out nearly two hours later.

Virgil Dimery saw the crowd at the station that Saturday and wondered again, for what must have been the thousandth time, when it would ever end. When in God's name would it end?

It had been going on now, this annual exodus, for at least 20 years. He knew it went back that far, maybe further. Every year it was the same thing. We raise our kids and put them through high school and for what? To pack their bags and tell them goodbye. We see them again on holidays or at next year's graduation, when they come down to pick up somebody else in the family and take them north.

And sometimes, he knew, they were not seen again until they came home in a pine box. Dimery and Rogers Funeral Home is the largest Negro funeral home in Kingstree. A good portion of its business, maybe 25 or 30 funerals a year, is "ship-in" business. The two other places get some "ship-ins," too. At the Kingstree station about 300 bodies come home every year. The past weekend alone eight had been shipped in, mostly from New York, Newark, Philadelphia and Rochester. Somewhere Dimery had heard or seen a figure on Rochester: Something like 8,000 people in Rochester had come from Williamsburg County, S. C. Dimery concluded that it all had started with two brothers named Wallace who had gone to Rochester, had found pretty good jobs, and then had been followed by relatives. That was the way it usually went. First one member of a family would go to a Northern city; then he would be followed to the same place by a brother or a sister or a cousin, and eventually perhaps the parents and the neighbors. My God, he thought. We're being bled dry in this county and it don't seem

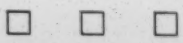
to be anything we can do about it. Not just this county. Every county around here. Up in North Carolina too. And Georgia. All the farming country.

That was the trouble. It was farming country, with little farms where a man was lucky just to be able to hang on. Tobacco was shot, and tobacco's what kept the little farms going. Jobs in industry were pitifully few and most of them were for the whites. All of them had been for whites until three or four years earlier.

The real tragedy of it was the kids, the high school graduates. The old folks, most of them, could hang on. They never had had anything anyway, and they had learned to live with it. But these kids, Dimery thought. They're the cream of the crop. A high school diploma wasn't much of an education in Williamsburg County, for whites or blacks. Anybody in his right mind and honest enough to admit it knew that. All you had to do was look at the draft figures. Eighty-six per cent of the black kids and 45 per cent of the whites fail the draft tests. There were some smart ones, of course. But Dimery knew that for many black kids a high school education was the equivalent of a sixth or seventh or eighth-grade education. But that wasn't the fault of the kids. They were still the cream of the crop. They'd had the grit to stick it out to graduation, many times in spite of circumstances that made it a lot easier to quit.

So here it was graduation time again, and Dimery did not have to come to the train station to know what was happening. He had been thinking about it all week. The boys had been coming into his office, sometimes 10 or 15 a day, looking for work or advice. What could they do? Where should they go? Dimery did not know the answers. But it did not matter. They would do what they had to do. They would leave.

Graduation at the county's 12 high schools (five white and seven Negro) had started Wednesday night. By Saturday, the schools had turned out 707 graduates. There were 220 whites and 487 Negroes. The lucky ones would go to college: probably 30 per cent of the whites and maybe 10 per cent of the blacks. But that still left around 600 graduates, and the county's entire payroll was not much more than four times that size. As for jobs available, the man up at the state employment service had 2,100 applications on file for jobs in Baxter Laboratories, the biggest single employer in the county. Kingstree Manufacturing had 500 to 600 on file. Maybe 10 or 15 per cent of the graduates would find local jobs. The rest would be gone by the end of the summer. Most would be gone in three weeks. The others would have to stay at least until the tobacco was in the barns in July, or maybe until it was sold a few weeks later, because there would be no ticket money until then.



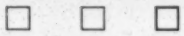
Rounding the corner of the station, Donnie first heard the radio and then saw Harim Morant. Right away he realized he had left his own radio at home.

"Hey, man," Donnie said, slapping Harim on the shoulder. "You leaving, too?"

"Yep. I'm gonna take me a little vacation," Harim said. "Might even get me a job."

At 20 and stretching more than six feet, Harim was about the oldest and the tallest and maybe the friendliest member of Donnie's class of 83 at Williamsburg County Training School. He never took anything very seriously. Donnie liked him, and already his spirits were better than they had been in days. Harim had never been to New York, either, never had ridden a train before. They agreed that the one who got on board first would save the other a seat, and then they settled down with Harim's radio to wait for the train.

It was too hot to stir around much, but now and then Donnie saw faces in the crowd that he recognized. One was Eddie Mae Dotts, who was in his class. Her cousin in the Bronx had sent her the money for the ticket and Eddie Mae was going to live there until the fall. By then, she hoped to be enrolled in a nursing course her cousin had told her about. Then there was Harim's friend, a girl named Rosetta McGill. Donnie also saw Viola Williams. Rosetta and Viola were both going to New York.



Donnie did not know that thousands of youngsters from hundreds of schools were visiting or planning to visit other train stations and bus stations on that hot summer day. They were all poor youngsters like him—black and white, high school graduates and some dropouts; the sons and daughters of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, small landowners, day laborers and even some school teachers. Not all of them would leave that day. Many were checking schedules and prices, buying tickets, or picking up tickets purchased on pre-payment orders in New York or Philadelphia or one of a dozen other places north of Washington and sent south as graduation presents.

In Tobaccoland, U.S.A., the southern Coastal Plains region from Southside Virginia to South Georgia, travel is dictated by some inexorable force that governs so many other things in the everyday life of the region: the climate, or the growing season. The crop begins ripening first in Georgia and the northern tip of Florida soon after the first of June. In some parts of South Carolina the stalks are only half-grown at that time, and in the upper portion of Eastern North Carolina the farmers are just completing the ancient ritual of transplanting tender young shoots from their plant beds into the fields. Harvesting or "barning" the tobacco thus is spread over a three-month period in a region stretching for 600 miles.

The leaves begin fading from green to ripe yellow at the bottom of the stalk, and each row of tobacco must be harvested three or four times to pick the stalk clean. The tobacco from each harvest, or priming, must be strung on sticks and hung in the barn for about four days of curing by artificial heat produced by oil or gas burners.

All this process, repeated over and over until the fields are left with nothing but bare stalks, requires hand labor, and a great deal of it. For

the small tobacco farmer, hand labor means the children and the neighbors and the neighbors' children must work in informal, almost communal, work-swapping arrangements.

The plowing and planting and the repeated spraying with insecticide and fungicide must be done while the schools are still in session, and so the children are kept out of school. The school year has ended when priming and barning begins. But in some farm homes the expressed wish of an able-bodied youngster to leave home before the tobacco has been barned is an act of filial disloyalty. Often, too, there is a further necessary delay in leaving. If a family has no cash, a son or daughter may have to wait until the tobacco markets open in July or August. And in North Carolina the crop may not be sold until September. Thus the annual exodus from the farms that was beginning this first weekend in June would continue well into the fall.

□ □ □

The station agent began counting the day's receipts around 2 o'clock, soon after the mail and the few passengers had been cleared from the southbound train. It was a short train. The big southbound traffic had been earlier in the week, people coming down for graduations, and some of the trains had run in two sections, one an hour behind the other. Today there was a normal train, and it pulled out at 1:20, just about the time Number 76 was rolling into Charleston on the northbound run. They would be passing right about now, down the line near Monks Corner, unless Number 76 was running late. This time of the year that was likely, agent Bailey knew.

Traffic memos and advisories had been going up and down the lines of the Seaboard for weeks, as they always do before holidays and graduations, so Number 76 would be pulling additional equipment today—six to eight coaches instead of the usual two or three. There were six additional coaches up the line at Florence to be hooked on if the traffic justified it.

Bailey knew, as he had known all along, that the extra coaches waiting in Florence would be needed. Maybe not all of them would have to be put into service this weekend. But two or three would have to be hooked on. He had predicted that this first weekend would be comparatively light, with the biggest loadings on the next two weekends. He had been at Kingstree 15 years, and he had learned to gauge the traffic patterns.

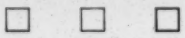
Just a few years earlier there were many June days when the Kingstree station alone would board up to 300 north-bound passengers, as many as the train had on it when it pulled into the station. Number 76 sometimes left Kingstree with passengers standing in the baggage cars, a practice no longer allowed.

For some reason the youngsters now traveled mostly on Saturdays, maybe because they had to arrive at their destination on weekends, when some one would be off work to meet them. Today and for the next two or three Saturdays, Number 76 would leave Kingstree with standing room

only. By the end of June, if past experience held true, the Kingstree station would board from 750 to 1,000 passengers headed north, not counting children traveling free. Not all would be fresh migrants from this year's class. Some would be adults who had left in previous years and were coming back for graduation or to pick up small children who had been staying with grandparents through the school year.

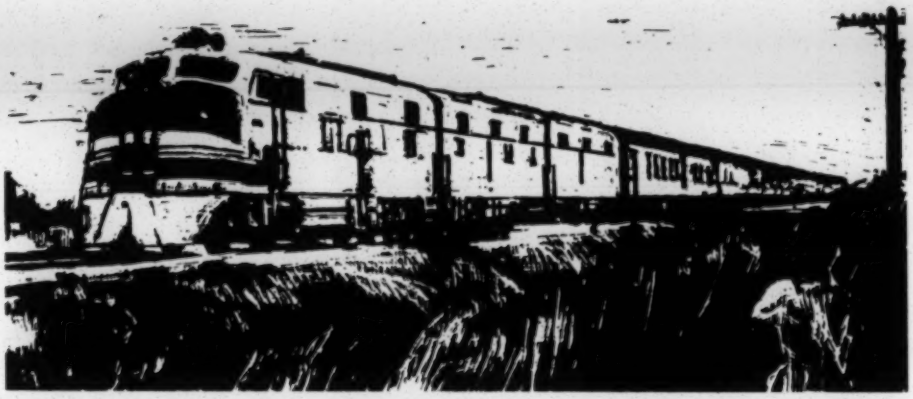
Throughout the Coastal Plains region there are tens of thousands of such youngsters; so many, in fact, that local school boards have begun to count them and, in some areas, impose tuition charges. The school superintendent estimates that 20 per cent of the entire Williamsburg County school population is composed of youngsters whose parents live outside the state, most of them somewhere in the region from Washington, D. C., to New York. This does not take into account perhaps an equal number who have not yet reached school age. In the Gibson family, there are six such children, including three pre-school age. The three oldest live with their grandparents year-round. The others shuttle back and forth between Williamsburg County and Brooklyn, spending most of the year in the South and going to Brooklyn for visits that may last one month or three months.

Many of these youngsters are the children of unmarried mothers who work and have no way to care for the small children. Others live in the South for economic reasons. Even if both parents work, they often cannot afford an apartment large enough for a family or they cannot afford baby-sitter and day-care institutions. Still others are sent back home for their education, because their parents say they do not want their children attending the urban schools. These parents are not deluded about the academic differences in rural and urban schools. But they are less concerned about the quality of instruction than about the social pressures on youngsters attending ghetto schools.



Bailey totted up his ticket sales just before 2:30. By now almost every one who was going had bought a ticket. The late-comers could purchase tickets on board. It had been a busy day: two to Washington, four to Baltimore, eight to Philadelphia, eight to Newark and 36 to New York City. There were none to Rochester, but most Rochester people lately were riding the buses.

Altogether there were 58 going north. Bailey's earlier guess had been slightly off. But he would learn later that he had been right on his estimate of the June total. Kingstree boardings averaged better than 100 for each of the following three Saturdays. On most of the week days, 20 to 40 passengers boarded Number 76.



The Train

On a clear day if you stand alongside the tracks at the station in Kingstree and look south you can see the train coming six miles down the tracks. That was where Donnie Gibson suddenly saw it now, despite the shimmering heat waves rising from the railroad bed.

"Six miles," he said. "How 'bout that. Hey, Harim, look here."

When Harim reached the tracks where Donnie stood the train already had dipped into a low area, and it took maybe a minute to spot it when it rose to high ground again.

"There it is," Donnie said. "See the light? Looks like it's blinking."

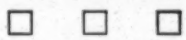
Together they watched the tiny speck of light as it grew into a light surrounded by a dark blur and finally into an object clearly distinguishable as the nose of a train. From a speed of around 80 miles an hour it slowed to 70 and then 60, and when the Diesel horn sounded a mile or so down the track the train was right on schedule by Donnie's watch.

Harim had brought his bag out to the track. But Donnie now had to work his way back through the crowd, which was moving out to the tracks, because his own two bags were still next to the station. He was among the last to board, but all of the Kingstree passengers were boarding the same coach and Donnie knew Harim would save him a seat.

As it turned out Harim had saved three seats, all in the two rows at the front of the car. They were the kind that face each other and as Donnie put his bags into the rack overhead he saw that Viola and Rosetta were in the seat facing his and Harim's. He sat down, and then he remembered that he would have to have his ticket ready when the conductor came through. He pulled the ticket envelope from a pocket, opened the flap to make sure the ticket was still inside, and then noiced some printing on the back side of the envelope under a notice which said "Your Trip." He read it:

"You are about to take a trip by train—the most dependable, carefree,

comfortable form of travel known. Seaboard Coast Line wishes you a pleasant trip. Should it become necessary to change your plans, please notify your Ticket Agent or nearest Seaboard Coast Line Office as soon as possible. Due to the great demand at certain seasons of the year, reservations for your return trip should be arranged as early as possible. Whenever you travel, it is a pleasure for us to serve you."



Seaboard does indeed try to serve its passengers. Some employes say Seaboard is the only railroad in the country any more that gives a damn about passenger business, and a Florida-to-New York trip on the Champion, say, or the Silver Meteor or the Silver Star can be enjoyable to a man who can afford a sleeper and who is in no great hurry to get there. The company does what it can to make even coach travel comfortable. The cars are air-conditioned, and they are pre-cooled for hours before they are put into service so that the passengers do not have to wait out the heat while the compressors and the freon perform their engineering marvel over the elements. Normally the coaches are clean, the rest rooms are clean, and the water fountains dispense cold water.

It is not altogether Seaboard's fault that the Gulf Coast Special, at certain times of the year, is considerably less than "the most dependable, carefree, comfortable form of travel known." The company maintains enough modern equipment to handle the normal daily passenger traffic in reasonable comfort. To meet the unusual demands of graduations and some holidays along its tracks, though, the railroad must call into service some ancient coaches that spend much of the year growing old gracefully on some peaceful siding. The aged ones respond with creaking and groaning and almost always a balky cooling system.

The car assigned to the Kingstree passengers was just such an elder citizen, and the passengers needed only a few minutes to discover that fact. They were hot when they boarded from the sun-baked station yard. Within minutes after the train pulled out, they were sweltering. The air-conditioning system was not working on this coach or on another one up front. The conductor said mechanics were waiting in Florence and would try to fix them when the train stopped there in about half an hour.

The Kingstree passengers found their own solution. The late boarders had spilled over into the coach behind to find seats. They discovered that it not only was air conditioned but also empty. Those jubilant words were passed quickly to the main Kingstree group, and some of the mothers with young children moved. The main body of teen-agers decided to stay together in the hot coach, though, partly because of camaraderie and partly because of the warning issued loudly by a veteran of previous trips on the train.

"Forget it, man," he said to everybody and nobody in particular. "You better stay where you are. You get in that air-conditioned car and you gonna freeze all night long. It don't make no difference whether you hot

all day or freezing all night. That's this old Chickenbone Special for you."

He had to be a veteran because only the veterans and train crewmen from New York to Jacksonville know the Gulf Coast Special as the "Chickenbone Special."

The name is thought to have originated in the late 1950s among a group of Negro graduate students at Temple University in Philadelphia. Over beer one night reminiscing about life in the Carolinas, they discovered that most of them had come north at one time or another on the same train. Further, they remembered the lunches packed by anxious mothers for sons and daughters who could not afford the prices charged on railroad dining cars. Invariably those lunches had contained at least one piece of fried chicken, as they still do, a fact which can be verified by an inspection of one of the coaches after it has disgorged its passengers at New York's Penn Station.

Technically the nickname is no longer correct. The name was coined in the days when there was only one Chickenbone Special—the Seaboard Air Line Railroad's once-a-day whistle-stopper from Tampa to New York City. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad also had its equivalent train, the Palmland, which made a daily run from Florida to New York on tracks roughly paralleling the Seaboard tracks north into Richmond and generally 50 to 100 miles inland from the Seaboard lines.

When Seaboard and Atlantic Coast Line merged into the Seaboard Coast Line several years ago the merger thus created two Chickenbone Specials. The company since has taken an incidental step toward remedying the problem of a singular name for a plural train. Because of recent schedule changes, trains number 10 (the Palmland) and 76 (the Gulf Coast Special) merge in Richmond shortly after 10 o'clock every night, so that the Chickenbone Special is in fact one train when it rolls across the Potomac River about 1 a.m. into the southern tip of the nation's East Coast urban area.

Even with the string of cars it pulls into Washington on its busiest days, the Chickenbone Special is not much of a train any more. In their salad days, the two trains thrived on the rich vacation traffic between New York and Miami and the passengers were the kind who appreciated the little niceties such as the historical plaques screwed into the walls of the coaches, bearing descriptions of places like Mary Washington House, where George Washington's mother was a gracious host at lawn parties and served wine and cake in the "Best Room." But time and air travel have wrought some noticeable changes in railroad passenger service. Neither 10 nor 76 touches Miami any more. Number 76, the Gulf Coast Special, makes up in Tampa at 10:30 every night and heads north toward Jacksonville on its 1,259-mile run into New York City. But there are so few passengers boarding between Tampa and Jacksonville that the railroad has petitioned the government for permission to discontinue that leg of

the train. The Jacksonville-to-Charleston leg eventually may go, since the train does not begin to pick up an appreciable number of passengers until it crosses Georgia into South Carolina, except at graduation and holiday periods.

Number 10, the Palmland, begins in Columbia, S. C., nowadays, and pulls out at 1:10 in the afternoon, just about an hour after Number 76 enters South Carolina at Hardeeville. Typically it has two coaches on its daily runs, the same number as the Gulf Coast Special. At holidays and graduations, it increases the load to five, six or seven coaches, usually slightly less than the Gulf Coast Special.

Together, the two trains fill up almost all their seats in North Carolina or South Carolina. By the time they cross into Virginia—Number 76 near Emporia and Number 10 south of LaCrosse—the boardings have fallen to almost none, and on days of the big exodus the seats are full.

Some measure of the Chickenbone Special's role in the nation's rural-to-urban migration problem, especially as that problem effects the East Coast, may be gauged by simple arithmetic. Take the six weeks immediately following the first Saturday in June. For at least three days during each of those six weeks, the two trains move into Richmond with probably 14 coaches. Each of these has 50 to 60 persons, or roughly 700 all told. Take the low figure as an average. It produces a total of 2,100 passengers a week, not counting the less busy weekdays. For the six-week period, then, these two trains alone haul something like 12,600 people out of the rural Southeast and into the urban Northeast. Most of them come from the Carolinas, with a smattering from Georgia, and almost all are deposited in the Washington-Baltimore area or the Philadelphia-New York City area.

Again, this does not count the weekday traffic. It does not count the children under six, who travel free, and it does not count the thousands of others who leave by automobile. High school parking lots often are half-filled at some graduations with cars bearing Northern state license plates: cars in which, as one perceptive Southern lady once noted, "four come down and six go back."

Nor does the count include the hundreds of small towns, and some small cities, which do not have railroad passenger service. At their busiest, the two Seaboard trains touch only 54 towns or cities in the Carolinas. In scores of others it is the local Greyhound or Trailways bus station that moves the migrants north.

The trains do not provide even the slightest clue to the number of white people migrating from the region. The people on board are a diverse lot in some ways: youngsters leaving permanently or only for a summer visit or summer work, older people (almost all of them women, seldom adult males) who left the region years ago and now are returning from a visit, and a great many small children going north for a visit with their parents. But the faces on board the coaches are uniformly of one color, varying only in shade.

The genteel rich returning from a Miami vacation and the upper-middle-

class Southerner northbound for a visit with Aunt Sally in Richmond have forsaken the train for the airplane. Those still old-fashioned enough to stick with the trains do not ride coach class.

The coaches, like some of the South's old manor houses, now belong to the former field hands: the sons and daughters of the tobacco fields, dark as the soil and rich only in the pride and the hope that leads them ultimately to a ticket counter. The young ones have been educated for jobs that do not exist. The old ones have been forced off tenant farms that cannot support them, into a small-town Southern economy that cannot or will not absorb them except as welfare cases or in the pitifully few and mostly second-rate jobs available. Often they board with little more than the clothes on their backs, the paper bags of fried chicken and an abiding faith that everything will be all right once they get north, where the jobs are.

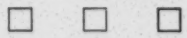
For those who find later that the city also cannot absorb them, there is some small solace in the knowledge that welfare in the city is better than welfare in the South.

Old hands among the Seaboard conductors have developed a surprisingly accurate rule of thumb to measure the work load they can expect on any given run with Number 76. "Look at Kingstree," they tell the newer men. "You can tell by Kingstree how many you'll pick up at Dillon and Weldon." Dillon is the last stop in South Carolina and Weldon is the last stop in North Carolina and the last big pick-up stop south of Washington.

Conductor W. R. Blackley, who got on at Florence, had had the rule passed on to him years ago and he remembered it now and passed it on to the man standing with him as the train pulled out of Florence. He could not account for it, Blackley said. "I don't know why it works but it works. Kingstree is the key."

On this day the rule of thumb would be off considerably on Dillon (only 27 would board there) and pretty close on Weldon (where 38 would board). The surprise was Florence, where The Chickenbone Special picked up 196 passengers, four coaches, one dining car and one Pullman. All this was added to the 150-or-so passengers and six coaches the train was pulling when it arrived in Florence, including one hot car, which still did not cool the Kingstree passengers adequately even after the 20-minute delay in Florence for mechanical work on the cooling system.

By the time it rolled into Richmond that night the train would be carrying about 465 paying passengers, as well as perhaps 50 children riding free and some non-revenue riders. There would be standing room only.



Donnie and Harim had stayed with the hot car, and now as the train crossed into North Carolina Donnie was beginning to feel the effects of the heat and the long ride. He had ventured out of his seat only once, to go to the men's room at the back of the car, and then he had decided to explore the next car. That had been a mistake, and he did not look for-

ward to it again. The forward motion and lurching of the cars as he walked had triggered motion sickness, and he felt dizzy by the time he got to his seat.

He picked up one of Harim's comic books and spent a few minutes reading about "Binky's Buddies" to get his mind off the dizziness. The four of them—Donnie, Harim, Viola and Rosetta—had talked a lot at first, about Williamsburg County and school and the choir trips to Columbia, about people back home, but for some reason not much about New York.

Viola had been to the city before, to the Bronx, and she and Donnie talked about it for a while.

"What's it like?" Donnie asked. "Is it like the pictures?"

"Well. I don't know. Some things are the same and some are worse and some are better," Viola said.

Donnie told her about some of the things he was looking forward to seeing: Central Park and the Mets, the skyscrapers, the Statue of Liberty, the subway. But Viola could not get excited about it.

"Don't expect too much when you get up there," she said.

"What you mean?"

"Well, just don't expect too much, that's all. Because some things are not like you might think they are. A lot of things you see in the pictures are not there."

They both decided they would adopt the Afro hair style. Donnie had wanted to go Afro in school, but the principal would not allow any of the kids to do it. Donnie didn't understand why. It didn't mean anything. It was just a style, and he liked it. But he had had his hair cut about a week earlier and it was very short. He didn't plan to get another haircut until it grew long.

The talk drifted into just sitting and listening to Harim's radio and trying to pick up stations. But Donnie kept thinking about New York. "I just hope it's the way I think it is. Not as bad as people say it is," he said to himself again and again.

He had swapped seats with Harim and was sitting at the window seat, on the sunny side, as the train rolled northward from one little town to another through the Eastern North Carolina tobacco fields. Donnie was not at all sure the view through the window was worth suffering the heat of the late afternoon sun.

The land up here looks just like it does at home, he thought, except that the tobacco doesn't look as good. But that was because it was set later. He noticed that there was almost no cotton. The houses along the tracks were all about the same, but in a few towns he noticed new brick houses, big ones, that belonged to black people. People were in the yards or on porches and they waved to the train passengers. The towns looked about the same, but he liked to go through them anyway, looking at the stores, the streets, the people, and especially the crowds at the train stations.

In one town (he didn't know the name of it) he saw a boy on a bicycle at the station and he got to thinking about the bicycle he and Jessie had

owned one time. All his life he had wanted one and finally, four or five years ago, Otis had come home one Saturday with a bike in the car. He had bought it second-hand in North Carolina for $35. It really wasn't much good, but Otis told Julia they wanted one so bad he just got it for them. It lasted about a month, and they must have used up a dozen tubes in that month. He and Jessie didn't know about fixing tubes, and he guessed the trouble was that they kept pinching them putting new ones in. Sometimes they would put too much air in, or sand would get inside and rub a hole in the tube. They couldn't go on putting tubes in it, so they had put it in the barn. About a year ago Julia had thrown it out in the garbage, and that was that. It was an English racer.

That seemed like a long time ago. He was not interested in bikes any more. What he wanted now was a car, a Firebird or a Stingray. He had said for a long time that there were only three things he was interested in when he got out of school: a good house, a good car and a good wife, one who would stick with a man and not expect too much of him. He had not found that kind of girl yet, maybe because he had not dated much in high school. Jessie had to take the car to work, so there was no way to date much. But he wasn't that interested anyway. It could lead to trouble. It almost had with him. I wonder what's going to happen to her, he thought.

That had been back in the spring, and they had had sex together. She was that kind of girl. Everybody had with her, and that's what he had gone for. But he didn't count on what happened. He heard later she was pregnant and he lived in agony for a couple of weeks at least. Turned out a lot of others were scared, too. But the baby wasn't his. He knew it and she knew it, and so nothing ever came of it as far as he was concerned. But he still wondered what had happened to the girl since then.

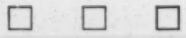
He wondered about New York, and what kind of girls he would meet there. Living with a sister might get pretty dull in New York, he guessed.

New York. He thought he might apply first for a job in the post office. That's what Belle told him to do. But he was not sure that was what he wanted. One time he had thought about being a mechanic. But he gave up that idea because the work would be dirty. He thought he might like to go to a trade school to learn about electronics. He liked to mess around with radios and phonos. He was not sure he wanted a job that meant standing up or walking all the time; since he had hurt his leg playing baseball his sophomore year he couldn't do much of that. The leg still buckled on him every once in a while. That was one reason he wasn't much of a dancer.

Of course if he couldn't find a job, he figured, he might just come on back down south. Otis and Julia wanted him to come back. They hadn't wanted him to leave. They did not understand it, and he was not sure he could understand it himself. New York was New York. It was all those pictures Belle kept sending back, maybe. Whatever it was, he was on his way. "I'm gonna see it for myself," he thought. "I've got to see it for myself."

Donnie was half asleep when he noticed that the countryside through the window had become blurred. The train had run into a heavy rainstorm just south of Rocky Mount. It was almost dark outside and Donnie at first thought he must have been asleep for a long time. But he looked at his watch and noticed that it was not yet 7 o'clock. The darkness was from the clouds and sheets of rain slapping against the window.

He jerked himself awake, knowing that if he slept now he would not be able to sleep later. But he was tired and his neck ached, and he felt hot and sticky. He decided to do something that was for him, under the circumstances, a very brave thing. He would change clothes right here on the train. In one of the bags in the rack above was a pair of bell-bottom blue jeans Renea had sent him from New York a couple of months earlier. He got up and stretched and rubbed his neck and then reached into the rack and dug out first the jeans and then a blue paisley sport shirt and finally a pair of tennis shoes. Gripping all these under one arm and using the other arm to steady himself from seat to seat, he went to the men's room at the end of the car. He washed his hands and his face in one of those crazy little sinks at which you have to hold the spigot to keep the water running. He changed his clothes and came out feeling a lot better. When he had re-packed his dress pants and the yellow shirt and the dress shoes, he got the food out of the bag and sat down to eat a sandwich and a piece of fried chicken with Harim and the girls.



Donnie Gibson's fellow passengers on the Chickenbone Special were the same kinds of people, in some cases the same people, who had been riding the train for years.

Willie Snow was one of the lucky ones; an exception, really. He had received his degree two weeks earlier at South Carolina State College, accepted a job with International Paper Co. in his home town of Georgetown, and now was on his way to Jamaica, Queens, New York for a vacation and then 14 weeks at a company sales training course in New York City.

Mrs. Annie Montgomery had left Kingstree for Nyack, N. Y., 15 years earlier and had ridden the train back and forth so many times she could not count them.

Mrs. Mary Whack had moved to Philadelphia when she was 13 years

old and married there. But she still visited her home in Greeleyville at least once a year.

Lewis Keels, a rising senior at Tomlinson High School in Kingstree, was making his second trip to North Philadelphia for summer work at a plastic bag factory. He would live with his grandmother there until the fall. He preferred to stay in Kingstree after graduation. But he assumed that the next summer he would move to North Philadelphia to stay.

Mrs. Reeaurther Wilson had grown up in Olanta, S. C., and had gone to Philadelphia in the late forties. She had married a paper hanger and had returned to Florence, S. C. after concluding they could make more money hanging paper there than they could in Philadelphia. After her husband's death several years later, she had moved to Paterson, N. J., then back to Olanta, then to a little community on Long Island, and finally to Huntington, N. Y. She commuted now to a job in Paterson and visited Olanta every chance she had. Mrs. Wilson had one brother and one sister living in Kingstree, two sisters in Florida, four sisters in Patterson, one brother in Raleigh, N. C., and one brother in Smithfield, N. C.

Miss Ophelia Alford had finished high school in Marlboro County, S. C., waited a year for a job that never developed in a local textile mill, and then migrated to Newark with a cousin. Six weeks after reaching Newark, she had taken a job in a city park and saved enough money to enter a school of beauty culture, from which she expected to graduate soon. She had been back to Marlboro County for her younger sister's high school graduation. The sister was planning to go to Newark in the fall, possibly to attend a business machines school. Miss Alford, who wanted to help her sister get a start in Newark, nevertheless now found herself drawn again toward her home county and the warmth and familiarity of her grandmother's country house there. When she thought about what she wanted most in life, the answer was easy: a house of her own, land of her own, and the opportunity to work profitably as a beautician in her home county.

Miss Patricia Burgess had received her high school diploma at Lake City the day before she boarded the train. She was on her way to Newark to look for office work and live with her mother. She had lived with her grandmother in Lake City since the age of one, and until the summer after her junior year she had vaguely planned to stay in Lake City after high school. But by August that year she had become familiar with the labor market and had made her decision to go north after graduation. With her high school courses in typing, shorthand and general office procedure, she did not expect to have trouble finding a job in Newark.

Miss Burgess was sharing a seat on the train with her classmate, Miss Gloria Cooper. Miss Cooper, the oldest of four children, had grown up with their mother. Her father worked in a tobacco factory in Maryland. The summers after her sophomore and junior years, Miss Cooper had lived with an aunt in Queens, working as a clerk typist in a loan office. Now she was headed back to Queens to take a permanent job.

James L. Sellers, a rising junior at South Carolina State College, was

going to Mount Holly, N. J., where he would live with his mother and find a summer job. He thought that when he finished college in 1971 he would leave the South permanently, as had most of the members of his high school class. In two years of weekend visits back to his home in Latta from college, Sellers had compiled what he thought was a fairly accurate record of how many of his high school classmates had migrated. There were 67 graduates that year, all of them Negro. Of the 67, only four now lived in the county, to the best of his knowledge, and he had tried to find them. The four were girls, and Sellers believed they remained in the county only because they were married.

In a sense James Sellers was representative of a minority group within a minority group in that he planned very consciously to leave the South for social rather than economic reasons. He was fed up with racism and repression and intimidation. He was angry because as a Negro he could not go places and do things, and he was disgusted because almost no one, in his opinion, white or black, could go any place or do anything after 11 o'clock at night. He would not, he thought, stay in the South under any circumstances.

But James Sellers' view is probably much less prevalent among Negro Southerners than that of Ophelia Alford. She did not feel that she simply must, no matter what the circumstances, live somewhere else.

If she could get a job as a beautician in the South, would she come back?

"Making good money, yes."

What kind of money?

"Well, enough money, like, you know, enough money to put aside for things that I've always wanted for so long. Like a house of my own, land of my own. Something like that. Something I've always wanted."

Why would she come back to the South?

"I like the South."

Why?

"I was born and raised here. I really like the South."

Despite, sometimes, the hatred?

"Yes."

And the racism?

"Yes. It really doesn't bother me. I'd still like to come back here. I mean, I was born and raised here. It's like I just can't get out of place here. Like they say, there's no place like home, and coming back here, just for the week, I hated to even leave. I always hate to leave when I go home."

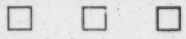
Miss Alford, it may be noted, wears an Afro hairstyle—a symbol of militant black racism to many white Southerners, including some, no doubt, in her home town—but simply a symbol of stylishness to her.

Perhaps the differences in the attitudes of Ophelia Alford and James Sellers are grounded in the fact that Miss Alford is a woman in a matriarchal society. The differences also may lie partly in the fact that James Sellers is a college student in an age of college rebellion, on a campus that recently held the first of what likely will be an annual memorial service

to the "Orangeburg Massacre." (Three of Sellers' fellow students at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg were shot to death by South Carolina Highway Patrolmen on the night of Feb. 8, 1968.)

But there is another, more general factor that might account for the predominant attitude, expressed by Miss Alford: the matter of regionalism, a love of home, of place, every bit as strong as it has been portrayed in song and drama and strong enough at times to border on chauvinism.

The black Southerner sees himself as a person and a Negro first. That is undeniable and unalterable. But he also is a Southerner. That also is undeniable and, in a great many instances, unalterable. And as a Southerner he ranks up there with the redneck, the peckerwood, the linthead, the great middle class and the supposed aristocracy when it comes to counting up and assaying his prejudices and predilections, innate and acquired. Socially and culturally the Southern black and the Southern white share a common heritage. James McBride Dabbs, one of the region's resident bridges between the races, has seen and marvelled often at this strong and curious love of the land, of place, among Southerners—this "haunting, puzzling sense of belonging," as he puts it. He thinks it is easily explainable, on the part of white Southerners, because of their more obvious and conscious involvement with history, with place and time and nature. As for the same quality among Negroes, Dabbs can offer only a theory, an interesting one. Some of the toughest times of a man's life, he believes, and the places where one has suffered these times, are rich in memory because one survived and came through. He can look back later and say, "That is the place where I fought it out." And the fact that the black man has suffered in the South and survived in the South may make the South a richer land to him than it is to the white man, because he has suffered more. Whatever the reason for it, it exists widely and deeply, and it is far more than simple nostalgia.



Somewhere north of Petersburg, Va., just about the time the passengers are becoming bone-weary and approaching a farmer's bedtime, the clickety-clack rhythm underneath the coaches of the Chickenbone Special changes noticeably to a jolting, jostling clickety-clack, interrupted in something like three-quarter time by off-key thuds and thumps. That is the worst time for the passengers in crowded coaches.

When the train pulls out of Washington about 2:35 in the morning for the final leg of the trip, fatigue has set in so thoroughly that the body is forced into sleep, despite the pinched leg room and the enforced upright position. But from Petersburg to Washington life on the train is about four hours of excruciating and unrelieved tedium as the passengers twist and squirm, riding alternately bolt straight and in a loose sprawl, to put the burden of pain on first one and then another part of the anatomy. The scenery through the window is gone. The water trickling out of the fountains has become tepid—if, indeed, there is any trickle at all. Conversation

has been exhausted. The novelty of the thing, even for first-time passengers, long since has worn out.

In Donnie Gibson's car there was some periodic relief from the tedium. It came in the person of an aged and toothless laborer to whom Saturday night was Saturday night, whether it was passed on a train or in a juke joint. Toothless One had boarded around sunset somewhere in Southside Virginia. He was going to Philadelphia and he obviously had fortified himself heavily for the journey. Soon after boarding, he had decided in his bleary head that he had lost a hat on board. Later he thought it must have been a coat that he had lost. So for about three hours he stalked back and forth through the cars, mumbling, swaying, sometimes nearly falling as he reached up to the baggage racks to inspect various hats and coats. In Donnie's car one of the baggage areas he poked into was that of Mrs. Reeaurther Wilson, who had not been a paper hanger for nothing.

"What you doing?" Mrs. Wilson demanded of him.

"Who asked you?" he replied, after staring at her a moment to get her into proper focus. Sizing up the situation, he thought better of his answer and informed Mrs. Wilson and the car in general that somebody had stolen his hat.

"Get out of here, man," Mrs. Wilson told him. "You weren't even in this car in the first place and you been poking around in this car all night."

"Who asked you?" the man said again. But when Mrs. Wilson began rising from her seat he swayed on toward the rear of the car.

At the door he turned to recapture some of his lost dignity. "You people better be careful," he shouted. "I'm a member of the FBI."

It all ended sadly in one of the men's room, where he was admiring a hat he had just found. Unfortunately the hat had another owner, who had followed him into the men's room. While the owner's left hand held a fist full of shirt and rested against the old man's adam's apple, the right hand recovered the hat and then became a fist.

"Old man," the owner said. "If you wadn't so old I'd cold-cock you right here. You ain't lost no coat and you ain't lost no hat. Now you find yourself a seat and sit."

After that the train was quiet and, it seemed, filled with even more tedium than it had been before. Donnie forced himself to stay awake until Washington. He bought a soft drink from the vendor who came through the cars. When it was gone and the train was not yet in Baltimore, he allowed himself to sleep. He slept fitfully. But he slept until Trenton became visible in the early morning light. He realized then that he had not been worried about New York when he had gone to sleep. There had been no need for a prayer.

The City

The approach to New York City is not what you would call scenic when it is framed by the window of a train. Fly into the city and the view from across the Hudson River can be breathtaking on a good day or a good night, even through a small window looking across the edge of a wing. Approach it by car or bus and still the silhouette of the Manhattan skyline is worthwhile briefly. But the train goes by way of the industrial backyard of New Jersey, and before the passenger gets much of a look at anything more than factory, scrap yard and salt flat he is dipped into the darkness below the Hudson, to emerge in natural daylight again only by ascending the escalator at Penn Station.

Donnie Gibson did not see New York City at all, maybe because he was sitting on the wrong side of the train for proper tourism. He did not breathe totally fresh air, in fact, from the time he boarded in Kingstree, S. C., until he climbed out of the Eighth Avenue subway at the Clinton and Washington stop in Brooklyn nearly 18 hours later.

By their own trial and error and then by following the crowd, Donnie and Harim found just the right escalator up from the track level. Belle and Geraldine were waiting for him at the top, rather than Renea, who was expecting another baby soon and did not feel up to the trip. They hugged him and then there was some talk about how good everybody looked and how things were at home and with the brothers and sisters in Brooklyn, and then Donnie turned to Harim, who was standing back a few feet.

Harim was going to call his brother, but he thought he might mess around the station for a while first and maybe go up and look around the streets. They grinned at one another and then began laughing. It was Harim who spoke first.

"See ya, man," he said.

"See ya," Donnie said.

Belle picked up one of his bags and the three started up to the next level, to cross a little foyer and go down again to the subway level.

"Up and down. Up and down. Is that all New York is?" Donnie asked, taking the steps two and three at a time.

"You better get used to this," Belle said. "You gonna have to ride the subway everywhere in this city."

They passed through the turnstile and then had to wait a few minutes on the subway platform. Donnie saw a penny scale and decided to weigh himself.

"Hundred and fifty," he said. "That's wrong. I weighed 159 back home."

He bought a Coke from the machine next to the scale and then lit a cigarette.

Belle gently took it out of his hand and stepped on it. "The first thing

you gotta learn about the subways," she told him, "is that you don't smoke in them. They put you under the jail for that."

The ride to Brooklyn was noisy to Donnie and he had trouble talking to Geraldine, sitting next to him. So mostly he just sat with a silent laugh on his face, watching the station platforms pass by. He wondered whether the Mets would be playing in New York today and whether he would have time to go to see them.

The train had arrived a little after 7 and it was not yet 9 when Donnie and his sisters emerged into the sunlight again at the Washington Avenue stop. It was a beautiful morning, sunny and still cool. The streets were quiet and almost deserted. Donnie noticed that there were no skyscrapers. Just big old brick buildings that looked pretty nice to him. He noticed the garbage also.

"Don't they have garbage pickup in Brooklyn?" he asked Geraldine.

"What you mean?" she said. "Sure we have garbage pickup. They just picked it up this morning."

Donnie pointed to the cans sitting along the sidewalk with the loose garbage lying around them. "They don't do such a good job," he said.

At the corner of Washington and Gates Avenue they stopped and Geraldine pointed to the right, down Gates. "See the building down the street there?" she asked. "That's where Belle and I live."

But Donnie could not figure out which building they were talking about because they all looked like one building to him. His sisters settled instead for showing him the little grocery store on Washington where they did most of their shopping.

Renea's apartment was half a block up Gates to the left of Washington, and Donnie recognized Paul's maroon Buick parked on the street in front of the building. Paul and Renea had driven South in it last Easter when they brought little Glenn down to stay with Julia until after the new baby came.

Renea and her husband Paul pay $112 a month for a basement apartment of three and a half rooms in one of the Brooklyn brownstones. The rent supposedly includes furniture, but they added some furniture of their own to make the place attractive and livable. They have not been able to control the roaches.

The living room has a window facing onto the street, beginning below sidewalk level and rising slightly above it. Behind the living room, in a straight line running to the back of the house, a half-room is separated from the living room by an archway decorated by Paul and Renea with ornamental chains hanging from the top of the arch, Oriental fashion. The chains are made in a metal shop where Donnie's brother Leon works. Behind the half-room is the bedroom, and behind the bedroom is the kitchen with a bar for dining. Behind the bar, to the left, are a closet and a bathroom which Renea has improved considerably with paint and pretty linens. Another window and a back door lead from the kitchen into a small back yard. It is the type of apartment that would be called "shotgun" in the South because of its barrel-straight arrangement of rooms.

The living room also shows the results of Renea's home-making talent. It is small, as are the other rooms, but it is comfortable and homey. The sofa has a matching sectional piece for the opposite corner. The coffee table has two matching end tables at either end of the sofa. The show-piece of the room is Paul's stereo, long and low, with a built-in bar that swivels around to serving position to show the bright red felt lining.

Everything works in the apartment except the doorbell, which has been replaced by a recognition system within the family, Renea's brothers and sisters and Paul's brother Stan. They announce themselves by rapping on the living room window, as Belle did the Sunday morning of Donnie's arrival.

Paul answered the door. Renea was in the kitchen making breakfast. Belle had called her from Penn Station, and the smell of frying sausage now filled the apartment.

Paul led the new arrivals through the door, past another door or gate of iron bars into a hallway and then into the living room, where Donnie was hit by Sheila, Geraldine's four-year-old daughter, in a flying leap. Normally Sheila lives in South Carolina with her grandmother. She and one of Belle's two girls, Jackie, were visiting their mothers for part of the summer.

"Hi, Sheila. How's my girl?" Donnie said as he grabbed her and twirled her around the room. He then got the same welcome from Jackie, who had been slower leaving the television set in the bedroom, and the three of them wallowed on the sofa until Renea called Donnie for breakfast.

Over a breakfast of eggs, sausage and pancakes Paul told Donnie about his own work and what Donnie might expect in New York. Paul had come north from New Orleans four years earlier and taken a make-do job plastering until he could find something better. His philosophy is that work of any sort is no good. "But you gotta get things the best way you can," he told Donnie, "and that means by working. So you work. Instead of coming home at the end of 40 hours feeling good but with no money in my pocket I'd rather work 80 hours and come home tired but knowing that I've earned something."

It is that kind of philosophy that has sustained Paul through the schedule he maintains. He leaves home five days a week at 2:30 in the afternoon to drive to his second-shift job as a foreman in a tire retreading shop in New Jersey. When he completes the eight-hour shift there he drives to a plastics factory nearby, where he puts in another eight hours for six days each week. When he has completed the 40-mile round trip he gets to sleep about 9:30 or 10 o'clock each morning.

Paul's 11 hour-day, 88-hour week has given him $310 a week, part of which goes into a savings account. With a third baby coming, he knew that he would have to move his family soon. He would like very much to buy a house somewhere on Long Island, and if he could hold out for a year, if he had any luck at all, he thought they could do it.

He told Donnie he thought there might be an opening coming up at the retread shop. They could look into it later. In the meantime something better might come up. Donnie did not expect any trouble finding some

sort of job, maybe a pretty good one. Archie was doing pretty good. He was a supervisor at an industrial home for the blind. Leon was in good shape. But they had a baby not long ago and they were going to have to move out of the two-room apartment. Belle still thought the Post Office Department, where she worked, was a good bet, and Geraldine would check around at the discount store where she worked.

After breakfast Donnie called South Carolina to tell Otis and Julia he had arrived without getting into any trouble.

"Julia?" he said. "I made it. Yes'm. No trouble at all. Just sore from riding. How's Otis? Well, tell him I made it. Yes'm, they're right here."

As the others took turns talking to their parents Donnie took Sheila's hand and went out into the hallway.

"I'm taking Sheila for a walk up the street," he told Geraldine. He figured he could find the little store his sisters had pointed out and maybe even their apartment building.

He was back an hour later carrying a large box of corn flakes and a quart of milk.

"Boy, this is some big place," he said as he headed toward the kitchen, opening the corn flakes as he went.

He poured a glass of milk and drank that in the kitchen. Then he poured out a bowl of cereal, splashed some milk over it, and retired to the bedroom, where he ate and watched television from the bed while his sisters started Sunday dinner. They had called Archie and Leon, and both of them were coming over later with their wives.

Donnie watched part of one program and then another one all the way through before he became restless again. This time he announced that he was taking Jackie for a walk. He still had $4.48 left after buying the corn flakes and milk. He thought he might find another store open.

It was on that second walk through the streets of Brooklyn that first Sunday in New York that Donnie decided everything was going to be all right. Kids were playing along the sidewalks now. He could hear music coming from some of the open windows above the sidewalk, and he noticed for the first time that there were trees along the streets.

"New York is all right," he thought. "I think I'm gonna like it. It's gonna be like I thought it was."

Back in the apartment Paul was shaving and Renea was cutting and rolling out noodles when they heard Donnie slam the outside door on his way out.

"That boy!" Renea said. She and Paul figured they would let him loaf for a week, seeing the city, before they would help him find a job.

□ □ □

The neighborhood that Donnie toured briefly that Sunday morning still is designated as Fort Greene in the Brooklyn borough president's office and in the offices of the local anti-poverty agency. But not many of today's Fort Greene residents know the name of their neighborhood and even fewer of them bother to use it. To most of them the only name known or needed is Brooklyn. The others tend to consider themselves a part of

Bedford-Stuyvesant, mainly because the spillover from Bedford-Stuyvesant to Fort Greene in recent years has almost wiped out the Classon Avenue dividing line.

A long time ago, maybe four or five decades, Fort Greene was a proud model of middle-class urban America. Its rows of attached or semi-attached buildings were private homes or comfortable one-family apartments housing doctors and lawyers and businessmen. If the neighborhood could not boast of Manhattan money, neither did it have to contend with the Manhattan crush. Its citizens were the suburbanites of their day, with pretensions and ambitions and "family background." Its streets were broad and quiet and its sidewalks were lined with water oaks and elms. Inside, the dignity of the massive brownstones was re-inforced by carpeting and solid mahogany wainscoting.

At first, Donnie saw the neighborhood not as it is but as it once was. He was fresh off the farm, from a community where indoor plumbing is a measure of affluence and where only the county courthouse and maybe an occasional church building shows the kind of solid permanence of a brownstone, even an old brownstone.

Gradually over the next few weeks he began to see it in a more realistic sense.

Fort Greene in the summer of 1969 was a festering sore of weary brick and brownstone, throbbing with the pus of human despair. Its streets seemed at times to be paved with the refuse of a migrant army: discarded bedsprings, baby carriages, and mattresses soaked successively in urine, blood and many rains; broken refrigerators, stoves, washing machines and assorted items of furniture; and carcasses of automobiles in various stages of cannibalization. Garbage cans full or freshly emptied stood battered along the sidewalks, each one presiding over a column of overflow litter running into the streets: milk cartons, crushed aluminum cans, smashed bottles and rotting food scraps.

The surviving trees battled weeds and concrete and garbage for nourishment. Many landlords had given up part of the battle for economic survival. Rioting in 1964 had been followed by periodic disturbances and steady decay. While upper-story residential rental obviously was booming, ground-level commercial rental had become a bust. One store front after another stood empty behind broken windows, wooden boards or locked iron bars. Their owners no longer bothered to post "For Rent" signs. Those businesses still operating did their buying and selling in daylight hours, behind display windows prudently and permanently emptied of merchandise.

Fort Greene was a neighborhood where many of the residents seemed to live on the streets, aimlessly, mindlessly wandering from one corner to the next. It was a neighborhood where an old woman could lie sleeping in a public doorway for hours undisturbed, even unnoticed, her legs sprawled on the sidewalk, her body slumped against the door of an empty jewelry store for partial protection against a steady rain. It was a neighborhood constantly assaulting the senses of man, with smells, tastes and sights that were an affront to any sense of middle-class propriety. Wherever one turned there was the pervasive odor of soured garbage, soured wine and soured lives.

Statistically, Fort Greene is about 230 blocks, running from Classon Avenue at Atlantic Avenue northwest to the East River. It is home to the Brooklyn Navy Yard, at least two college campuses, several public housing projects, a great many tenaments and more than 100,000 people, one-quarter of whom live on public welfare.

Fort Greene Community Corporation, the local anti-poverty organization, has divided the entire section into five areas of roughly equal size. Area One, a 42-block square administered from an office only two blocks from Paul and Renea's apartment on Gates Avenue, is perhaps typical of the entire section. In 1960 it had a population of about 35,000, which was 56 per cent black, 43 per cent white and 11 per cent Puerto Rican. Fifteen per cent of the population had income of less than $2,000 per year and 42 per cent were below $4,000. Eight per cent of the population was unemployed. Thirty-five percent of the housing units were either deteriorated or dilapidated.

In the summer of 1969 Area One had become about 70 per cent black, 20 per cent Puerto Rican and maybe 10 per cent white. The neighborhood is described in poverty program worksheets as one of very poor sanitation and relatively poor housing conditions. "Unemployment was high in 1960, and is undoubtedly higher now; the number of impoverished families has undoubtedly increased; and the percentage of overcrowded and substandard housing units has predictably increased as well. Recent figures from the board of education for local elementary schools reveal that students are averaging from 1.5 to 2 years behind in reading skills."

Fort Greene includes parts of the 79th, the 80th and the 88th police precincts. The 79th, in the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant, once was the "busy" precinct; that is, it was a precinct where there was a great deal of police activity. But now it has become stabilized as an all-black area, and thus is relatively free of the police problems brought about by neighborhoods in change. Now it is the remainder of Fort Greene, in the 80th and 88th precincts, that is the busy part.

Narcotics and prostitution are the two worst problems. But there is an underlying factor beyond the reach of police, one that makes parts of Fort Greene more of a police problem than any section of Harlem, according to the men who work the precincts. The man in Harlem tends to be more of a permanent resident. If he is not a native New Yorker, he has lived there long enough to become street-savvy. If he does not have a job, he

has learned to live adequately by his wits. The man in Fort Greene tends to be a relative newcomer to the city, ill-prepared to survive the pressures of any urban ghetto, and especially one like Fort Greene.

"Let's put it this way," a police lieutenant said. "The guy in Harlem is smarter and he's got more money. Who is likely to be angrier, the guy with a buck in his pocket or the guy who is broke?"

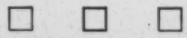
In Fort Greene there is a saying that if you stand on a street corner long enough you will see somebody you know from South Carolina.

Mrs. Mary Fowler, assistant director of the Fort Greene Community Progress Center, knows how true this is and she also knows what urban life does to some of the youngsters coming up from the South. She can look out her office windows to the corner of Washington and Fulton and see it every day.

"The biggest problem in the neighborhood," she said, "is drugs. And that's the drug headquarters of this area, right out there on the corner. If it was a nice day you couldn't cross the street for the addicts. Some days we have to close up early here because so many of them are hanging around."

Prostitution, she said, "is a shame before God." Drugs, pregnancy and prostitution are prevalent in the schools, she said, and even when the schools are operating the kids fall behind in their learning. Mrs. Fowler migrated to Brooklyn with her parents when she was three years old. Even as Donnie Gibson and many others like him were arriving in Fort Greene from the South, Mrs. Fowler and others like her were seriously thinking of leaving the area to return to the South. When schools opened in the fall of 1969 she had decided to send four of her 13 children to the South to live with relatives and finish school.

Fort Greene is a transitional neighborhood in every sense of the word. For the tens of thousands of uprooted Negroes and Puerto Ricans pouring into New York City every year from Southern farms and Caribbean slums, Fort Greene becomes home only for the weak and the weary. For the others it is no more than a waystop, for it is a place where the human spirit survives on dreams of moving back to the South or back to the Caribbean or out to Connecticut.



One of those who looked forward to Connecticut was Sammie Joe Johnson, an easy-going son of the South Carolina soil. Sammie Joe never made it because Fort Greene also is the kind of place where broken dreams are as plentiful as broken furniture.

Sammie Joe finished high school in 1965 and, like his older sister and two older brothers, migrated to Brooklyn confident that a job, good pay and the Good Life waited there for anyone willing to work. He got a job. But somehow the bills always seemed to run ahead of his take-home pay. At home he had been especially close to his mother. In Brooklyn he was sorely troubled because he could not send her as much money as he wanted to—never as much as the other children sent her.

All Sammie Joe really wanted out of life was to be able to send money home to his mother, to marry Joanne, who had come up from Williamsburg County to love him and bear his child, and to move out to Connecticut after they were married.

At Christmas of 1967 he had visited his parents and left in unexplainable tears. One Thursday night the following February he cried in Joanne's arms.

"Jo," he said. "I'm in pains."

"What kind of pains?" she asked.

"You wouldn't understand," he said.

The next day he had a friend call Joanne and take her to a party as his stand-in. Saturday afternoon he made a rare stop at a bar just off Gates Avenue and ordered a beer, pushing aside an empty can in front of him.

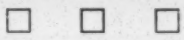
"That's my beer," the man standing beside Sammie Joe said.

"It's empty," Sammie Joe said, offering to buy another.

They exchanged words and then blows, and suddenly a pistol was fired from inside a coat pocket. The bullet passed through the lining of the coat and into Sammie Joe's heart.

Sammie Joe made it to the doorway and died there in the arms of two friends who were trying to get him out to the street.

"He died in an argument over an empty beer can," Joanne said later. "For no other reason than that."



Donnie Gibson did not know Sammie Joe Johnson, although they had come from the same county in South Carolina. He never met Mrs. Fowler. He never talked with police in the precinct houses. He became vaguely aware of the school problems by listening to Paul and Renea discuss them.

He did not see the neighborhood as it was because there were too many other things to see, too many things to do. That first week of June he covered the streets of Brooklyn for hours on foot and on buses, visiting his brothers and sisters. He learned the subway system by experiment, taking first one train and then another to see where it went. In Manhattan, he knew, he always could find his way home simply by taking the "A" train of the Eighth Avenue Subway. He went to see the Mets play. He went to Coney Island. He did not go to Central Park, but he visited Prospect Park. And he found a small park in Fort Greene where a pick-up game of sandlot baseball was to be had almost any day. That little park was to become almost a second home to him as the summer wore on.

He was seldom in the apartment during the first week, and he called home only once, on Thursday. But Paul and Renea noticed the next week that Donnie was spending a lot of time in the apartment, watching television and half-heartedly playing with the children. He called home three times that week, and Paul and Renea decided after the third call that it was time for Donnie to go to work. Paul already had talked with his boss

at the retread shop in New Jersey. A job was open on the rubber mold, and Donnie could have it. It was a second-shift job, and it was hot work. But it paid well, and Donnie could ride to work with Paul. Donnie would have to pay for public transportation only one way, on the return trip at night. They talked about it over the weekend, and Donnie decided to take it. He went to work the next Monday morning, June 16. On the 19th Donnie called Julia to tell her about the job. Everything was fine, he said. Just fine. He would be making better than $100 a week.

Renea delivered little Kevin on the 23rd, and Donnie called Julia again to tell her about it. With the extra baby in the apartment now, he said, he was looking for a place of his own, maybe a room with a kitchenette.

What he did not tell Julia was that life with his older sister was beginning to get a little touchy. It had started, he thought, after his first payday. Renea had certain ideas about what he ought to do with his money, and Donnie had other ideas. She thought he ought to start saving right away. He ought to send some money home. Donnie wanted to buy some clothes first and maybe spend a little on himself. Besides, there was not that much money left after they got through taking out on him. Unless he got overtime he was bringing home only about $80 a week, and it just didn't last long.

After that, things just seemed to get worse. Working the rubber mold was the hottest and hardest job in the shop, and Donnie did not like it. Several times he burned himself. At one point he threatened to quit, but Paul had him transferred to another part of the shop. Still he was not happy with the job. "And if you're not happy on a job," he told himself over and over, "if you don't like what you're doing, then there's no use doing it."

He talked with Geraldine about the situation at the apartment and found her more understanding. He began spending more and more time at Geraldine's apartment, enjoying the freedom he found there, and gradually began to move his clothes to her apartment.

Worst of all, there was the problem of getting to and from work. Paul was leaving home earlier now. As a supervisor he reported before the regular shift. Donnie rode with Paul's brother or one of their friends. If he got a ride to Jersey City he did not have to leave home until around 2:30 in the afternoon. But often he had to take the subway, which meant taking the subway into Manhattan, changing to the tube to the Jersey side of the river and then taking a bus to the shop. That meant he had to leave home about 2 o'clock. At night he had to repeat the same routine, and he almost never got home until 1:30 or 2 o'clock in the morning.

He hated the subways and the buses. He hated the second shift, which left him little time to do anything but work and sleep.

He met a girl from Alabama who was spending the summer in Brooklyn. He took her to the movies a couple of times, but they didn't hit it off, and so he didn't call her again.

New York, he began to realize, was a hard place to make friends. He just could not understand why people were so cold and unfriendly. Down

South, when you walk along the street and smile at somebody he smiles back. When you speak to him he speaks back. In New York, if you want to do that, somebody looks back as if you are crazy. Nobody has any time. Everybody is always in a hurry. That, at least, was the New York world that Donnie saw.

By mid-July Donnie knew he did not like New York. He did not like his job. He did not like riding the subways. He did not like the people. He did not like the whole thing. Yet, when he thought about going back to South Carolina he knew that that would not work, either. Thinking about South Carolina, he began to suspect that home never had been as good a place as he had thought it was when he lived here. He wondered now if he ever really liked it down there. "I don't like it here," he told himself. "But I don't think I like it down there either, so I'll just stay here for a while."

Jersey City seemed like a nice place, and he thought about saving some money and moving there. But then he knew that would take some time, and he was not all that sure he liked Jersey City. Renea tried to get him to go to a trade school, and Donnie did call about it. But the school was filled for the fall session, and Donnie was not prepared to make any sort of commitment a year ahead.

There was one way out of his dilemma. He would join the Navy. He got up early one morning and took a bus to the Navy recruiting office feeling better than he had felt in several weeks. He might just make a career out of the Navy, he thought. Or maybe spend 10 or 15 years in it and then get out and settle down. At the recruiting office the man asked Donnie if he had registered for the draft. He hadn't. The man said the chances of getting into the Navy were pretty slim at the time and suggested that Donnie register for the draft first and then check back in several months.

After that Donnie began to spend more time in the park playing baseball. He also began to find reasons for not going to work. One day he hurt his arm playing ball and could not go in. Several times he missed his ride, or he did not feel well enough to work.

He began to play a mental game with the telephone. If Julia calls today with some word on the job applications in South Carolina, he would say to himself, I'll just go on back home when I get paid on Friday.

Julia did not call, and Donnie in his loneliness began to function in a kind of torpor, sleeping later in the mornings, smoking more and trying to think less about his situation. He had found that he could not talk about his problems with his sisters. But late in July he did have a talk with his brother Archie.

"I don't like it up here, either," Archie told him. "I've been thinking about going back south if things don't change."

Donnie agreed to Archie's suggestion that they stick it out until Christmas. If things were not any better by then they would just pull out together and head home.

The Farm

Otis and Julia were sitting on the porch the Tuesday after Donnie left home when Roosevelt McClary came by to give Donnie his graduation present.

Otis was just finishing his dinner on the tray in front of him and Julia was stringing a bucket full of snap beans, to be canned later.

"Hey," McClary called as he got out of the car and started walking across the freshly swept yard. "You folks doin' all right today?"

"Oh, pretty good, I reckon," Julia said. "You getting along?"

"Fair. Heat's about to get me down, though."

McClary laid his hat down on the edge of the porch and wiped a handkerchief across his forehead and then down each cheek and around his neck at the collar line.

"Donnie home today?" he asked.

"No," Julia said. "Donnie done gone."

"Gone? Where'd he go?"

"Gone to New York. Left Saturday."

"I'll be doggone. Left already, huh," McClary said. "Coming back, though, ain't he?"

"Well, he said he might stay and he might come back," Julia said. "But I ain't looking for Donnie to stay. He likes it too much down here."

"Nah," McClary said. "Donnie ain't gonna like it up there at all."

They chatted a while longer and then McClary reached into his hip pocket and pulled some money out of his wallet.

"You give this to Donnie," he said to Julia, handing her two $1 bills. "Tell him I'm sorry I didn't get by sooner. But I just didn't have no idea Donnie'd be leaving."

Julia thanked him. She knew Donnie would appreciate it, she said. She would give his regards to Donnie the next time Donnie called.

McClary replaced his hat and started back toward the car, shaking his head. "How 'bout that," he said. "Left already. But he won't stay."

"No," Julia said, bending again to her beans. "I really ain't looking for Donnie to stay. Up there ain't like down here."

Otis asked every day whether Julia thought Donnie would call. Every time the telephone rang he wondered if it were Donnie. By the time they had got the first call that Sunday morning, Otis had asked Julia at least three times to call New York to see if he had gotten there.

Everyone in the Gibson family can read and write. But it is not a writing family. The older boys had written some when they were in the service, but since then the Gibsons had stayed in touch with one another by telephone. Otis and Julia got no letters from Donnie. They had no words to study and analyze for hidden feelings. The only means they had

of gauging Donnie's well-being throughout that summer was the sound of his voice and the frequency of his calls.

The first week he was away Julia thought she could feel the excitement in his voice when he called. It was maybe like the time when Otis brought home the bicycle or the time when Donnie got his first baseball glove. The second week it was different. Julia knew without any doubt that Donnie was homesick. After that it was hard to tell. Donnie did not call as often, and when he called or when she called New York, it was hard to find out anything about him. She began to feel that he was drifting away from them.

Then one hot afternoon in the middle of August, just as Julia was taking Otis' lunch tray back into the house, Donnie called. He was at the bus station in Kingstree. He needed a ride home. Jessie drove to Kingstree and picked him up.

Julia did not ask Donnie whether he planned to stay home. She was happy enough to have him back, and she understood without asking that he would stay if he could find a job. Donnie did not volunteer anything definite. He deliberately tried to create the impression that he was just back for maybe a week or so. It was a means of salvaging some of his pride, of erasing part of the feeling of guilt and defeat that he could not clearly define. Others in the family were aware of a definite change in the old family relationship, and within hours after the family reunion there was an element of tension, of uneasy politeness. Even the relationship between Donnie and Otis had changed. Once when Otis wanted to be lifted out of his wheelchair to hitch up his trousers it was Jessie he asked to lift him, although Donnie was sitting on the porch with Jessie and Otis.

Donnie had felt a change when Jessie turned into the sandy lane to the house that afternoon. Coming through North Carolina on the bus he had felt a kind of familiar warmth as he watched the fields zip past the bus window. The corn was green and the tobacco stalks were heavy and full with leaves. As Jessie's car passed the corn field in front of the Gibson farm, though, Donnie was shocked to see the corn was already brown. The tobacco stalks had been stripped clean by the harvest, the first one he had ever missed. Cotton already was beginning to peep through the bolls in the little patch in front of the house.

The farm, which never had been much of a farm anyway, did not seem to be a farm at all any more. Gray, the old mule that had been a part of the family for as long as Donnie could remember, had been sold in July. Julia also had sold the two hogs. The only stock left were a few chickens pecking around the back yard.

The most startling thing about the place was the weeds. Donnie never had seen the weeds as high around the yard as they were the afternoon when Jessie drove him home from the bus station. He wondered again if he had done the right thing in coming back.

Donnie had made up his mind suddenly, coming home one night on

the subway. "I'm going home," he told Geraldine when he got home. "Well, if you're not happy up here there's no use in staying," Geraldine had said. Now he was back with maybe $75 or $80 to show for the summer's work with no prospects of a job any time soon. And home was not like home any more.

□ □ □

In bed that night he wondered if he had made a mistake in going to New York. No, he decided. "If I'd stayed here I wouldn't have been satisfied till I went to see if New York was like they said it was. But what am I going to do now? I don't want to go back to New York and I don't want to stay down here and I don't know where to go next." Briefly he thought about praying. He had not prayed since that time on the train to New York. But he decided he was too tired, too mixed up, to pray.

The next morning he got the lawn mower out, went to the store to get a gallon jar of gasoline, and started mowing the weeds and grass around the house. "Maybe they just look higher than they've ever been because I wasn't here to watch them grow," he told himself as he pushed the mower through the weeds. He would try the Navy again, he thought. Or maybe the Marines. "I'll do it pretty soon," he thought. "Sometime soon."

Some Southern Regional Council Publications

The Tax Structure of the Southern States: An Analysis. 1969. By Dr. Eva Galambos. An examination of the Southern states' major sources of income, the study concludes that the tax systems burden the poor and middle-income citizens the most and that outmoded tax structures are inadequate to finance a host of unmet public needs. Single copy 50¢ each; bulk rate 40¢ each.

The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation. 1969. By Horace Barker. A report which deals with the Nixon administration's softening of federal desegregation enforcement policies. Single copy 50¢; bulk rate 40¢.

In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response. 1969. A report charging the government with neglect of the poor and racial discrimination in dealing with persons in the Mississippi Gulf Coast disaster area. Issued jointly with the American Friends Service Committee. Single copy, 40¢. Bulk copies, 30¢.

John Willie Reed: An Epitaph. 1969. By Charles Longstreet Weltner. This sensitive look at the life and death of a poor Southern black man is the first in the Southern Regional Council's Leadership Series. Single copy 30¢; bulk rate 20¢ each.

The Will to Survive. 1969. By Anthony Dunbar. Introduction by Charles H. Percy. A study of a Mississippi plantation community based on the words of its citizens. Issued jointly with the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. Single copy 75¢; bulk rate 60¢ each.

Black Candidates: Southern Campaign Experiences. 1969. By Julian Bond. A representative, nonpartisan sampling of the campaign experiences of black candidates for public office in the South—a record of successes as well as failures. Told by the candidates themselves. Single copy 60¢; bulk rate 50¢ each.

SOUTH TODAY, a monthly digest of articles about the problems and people of the South, is issued by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council. It includes special staff reports, such as those which have dealt with private schools, the Nixon welfare proposals, discrimination by the USDA and the effects and future of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Single copies and subscriptions are free upon request.

Fayette County, Tennessee: Tragedy and Confrontation. 1969. By Dwayne Walls. A report on racial violence and subsequent Negro boycott in a rural Tennessee county. Single copy 40¢ each; bulk rate 30¢ each.

NEW SOUTH, a quarterly review of Southern affairs, is published by the Southern Regional Council in February, May, August, and November. Subscription: $3.00 per year. Single copies: $1.00, less in quantity or for reprints of articles.

Radicalism: Southern Style, A Commentary on Regional Extremism of the Right. By Reese Cleghorn. 1968. A study of those factors which make the South peculiarly susceptible and peculiarly resistant to national right-wing extremist movements, with an analysis of the George Wallace presidential campaign of 1968. Published jointly with the American Jewish Committee. 50¢. 40¢ in quantities of 100 or more.

Cooperatives and Poor People In The South. 1969. An evaluation of nine cooperatives operating in the South, by Al Ulmer. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies 20¢.

Lawlessness And Disorder. Fourteen Years of Failure In Southern School Desegregation. 1968. Single copy 40¢; bulk copies, 30¢ each.

The Delta Prisons: Punishment For Profit. 1968. A special report on the prison system of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

Publications Subscription Service—All publications released by the Southern Regional Council for a one-year period. (Does **NOT** include subscription to NEW SOUTH.) Yearly.....$5.00
With subscription to NEW SOUTH Yearly.....$7.00

These books were published under the auspices of, or with the substantial assistance of, the Southern Regional Council, from which they may be ordered.

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. By Pat Watters. Pantheon, 1969. The changes which have occurred in the South during the 1960s are examined and the author concludes that "the main effect of the most basic of these changes had been to end forever whatever there remained (or ever had been) of self-containment, of separateness in the South from the rest of the nation." In these changes Mr. Watters finds a foreshadowing of changes in store for the country as a whole. 390 pages. $7.95.

Pat Watters' book is a study of the contemporary South at once tender and sardonic, intimate and cool, affectionate and critical. . . . He wishes it to break past the mania of racism, yet there are qualities of its life he would like to see preserved. The book is informed, modest, alive and utterly decent.

—Irving Howe

STILL HUNGRY IN AMERICA. Text by Robert Coles, photography by Al Clayton, introduction by Edward M. Kennedy. The New American Library, Inc., in association with The World Publishing Co., jointly sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation. A tragic, graphic portrayal of the extent of hunger in the country, as told by the people themselves and as observed extensively by the authors. 115 pages. $6.95 hardback, $2.95 paperback.

In a sense I am very sad that this book has to be published . . . Yet I dare feel a measure of hope, because these dreadful conditions are being exposed . . . and are being documented in this powerful, compelling book, which spares the reader no truth but which treats its subjects—impoverished and defenseless people—with compassion and respect.

—Edward M. Kennedy

CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER. The Arrival of Negroes in Southern Politics. By Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn. Introduction by Leslie W. Dunbar. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc. A history of the struggle of Southern Negroes to win equality and the ballot in the 1960s, with analysis of the meaning of the new vote, the religious cast of much of the movement, the role of the Southern courts, the emergence of "Black Power," and the roots of much of the present student movement in America. 389 pages. $8.95.

It is a necessary book for those who "want to know."

—Ralph McGill

It is, I believe, a worthy successor to (V. O. Key's) SOUTHERN POLITICS.

—Robert Coles

This book will probably stand as the definitive history of that period.

—Library Journal

They tell it like it was.

—C. Vann Woodward

THE AMERICAN SERFS. By Paul Good. G. P. Putnam's Sons. In telling of the poor of the United States, most particularly the rural poor of the South, Mr. Good suggests that millions of Americans belong to a landless peasant class that exists on the level of the serfs of the Middle Ages. He uses governmental and private statistics and surveys, but his major interest is in the people themselves, who speak throughout this book. 188 pages. $4.95.

Paul Good has captured the words and feelings of thousands and thousands of terribly poor Americans, both black and white. It is of course incredible . . . in the United States of America, with all its wealth and power—that people live the kind of lives here described.

—Robert Coles

NATIONAL ROSTER
OF
BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

FEBRUARY, 1970

For Additional Information Contact

MARC
1819 H Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Price $4.00

NATIONAL ROSTER

OF

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

February, 1970

Compiled By

Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.
(Washington Office)
1819 H Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006

and

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NATIONAL ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

Introduction

This is a revised edition of the national roster which originally was published for the Institute for Black Elected Officials in September 1969. It is a compilation of the names, addresses and titles of black men and women in the United States who hold elective public office on the local, state or national level. To the best of our knowledge, it is current as of February 1, 1970 and reflects the changes resulting from recent elections.

Over the past few months, we have become increasingly aware of the likelihood that there are elected black officials in various parts of the country who have not come to our attention and who therefore are missing from the roster. This is unfortunately the case despite the fact that we have received invaluable assistance from many individuals and organizations.

It is obvious that a national roster of elected black officials is an indispensable source of information for anyone interested in understanding the emerging pattern of Negro participation in the political process. We will therefore continue our effort to keep the roster up to date and will publish additions and corrections from time to time. This can only be done, however, with the cooperation of everyone who has an interest in the project.

We would appreciate receiving from users of this roster any information they might have which would help us make this list more accurate and complete. We would be particularly pleased to hear from anyone who would be willing to help us keep this roster up to date on a systematic and regular basis. Please send all information and inquiries to the MARC Office in Washington, D.C. Thank you.

Eleanor Farrar
Washington Representative
Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc.

Vernon Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council

February, 1970

Black Elected Officials in United States

			STATE			COUNTY			CITY			LAW ENFORCEMENT				
	TOTAL	U.S. CONGRESS	SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES	OTHERS	COMMISSIONERS, SUPERVISORS	ELECTION COMMISSIONERS	OTHERS	MAYORS	COUNCILMEN ALDERMEN	OTHERS	JUDGES, MAGISTRATES	CONSTABLES MARSHALS	JUSTICES OF PEACE	OTHERS	SCHOOL BOARD
ALABAMA	86					4		4	4	38	2		8	19		7
ALASKA	1															1
ARIZONA	7		1	2												4
ARKANSAS	55								4	9	1			4		37
CALIFORNIA	105	1	1	5		1			2	27	1	14				53
COLORADO	7		1	2						2		1				1
CONNECTICUT	31		1	4	1					17	1		3			4
DELAWARE	9		1	2		1				4						1
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	8															8
FLORIDA	36			1		1			2	27	1		2			2
GEORGIA	40		2	12		3			1	14		1				7
HAWAII	1									1						
ILLINOIS	74	1	4	10					1	23	2	9				24
INDIANA	30			3		1		1	1	8	2	2		1		11
IOWA	5			1								2				2
KANSAS	6			3		1				1						1
KENTUCKY	41		1	2		1			1	22		4	4			6
LOUISIANA	64			1		5			3	26			13	7		9
MARYLAND	43		2	9					5	23		4				
MASSACHUSETTS	8	1*		2						2						3
MICHIGAN	110	2	3	10		25		2	2	22		11	1			32
MINNESOTA	8			1							1	2				4
MISSISSIPPI	81			1		4	17	1	3	32			7	10	1	5
MISSOURI	65	1	2	13					2	23	4	5	1		1	13
NEBRASKA	2															2
NEVADA	3			1						1		1				
NEW JERSEY	73			4		3		1	3	33	1					28
NEW MEXICO	3			1						2						
NEW YORK	74	2	3	9		4				10	2	20				25
NORTH CAROLINA	62			1		1			5	44		1				10
OHIO	89	1	3	10		1			4	40	3	11	1			15
OKLAHOMA	36		1	4					2	10						19
PENNSYLVANIA	49	1	1	10				1		13	1	9	4			9
RHODE ISLAND	2			1						1						
SOUTH CAROLINA	38					2			2	27	1	4				2
TENNESSEE	38		2	6						9		11	3	1	2	4
TEXAS	29		1	2					1	15						10
VIRGINIA	36		1	2		4		1		22				6		
WASHINGTON	4			1						1		2				
WEST VIRGINIA	1															1
WISCONSIN	7			1		2				3						1
WYOMING	1															1
TOTALS	1469	10	31	137	1	64	17	11	48	552	23	114	47	48	4	362

*U.S. Senator

February, 1970

Note: Nine states have no black elected officials: Idaho, Maine, Montana, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah and Vermont.

A L A B A M A

William C. Allen
Justice of Peace
Drawer A
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

Lucius Davenport Amerson
Sheriff
109 North Elm Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
305 Bruce Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

C. R. Atkinson
Councilman (Hobson City)
127 Park Avenue
Anniston, Alabama 36201

David Barnes
Councilman
City Hall
Triana, Alabama 35758

Hillie Belcher
Justice of Peace
P.O. Box 1
Faunsdale, Alabama 36738

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Box 34
Coatopa, Alabama 35450

Frank H. Bentley, Jr.
Councilman
Drawer 1099
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

John S. Billingsley
Councilman
301-B Brighton Avenue
Roosevelt City, Alabama 35020

Dr. Prosanto K Biswas
School Board Member
Box 245
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

Albert C. Bulls, Jr.
Councilman
211 Althea Street
Tuskegee Institute,Alabama
36088

Frenchie Burton
Commissioner (Greene Co.)
R. F. D.
Boligee, Alabama 35443

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
1802 Patterson Street
Tuskegee Institute,Alabama
36088

Jerry D. Coleman
Councilman
228 63rd Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

Robert Conley
Councilman (Hobson City)
City Hall
Anniston, Alabama 36201

Joe L. DuBose
Councilman
517 63rd Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

A L A B A M A

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Member
Board of Revenue (Macon Co.)
Box 58
Tuskegee Institute,Alabama
36088

Jesse W. Favor
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 145M
Tyler, Alabama 36785

Joe L. Fletcher
Councilman
City Hall
Triana, Alabama 35758

Clyde Foster
Mayor
Route 3, Box 128
Madison, Alabama 35758

Theodore B. Fox
Councilman
City Hall
Jacksonville, Alabama 36265

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
214 Segar Street
Troy, Alabama 36081

Tommie Gilchrist
Justice of Peace
P.O. Box 205
Haynesville, Alabama 36040

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board Member (Macon Co.)
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

William Griffin
Councilman
City Hall
Triana, Alabama 35758

James M. Harper
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 62
Thomasville, Alabama 36784

A. M. Hayden
Councilman
Box 201
Uniontown, Alabama 36786

Isaiah Hayes,III
Justice of Peace
407 13th Avenue, N.W.
Attalla, Alabama 35954

T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 3
Magnolia, Alabama 36754

James H. M. Henderson
School Board Member
P.O. Box 247
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

Elias Hendricks
Constable
1144 24th Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Oscar Hildreth
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 272
Linden, Alabama 36748

A L A B A M A

Harry Hill
Councilman
Route 1, Box 104
Ridgeville, Alabama 35954

Robert Hines
School Board Member (Greene Co.)
Route 1, Box 196
Eutaw, Alabama 35462

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 228
Livingston, Alabama 35470

Walter Jenkins
Councilman
806 Tremont Street
Brighton, Alabama 35020

James Johnson
Constable
608 Alder Avenue
Birmingham, Alabama 35214

Richard Jones
Councilman (Ridgeville)
Route 1
Attalla, Alabama 35954

Earl Jerome King
Justice of Peace
Route 6, Box 38
Gadsden, Alabama 35901

Rev. Peter J. Kirksey
School Board Member (Greene Co.)
Route 1 , Box D-19
Boligee, Alabama 35443

Vassie Knott
Commissioner (Greene Co.)
Tishabea Road
Boligee, Alabama 35443

McKinley C. Kolb
Councilman
5321 Court G
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

Edgar Lawrence
Mayor
Route 1
Attalla, Alabama 35954

Afton M. Lee, Sr.
Councilman
1718 South 27th Avenue
Homewood, Alabama 35209

Leonard Lewis
Councilman
828 St. Julian Street
Brighton, Alabama 35020

Richard Lewis
Councilman
4310 McLain Street
Brighton, Alabama 35020

Samuel Little
School Board Member (Chairman)
Route 1, Box 14-C
Eppes, Alabama 35406

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
1600 Montgomery Road
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
516 North 9th Street
Gadsden, Alabama 35901

Ernest McLin, Sr.
Councilman
121 61st Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

A L A B A M A

John L Mason
Councilman
612 Grays Street
Roosevelt City, Alabama 35020

Harry C. Means
Commissioner (Greene Co.)
Route 1
Boligee, Alabama 35443

Wilbur Miller
Councilman
628 Country Club Road
Roosevelt City, Alabama 35020

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
Councilman
401 Brighton Avenue
Bessemer, Alabama 35020

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
Route 1,Box 412-C
West Attalla, Alabama 35954

Levi Morrow, Sr.
Commissioner (Greene Co.)
Route 1
Eutaw, Alabama 35462

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
1200 Fifth Place
Birmingham, Alabama 35214

Virgil Lee Pearson
Councilman
328 57th Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

William T. Peterson
Councilman
Box 143, Rainbow Drive
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

Otis Pinkard
ASCS Committee (Macon Co.)
P.O. Box 1
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

J. A. Posey, Sr.
School Board Member (Greene Co.)
RFD
Eutaw, Alabama 35462

William R. Ragland
Councilman (Triana)
Route 3, Box 128G
Madison, Alabama 35758

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
317 Woodward Avenue
Roosevelt City, Alabama 35020

Dr. Gordon Rogers
Councilman (Hobson City)
1616 Cooper Avenue
Anniston, Alabama 36201

Richard Rowe
Constable
Whitfield, Alabama 36923

Arthur D. Shores
Councilman
1527 Fifth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Calvin Smith
Councilman
Route 4, Box 521-B
Roosevelt City, Alabama 35020

Mrs. Willie Maud Snow
Councilwoman (Hobson City)
127 Park Avenue
Anniston, Alabama 36201

A L A B A M A

Moses Springer
Councilman (Hobson City)
700 Park Street
Anniston, Alabama 36201

Charles Stanton
Councilman (Hobson City)
232 Pierce Street
Anniston, Alabama 36201

J. R. Striplin
Mayor (Hobson City)
127 Park Avenue
Anniston, Alabama 36201

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Route 7 D-1, Box 46
Panola, Alabama 35477

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Constable
Route 1, Box 48
Panola, Alabama 35477

Frank J. Toland
Councilman
Box 873
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

Alonzo Toney
Councilman
Route 3, Box 149
Madison, Alabama 35758

James Turner
Councilman (Hobson City)
Draper Street
Anniston, Alabama 36201

Rev. J. O. Vickers
Councilman (Ridgeville)
Route 1, Box 413
Attalla, Alabama 35954

James R. Weatherly
Coroner (Sumpter Co.)
Courthouse
Livingston, Alabama 35470

Harold Webb
Member (Board of Revenue)
102 Chambliss Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
36088

Rev. Herbert Wheeler
Constable
3633 Laurel Avenue, S.W.
Birmingham, Alabama 35221

Jessie Whiteside
City Clerk (Ridgeville)
Route 1
Attalla, Alabama 35954

Mrs. Annie B. Williams
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 30
Panola, Alabama 35477

Jimmie Lee Williams
Councilman
409 53rd Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

Bette Wimbley
Justice of Peace
Whitfield, Alabama 36923

Arthur Woods
Justice of Peace
P.O. Box 67
Faunsdale, Alabama 36738

Lee D. Young
Councilman (Hobson City)
616 McDaniel Street
Anniston, Alabama 36201

A L A S K A

Dr. Joshua J. Wright
School Board Member
3832 Young Drive
Anchorage, Alaska 99504

A R I Z O N A

Rev. Bernard Black
School Board Member (Roosevelt)
600 South 7th Street
Phoenix, Arizona 85040

George B. Brooks
School Board Member
P. O. Box 8043
Phoenix, Arizona 85040

Cloves Campbell
Senator
State Capitol
Phoenix, Arizona 85005

Nathan Kinney
School Board Member
Route 1, Box 193
Maricopa, Arizona 85239

Mrs. Ethel Maynard
Representative
State Capitol
Phoenix, Arizona 85005

Leon Thompson
Representative
State Capitol
Phoenix, Arizona 85005

Hudson Walker
School Board Member
Route 1, Box 192B
Maricopa, Arizona 85239

A R K A N S A S

Mabel Allen
School Board Member (Chicot Co.)
201 Arch Street
Eudora, Arkansas 71640

Earl Austin
School Board Member (Sevier Co.)
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Arkansas 71846

Mervin Bell
School Board Member (Sevier Co.)
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Arkansas 71846

D. B. Bell
School Board Member (Sevier Co.)
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Arkansas 71846

Alex Brown
School Board Member
General Delivery
Tucker, Arkansas 72168

Charles Bussey, Sr.
City Director
City Hall
Markham and Broadway
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

R. C. Cravens
School Board Member (Sevier Co.)
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Arkansas 71846

Sammie A. Criswell
School Board Member (Conway Co.)
General Delivery
Springfield, Arkansas 72157

Cain Crockran
School Board Member (Conway Co.)
Solgohachia, Arkansas 72156

Dennis Curry
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
Route 1, Box 120
Grady, Arkansas 71644

Mrs. Syble Dockery
School Board Member (Nevada Co.)
Route 1
Buckner,Arkansas 71827

Press Dorris
Justice of Peace
721 Walnut Street
North Little Rock, Arkansas 72114

John Duckery
School Board Member
Wilmot, Arkansas 71676

Edwin Evans
School Board Member (Linwood)
P.O. Box 26
Moscow, Arkansas 71659

Jethro Fair
School Board Member
Route 7, Box 68
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71601

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Route 2, Box 36
Allport, Arkansas 72046

A. L. Grant
Alderman
Route 1, Box 14
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

DeArthur Grice
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
General Delivery
Moscow, Arkansas71659

A R K A N S A S

J. C. Hamilton
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
Route 5, Box 320
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71601

J. D. Hammond
School Board Member (Conway Co.)
General Delivery
Menifee, Arkansas 72107

R. E. Hemphill
School Board Member (Conway Co.)
General Delivery
Center Ridge, Arkansas 72027

Mrs. Della Mae Hendericks
Justice of Peace
1311 West 15th Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

John Holmes
School Board Member (Columbia Co.)
Route 5
Magnolia, Arkansas 71753

Frank Hunter
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
Route 3, Box 98
Sheridan, Arkansas 72150

Moses Johnson
Mayor
Town Hall
Reed, Arkansas 71670

Oscar Johnson
School Director
Route 3, Box 57
Stephens, Arkansas 71746

Rev. Lorenzo Jones
Alderman
1900 Cartwright Avenue
Earle, Arkansas 72331

D. W. Jordan, Sr.
Alderman
126 Highway Avenue
West Helena, Arkansas 72390

Frank Jordan
School Board Member (Phillips Co.)
413 Elm Street
Helena, Arkansas 72342

Charles Kelley
Mayor (Mitchellville)
Route 1, Box 386A
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

Woodrow Keown
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 651
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Shuley Lovett
School Board Member (Bradley County)
General Delivery
Banks, Arkansas 71631

Abraham McCarrell
Alderman
Route 1,Box 385-B
Dumas, Arkansas 71639

Miss Minnie Macklin
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
General Delivery
Sherrill, Arkansas 72152

A R K A N S A S

Rev. G. R. Mazique
Alderman
1608 Holly Street
Helena, Arkansas 72342

Arthur H. Miller
School Board Member
1813 Collegiate Circle
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71602

Donald Mills
School Board Member (Little River County)
General Delivery
Ashdown, Arkansas 71822

Ladell Morris
Alderman & School Board Member
General Delivery
Menifee, Arkansas 72107

Ivory Murphy
School Board Member (Nevada Co.)
Route 2
Chidester, Arkansas 71726

C. W. Olloway
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
Route 6, Box 102
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71601

T. E. Patterson
School Board Member (Secty)
1624 West 21st Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72202

Louvert Rowlette
School Board Member (Selma)
Route 5
Monticello, Arkansas 71655

James Sims
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
General Delivery
Wabbaseka, Arkansas 72175

Frank Smith
Mayor
Town Hall
Menifee, Arkansas 72107

John W. Smith
School Board Member
401 West 21st Street
North Little Rock, Arkansas 72114

T. L. Story
School Board Member (Columbia County)
Route 5
Emerson, Arkansas 71740

Frank E. Taylor
Recording Treasurer (Norall)
1650 Cartwright Street
Earle, Arkansas 72331

Houston Taylor, Sr.
School Board Member
Route 7
Pine Bluff, Arkansas 71601

Aaron Thompson
School Board Member (Nevada Co.)
Route 3, Box 169
Rosston, Arkansas 71858

Ira J. Tidwell
School Board Member (Nevada Co.)
Route 1, Box 22
Rosston, Arkansas 71858

A R K A N S A S

Lewis Turner
Justice of Peace (Nashville)
General Delivery
Mineral Springs, Arkansas 71851

Andrew Walker
School Board Member (Jefferson County)
Route 2, Box 96
Altheimer, Arkansas 72004

Joe Walls
School Board Member (Sevier Co.)
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Arkansas 71846

Rev. G. Edward West
Director
721 North 8th Street
Fort Smith, Arkansas 72901

Cain Wilder
Councilman
P.O. Box 385
Wilmot, Arkansas 71676

C A L I F O R N I A

Rev. Booker Anderson
Councilman
1131 South 55th Street
Richmond, California 94804

Orvill Anderson
School Board Member
1727 East 124th Street
Compton, California 90222

Nate Bates
Councilman
5303 Fallon Avenue
Richmond, California 94804

Jesse Berry
School Board Member
622 South Townsend
Santa Ana, California 92703

Jesse M. Bethel
School Board Member
1239 Pepper Drive
Vallejo, California 94590

Dr. Samuel P. Black
School Board Member
1600 Tartat Lane
Compton, California 90221

William B. Black
Councilman
1304 Saratoga Avenue
East Palo Alto, California 94303

Thomas Bradley
Councilman
981 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90006

Mrs. Yvonne Brathwaite
Assemblywoman
Room 4177, State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

Harry Bremond
School Board Member
801 Welsh Road
Palo Alto, California 94304

Earl Cliffor Broady
Judge, Superior Court
110 North Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90012

Gilbert Brooks
School Board Member
1853 Conway Street
Milpitas, California 95035

Alan Broussard
Judge, Municipal Court
1516 Oak Street
Alameda, California 95401

Mrs. Essie M. Brown
School Board Member
1239 Grand Avenue
Sacramento, California 95838

Samuel Brown
School Board Member
1467 Elm Street
Seaside, California 93955

Willie L. Brown, Jr.
Assemblyman
State Capitol, Room 5150
Sacramento, California 95814

Clarence W. Burley, Jr.
Councilman
1715 Notre Dame Avenue
East Palo Alto, California 94303

C A L I F O R N I A

Lionel Cade
Councilman
310 West Compton Boulevard
Compton, California 90220

Mrs. Mary Carr
School Board Member
1024 East 149th Street
Compton, California 90220

Blanche Carter
School Board Member
2028 20th Street, Apt. C
Santa Monica, California 90404

Ira Clark
School Board Member
449 West Tichenor Street
Compton, California 90220

Doris A. Davis
City Clerk
205 South Willowbrook Avenue
Compton, California 90220

Ron Dellums
Councilman
2910 Wheeler Street, #5
Berkeley, California 94705

William D. Dodson
School Board Member
110 North San Joanquin
Stockton, California 95202

Carrie Lee Doby
School Board Member
15408 Tarrant Avenue
Compton, California 90220

Douglas Dollarhide
Mayor
201 North Willowbrook Avenue
Compton, California 90224

Mervyn M. Dymally
Senator
State Capitol, Room 2082
Sacramento, California 95814

Sylvester Echols
School Board Member
3900 Cypress Street
Sacramento, California 95838

Morris M. Ewing
School Board Trustee
11660 Hugo Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90059

Mrs. Bernice E. Fowler
School Board Member
89 Carolina Drive
Benicia, California 94510

Essex Fowlks
School Board Member
3380 Mabel Street
Sacramento, California 95838

Terry A. Francois
County Supervisor
497 Fulton Street
San Francisco, California 94102

Thomas L. Gibson, D.V.M
School Board Member
925 East Alameda Street
Compton, California 90220

Earl B. Gilliam
Judge, Municipal Court
210 West Broadway
San Diego, California 92101

Charles Goady
School Board Member
Administration Building
1025 Second Street
Oakland, California 94606

C A L I F O R N I A

Bill Greene
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

Norris Gregory
Councilman
1540 West 16th Street
San Bernardino, California 92405

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
Judge, Superior Court
110 North Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90012

Ben Gross
Councilman (Vice-Mayor)
City Hall
160 North Main Street
Milpitas, California 93103

Wendell Handy
School Board Member
13716 South Wilmington
Compton, California 90220

Dr. Eugene Harris
School Board Member
2150 Belloz Drive
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Robert T. Harris
School Board Member
405 West School Street
Compton, California 90220

Augustus F. Hawkins
Congressman
1124 House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Melvyn L. Hester
School Board Member
804 Clemmer Drive
Compton, California 90221

Barney Hilburn
School Board Member
789 61st Street, Apt. 3
Oakland, California 94609

Rev. Joseph L. Holmes
School Board Member
821 Clemmer Drive
Compton, California 90221

Robert Hoover
School Board Member
196 Jasmine Way
East Palo Alto, California 94303

Mrs. Mary Jo Howell
School Board Member
1110 East Hillsdale Boulevard
Apt. A-204
Foster City, California 94404

Clarence A. Jackson, Jr.
Councilman
35 Newell Road, #204
East Palo Alto, California 94303

Bernard Jefferson
Judge, Superior Court
110 North Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90012

Edwin L. Jefferson
Judge,
State Building, Room 906
217 West 1st Street
Los Angeles, California 90012

Dr. Matthew Jenkins
School Board Member
1040 South Long Beach
Compton, California 90222

Sylvester Jennings
School Board Member
3833 Fig Street
Sacramento, California 95838

C A L I F O R N I A

Mrs. Syrtiller Kabat
School Board Member
2209 Dumbarton Street
East Palo Alto, California 94303

Miller F. Kemp
School Board Member
742 East 135th Street
Los Angeles, California 90059

Joseph Kennedy
Judge, Municipal Court
65 Miraloma Drive
San Francisco, California 94127

Xenophan Lang
Judge, Municipal Court
110 North Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90012

Gilbert W. Lindsay
Councilman
City Hall
Los Angeles, California 90012

George Livingston
Mayor
351 South 39th Street
Richmond, California 94805

William Love
Councilman
City Hall
Compton, California 90221

DuBois McGee
Councilman
City Hall
El Centro, California 92243

Milton McGhee
Councilman
1810 S Street
Sacramento, California 95814

Albert Matthew
Judge, Municipal Court
200 South Accacia Street
Compton, California 90220

John J. Miller
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

Dr. Ross M. Miller
Councilman and School Board
Member
537 West Compton Boulevard
Compton, California 90220

Billy G. Mills
Councilman
City Hall, Room 237
Los Angeles, California 90012

Henry Mobley
School Board Member
10602 E. R. 14
Littlerock, California 93543

Phil Newton
Councilman
212 Longfellow Street
Modesto, California 95351

Preston A. O'Neal
School Board Member
14122 South Evers Avenue
Compton, California 90222

Dr. William K. Payne
School Board Member
418 West Palmer Street
Compton, California 90220

Leon Ralph
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Sacramento, California 95814

C A L I F O R N I A

Raymond J. Reynolds
Judge, Municipal Court
City Hall
400 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California 94102

Herbert Rhodes
Councilman
1657 Bay Road
East Palo Alto, California 94303

Lewis Roach
School Board Member
1730 East 124th Street
Compton, California 90222

Jesse L. Robinson
School Board Member
1702 North Wilmington Street
Compton, California 90222

Joshua P. Rose
Councilman
City Hall
Oakland, California 94612

Stephen E. Ross
Councilman
1609 Soto Street
Seaside, California 93955

William Ross
Judge, Municipal Court
200 South Accacia Street
Compton, California 90220

S. Del Rucker
Councilman
301 Baker Street
Bakersfield, California 93305

William Ruthland
School Board Member
1261 35th Avenue
Sacramento, California 95822

Mrs. Marguerite Shaw
School Board Member
701 V Street
Bakersfield, California 93304

Rev. Mervin B. Slade
Councilman
381 North California Street
Tulare, California 92374

Mrs. Bettye R. Smith
School Board Member
1305 West Brazil Street
Compton, California 90220

Rev. George Smith
School Board Member
5514 Mira Flores Drive
San Diego, California 92114

Gilbert D. Smith
Councilman
17223 Wall Street - Carson
Gardena, California 90247

Sherman W. Smith
School Board Member
1955 Grandview Street
Seaside, California 93955

Sherman W. Smith
Judge, Superior Court
110 North Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90012

Mrs. Vaino Spencer
Judge, Municipal Court
110 North Grand Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90012

Roscoe Steverson
School Board Member
14102 Nestor Avenue
Compton, California 90222

C A L I F O R N I A

Dr. George Stewart
School Board Member
3811 Florin Road, Suite 30
Sacramento, California 95822

Wilmont Sweeney
Councilman
1630 Virginia Street
Berkeley, California 94703

Alzue A. Thompson
School Board Member
1634 East 124th Street
Compton, California 90222

Rev. Daniel L. Towler
School Board Member (Pres.)
2240 Levanda Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90032

Walter Tucker
School Board Member
502 West Tichner
Compton, California 90220

Thomas L. Turner
Councilman
1777 East Bayshore Boulevard
East Palo Alto, California 94303

Rev. C. W. Washington
School Board Member
268 East Julian Street
San Jose, California 90247

Kenny Washington
School Board Member
c/o California State College
5670 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90054

Andrew B. White
School Board Member
910 Willow Road
Menlo Park, California 94025

Warren Widener
Councilman
2439 Jefferson Street
Berkeley, California 94703

George J. Williams
School Board Member
17513 Merimac Court
Gardena, California 90247

H. Hazaiah Williams
School Board Director
2465 LeConte Avenue
Berkeley, California 94709

Leon L. Williams
Councilman
3024 E Street
San Diego, California 92102

Jardine Wilson
School Board Member
630 West Bennett Street
Compton, California 90220

Lionel Wilson
Judge, Superior Court
1225 Fallon Street
Oakland, California 94612

John H. Woods, Jr.
School Board Member
1444 Wilson Street
San Bernardino, California 92405

C O L O R A D O

George Brown
Senator
State Capitol
Denver, Colorado 80203

Elvin Caldwell
Councilman
2000 East 21st Avenue
Denver, Colorado 80205

James Flanigan, Judge
City & County Building
1437 Banncock Street
Denver, Colorado 80202

Paul L. Hamilton
Representative
State Capitol
Denver, Colorado 80203

Mrs. Rachel B. Noel
School Board Member
2601 Adams Street
Denver, Colorado 80205

Floyd W. Pettie
Councilman
831 East Las Animas
Colorado Springs, Colorado 80903

Jerome C. Rose
Representative
State Capitol
Denver, Colorado 80203

C O N N E C T I C U T

Boce W. Barlow, Jr.
Senator
State Capitol
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Richard Battles
School Board Member
241 Colebrook Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06112

Collin B. Bennett
Councilman
16 Tower Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06120

Otha Nathaniel Brown, Jr.
Representative (Maj. Leader)
State Capitol
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Rev. Jeremiah Covington
Alderman
176 Shelton Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

Walter Edwards
Alderman
115 Taylor Drive
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06605

Leonard G. Frazier
Represenative
State Capitol
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Leander Gray
Alderman
361 Sherman Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06518

William Gray
Alderman
111 Bristol Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

Donald Harris
School Board Member
282 Tunxis Avenue
Bloomfield, Connecticut 06002

William Johnson
Alderman
27 Edwin Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06607

Gerald A. Lamb
State Treasurer
95 Fleetwood Drive
Waterbury, Connecticut 06706

Ralph Lockhart
Councilman
252 Fairfield Avenue
Stamford, Connecticut 06902

Mrs. Jackie Lyles
Selectman
247 Wintenbury Avenue
Bloomfield, Connecticut 06002

Allyn A. Martin
Councilman
161 Ridgefield Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06112

Mrs. Rita Miller
Selectman
324 Jefferson Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06607

Charles R. Mitchell
Councilman
209 Henry Street
Stamford, Connecticut 06902

Howard Moore
Constable
30 Webster Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

C O N N E C T I C U T

Lorenzo Morgan
Representative
State Capitol
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Bruce L. Morris
Representative
State Capitol
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Ray Neal
Alderman
78 Park Street
Meriden, Connecticut 06450

Noan Perry
Councilman
69 Dickerman Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

Sherman Robinson
Constable
401 Sherman Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06514

Alfred Rogers
School Board Member
277 Tower Avenue
Hartford, Connecticut 06120

Ella Scantlebury
City Treasurer
71 Admiral Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

George C. Scott
Alderman
170 Broadway
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06606

Louis Skinner
Selectman
523 Sherman Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

Eugene E. Spear
School Board Member
1115 Main Street
Bridgeport, Connecticut 06603

Miss Betty Swartz
Councilwoman
93 West Wooster Street
Danbury, Connecticut 06810

Alvin Wood
Councilman
131 Wadhams Road
Bloomfield, Connecticut 06002

Alonzo Woods
Constable
185 Grove Street
Waterbury, Connecticut 06710

D E L A W A R E

Charles E. Butcher
Representative
State Capitol
Dover, Delaware 19901

Oliver Fonville
Representative
State Capitol
Dover, Delaware 19901

Dr. B. Napoleon Gupton
Councilman
206 East 10th Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

Wade Hampton
Councilman
City Hall
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

W. Alva Hollis
Councilman (County)
310 East 24th Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19802

Herman Holloway, Sr.
Senator
State Capitol
Dover, Delaware 19901

Mrs. Hattie Phelan
Councilwoman
1035 Pine Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

James Sills
Councilman-at-Large
502 East Sixth Street
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

Rev. James H. Williams
School Board Member
Slaughter Street
Dover, Delaware 19901

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mrs. Muriel Alexander
School Board Member
1506 Hamilton Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Mrs. Anita Ford Allen
School Board Member (Pres.)
301 Oneida Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Charles I. Cassell
School Board Member
2900 Adams Mill Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Rev. James Coates
School Board Member (Vice Pres.)
1210 Howard Road, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20020

Edward L. Hancock
School Board Member
54 - 54th Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20019

Nelson C. Roots
School Board Member
607 Irving Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

Mrs. Mattie Goodrum Taylor
School Board Member
2307 Woodridge Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20018

Mrs. Evie M. Washington
School Board Member
1535 8th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

F L O R I D A

O. L. Abney
Chief of Police
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

Neal Adams
City Commissioner
County Courthouse, Room 252
73 West Flagger Street
Miami, Florida 33130

George Barlow
Councilman
Box 21
Welaka, Florida 32093

Neil A. Butler
Councilman
Gainesville, Florida 32601

Earl J. Carroll
Commissioner (Dade County)
254 Court House
Miami, Florida 33130

Jackie Caynon
Councilman
1213 Avenue D
Fort Pierce, Florida 33450

W.D. Davidson
Councilman
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

George H. Gause
City Commissioner
625 8th Street
Bartow, Florida 33830

Earl Greer
Councilman
City Hall
Belle Glade, Florida 33430

Charles B. Griffin
School Board Member
4831 Mississippi Court
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

James E. Huger
City Commissioner
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida 32015

Dr. J. S. Jackson
City Commissioner
1336 North Dakota Avenue
Lakeland, Florida 33801

Walter M. Jackson
School Board Member
Clifford Road
Vero Beach, Florida 32960

Earl M. Johnson
Councilman
6159 Bagley Road
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

Emanuel Johnson
Councilman
General Delivery
Welaka, Florida 32093

John C. Johnson
Councilman
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

Joe Lang Kershaw
Representative
2539 46th Street, N.W.
Miami, Florida 33142

E. Hilton Knowles
Vice Mayor
City Hall
971 South Deerfield Avenue
Deerfield Beach, Florida 33441

F L O R I D A

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
Councilwoman
1160 Durkee Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

Noland Pitts
Councilman
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

Mrs. Athalee Range
City Commissioner
5727 N.W. 17th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33127

Robert Scott
Councilman
Box 224
Lawtey, Florida 32058

Roosevelt Scott
Councilman
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

William Shellman
Constable
703 Board Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32204

Charles E. Simmons, Jr.
Civil Service Board
640 West 8th Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

W.T. Simmons
City Commissioner
Eustis, Florida 32726

Mrs. Mary L. Singleton
Councilwoman
1351 West 33rd Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

Rudolph Von Slaughter
City Commissioner
1132 Plummer Circle
Melbourne, Florida 32901

Oscar N. Taylor
Councilman
1505 Eaverson Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida 32209

Eddie Tossie
Councilman
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

Nathaniel Vereen
Mayor
P.O. Box 2163
Eatonville, Florida 32751

Boisy Waiters
City Commissioner
733 S.W. Third Street
Dania, Florida 33004

Willie Washington
Councilman
General Delivery
Welaka, Florida 32093

Ely White
Councilman
203 North Mill Street
Inverness, Florida 32650

Mrs. Bette Winbish
Councilwoman
St. Petersburg, Florida 33701

Ozie F. Youngblood
City Commissioner
210 N.W. Sixth Avenue
Del Ray Beach, Florida 33444

G E O R G I A

Grady Abrams
Councilman
1216 10th Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

William H. Alexander
Representative
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Marvin Arrington
Alderman
883 Neal Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Earl Baggs
City Commissioner
Route 1
Riceboro, Georgia 31323

Julian Bond
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

T. A. Bowman
Councilman
1137 Turpin Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

Benjamin D. Brown
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

A. M. Carter
School Board Member
1421 12th Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

Mose Cooper
Councilman
Route 1, Box 112-C
Sylvania, Georgia 30467

Julius C. Daugherty
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

James E. Dean
Representative
17 East Lake Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30317

D. L. Dent
Councilman
1117 Gwinnett Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

Richard A. Dent
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

H. D. Dodson
Alderman
749 Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Clarence G. Ezzard
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Roy L. Fitzgerald
Councilman
Hiram, Georgia 30141

Rev. C. S. Hamilton
Councilman
1224 Gwinnett Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

G E O R G I A

Bobby L. Hill
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Richmond D. Hill
Councilman
Box 37
Greenville, Georgia 30222

John Hood
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Miss Edith Jacqueline Ingram
Ordinary
718 New Street
Sparta, Georgia 31087

Robert Ingram
School Board Member
718 New Street
Sparta, Georgia 31087

Ira L. Jackson
Alderman
2320 Gordon Road, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Maynard C. Jackson
Vice Mayor
2920 Cheville Lane, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30317

Leroy Johnson
Senator
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

John Mc Cown
County Commissioner
718 New Street
Sparta, Georgia 31087

Dr. Benjamin Mays
School Board Member
3316 Pamlico Drive, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

Dr. John Middleton
School Board Member
634 Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

E. J. Shepherd
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Harry Slaughter
Councilman
Blossom Street
Palmetto, Georgia 30268

James A. Smith
County Commissioner
743 Burnett Street
Sparta, Georgia 31087

Rev. L. Scott Stell, Jr.
County Commissioner
1616 Eleanor Street
Savannah, Georgia 31401

Joel Stokes
Alderman
212 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Horace E. Tate
School Board Member
201 Ashby Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Albert W. Thompson
Representative
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

G E O R G I A

Horace T. Ward
Senator
State House
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Q. V. Williamson
Alderman
855 Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Asa G. Yancey
School Board Member
2825 Engle Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Rev. N. P. Young
School Board Member
1112 12th Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

H A W A I I

Charles M. Campbell
Councilman-at-Large
1511 Nuuanu Avenue
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

I L L I N O I S

Harold Arrington
School Board Member
14343 Lincoln Avenue
Harvey, Illinois 60426

Mrs. Evelyn Burnett
School Board Member
1310 Ellis Drive
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Lewis A. H. Caldwell
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Samuel Camp
School Board Member
1318 East 13th Place
East Chicago Heights, Illinois
60411

Kenneth E. Campbell
City Councilman
309 East Garfield Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Archibald J. Carey, Jr.
Judge
Cook County Circuit Court
4934 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

James Y. Carter
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Lloyd Carter, Jr.
Alderman
1304 West Hill Street
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Charles Chew, Jr.
Senator
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

George W. Collins
City Councilman
3604 West Roosevelt Road
Chicago, Illinois 60624

Otis G. Collins
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Cyrus Coulter
Commissioner
601 East 32nd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60616

William Cousins, Jr.
Alderman
1745 East 83rd Place
Chicago, Illinois 60617

James Crosson
Judge,
Cook County Circuit Court
1055 East Hyde Park
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Corneal A. Davis
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

William Dawson
Congressman
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

I L L I N O I S

Thelma Demonbrewn
School Board Member
14730 Lincoln Street
Harvey, Illinois 60426

Richard R. Edwards
School Board Member
907 North 5th Street
Champaign, Illinois 61820

Raymond W. Ewell
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Wilson Frost
Alderman
9528A South Halsted Street
Chicago, Illinois 60628

Anither Fuller
School Board Member
1306 Woerline Avenue
East Chicago Heights, Illinois
60411

J. Horace Gardner
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Dr. Allwyn H. Gatlin
School Board Member
1320 Wesley Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Elwood Graham
Representative
6711 South Langley Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Kenneth Hall
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Richard A. Harewood
Judge,
Cook County Circuit Court
Civic Center
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Benjamin Harvey
City Trustee
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

William H. Harvey
Alderman
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60616

Claude W. B. Holman
Alderman
4659 Drexel Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Dr. A. M. Jackson
School Board Member
1324 Missouri Avenue
East St. Louis, Illinois 62205

Opheous Jackson
School Board Member
1001 Lincoln Highway
East Chicago Heights, Illinois
60411

Caleb Johnson
City Trustee
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

I L L I N O I S

Glenn T. Johnson
Assoc. Judge, Circuit Court
6326 Cottage Grove
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Mark E. Jones
Judge, Circuit Court
1137 East 50th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Sidney Jones
Assoc. Judge
Cook County Circuit Court
2851 Martin Luther King Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60616

William J. Jones
City Trustee
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Clyde Jordan
School Board Member
539 North 18th Street
East St. Louis, Illinois 62202

Horace Kemp
City Trustee
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Dr. Edwin Lee
School Board Member
920 South Wheeler Street
Springfield, Illinois 62703

George N. Leighton
Judge
Cook County Circuit Court
8400 South Prairie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60619

Ocelia B. McCain
School Board Member
37 West Circle Drive
Dixmoor, Illinois 62830

Mrs. Flora McCullum
School Board Member
Medger Evers School
10th and Greenwood
East Chicago Heights, Illinois 60411

Mary McDade
School Board Member
3610 North Breckenridge Court
Peoria, Illinois 61614

James E. McLendon
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Leonard Marsh
School Board Member
1407 Grace Avenue
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Charles Merritts
School Board Member (Pres.)
750 North 68th Street
East St. Louis, Illinois 62205

Ralph Metcalfe
Alderman
City Hall, Room 304
Chicago, Illinois 60602

McKinnley Miller
School Board Member
13th and Woodlawn Streets
East Chicago Heights, Illinois 60411

I L L I N O I S

Robert H. Miller
Alderman
6542 Cottage Grove
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Leon Newborn
School Board Member
15912 Gauger Avenue
Harvey, Illinois 60426

Richard H. Newhouse
Senator
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Cecil A. Partee
Senator
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

James Ransom, Jr.
City Councilman
109 East Clark Street
Champaign, Illinois 61820

A. A. Rayner
Alderman
318 East 71st Street
Chicago, Illinois 60619

Henry Rogers
School Board Member
2841 West 140th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Mrs. Edith Sampson
Judge
Cook County Circuit Court
1236 Madison Park
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Ester Saverson
City Councilman
7 Colesville Avenue
East St. Louis, Illinois 62202

David Sessions
School Board Member
711 Bethune
Champaign, Illinois 61810

William Shannon
Alderman
7465 St. Vincennes Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60621

Isaac R. Sims
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Charles E. Small
School Board Member
825 East 14th Street
East Chicago Heights, Illinois 60411

Fred J. Smith
Senator
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

Marian T. Smith
Mayor
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Josephine Sneed
Commissioner
City Hall
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Davis Spearman
City Trustee
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Earl Strayhorn
Sanitary District Trustee
100 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

I L L I N O I S

Frederick Walden
Alderman
305 North Mathews
Urbana, Illinois 61801

Willie Ward
City Clerk
3327 West 137th Street
Robbins, Illinois 60472

Genoa Washington
Representative
4508 Martin Luther King Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Harold Washington
Representative
State Capitol
Springfield, Illinois 62706

William S. White
Judge, Circuit Court
5100 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Noel C. Williams
School Board Member
900 East 15th Street
East Chicago Heights, Illinois
60411

Sylvester E. Williams
School Board Member
142 West 150th Street
Harvey, Illinois 60426

Ernest Wooten
School Board Member
14920 Seeley Avenue
Harvey, Illinois 60426

I N D I A N A

Dozier Allen
City Councilman
532 East 21st Avenue
Gary, Indiana 46407

Russell Allen
School Board Member
210 East Second Street
Michigan City, Indiana 46360

Dr. Iverson Bell
School Board Member (Pres.)
82 Heritage Drive
Terre Haute, Indiana 47803

Roselle Boyd
Councilman (County)
City-County Building
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Elizabeth Bridgewaters
School Board Member
925 West 7th Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Hoyt C. Brown
Justice of Peace
2621 Lincoln Street
Gary, Indiana 46407

Dr. Joseph Casey
School Board Member
610 Eastway Drive
Marion, Indiana 46952

Mrs. Harriet B. Conn
Representative
308 Northern Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Ray P. Crowe
Representative
State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Isaac Davis
Advisory Board Member
1432 West 25th Avenue
Gary, Indiana 46407

James Dent
Councilman
3809 Main Street
East Chicago, Indiana 46312

Choice Edward
Representative
State House
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Robert D. Frantz
School Board Member
5246 North Cornelius Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Wilbur Grant
Judge, Superior Court #2
2202 North Capitol
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Allen Hancock
School Board Member
2642 Ohio Street
Michigan City, Indiana 46360

Richard G. Hatcher
Mayor
Municipal Building
401 Broadway
Gary, Indiana 46402

Jesse Jacobs
School Board Member
419 West 40th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Rufus C. Kuykendall
Judge, Superior Court #6
2202 North Capitol
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

I N D I A N A

Mrs. Jessie G. Mitchell
Councilwoman
2101 Ohio Street
Gary, Indiana 46407

Dr. C. K. Newsome
School Board Member
415 East Mulberry Street
Evanston, Indiana 47713

John Nuchols
Councilman
930 East Washington Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801

Dr. Benjamin Osborne
Trustee (Center Township)
525 Udell Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Paul Patterson
School Board Member
110 South 8th Street
Richmond, Indiana 46370

Frank H. Perry
Councilman
1900 Hayes Street
Gary, Indiana 46404

Rev. Landrum E. Shields
School Board Member
5136 North Michigan Road
Indianapolis, Indiana 46208

Quentin P. Smith
Councilman
1988 Roosevelt Street
Gary, Indiana 46404

James L. Thomas
Councilman
4855 McCook Avenue
East Chicago, Indiana 46312

Cleo Wesson
Councilman
2456 Maryland Street
Gary, Indiana 46407

Dr. Alexander Williams
County Coroner
751 Washington Street
Gary, Indiana 46402

Emmett Wise
School Board Member
610 East Coolspring Avenue
Michigan City, Indiana 46360

I O W A

A. June Franklin
Representative
State Capitol
Des Moines, Iowa 50319

Dr. Robert Harvey
School Board Member
Waterloo, Iowa 50703

Luther McGlanton
Judge, Municipal Court
818 South 15th Street
Des Moines, Iowa 50314

William Parker
Judge, Municipal Court
Municipal Court Building
Waterloo, Iowa 50703

Dr. Henry Philmon
School Board Member
Administration Building
Davenport, Iowa 50808

K A N S A S

James P. Davis
Representative
State Capitol
Topeka, Kansas 66612

William Fletcher
School Board Member
3212 North 36th Street
Kansas City, Kansas 66104

Clarence C. Love
Representative
State Capitol
Topeka, Kansas 66612

Billy Q. McCray
Representative
State Capitol
Topeka, Kansas 66612

Cordell Meeks
Chairman
County Commissioner
Court House
Kansas City, Kansas 66101

A. Price Woodward
City Commissioner
City Hall
Wichita, Kansas 67203

K E N T U C K Y

Frank Allen, Jr.
City Councilman
315 Hill Street
Burkesville, Kentucky 42717

Charles H. Anderson
Magistrate
720 South 45th Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

George John Armstrong, Jr.
School Board Member
South Main Street
Eminence, Kentucky 40019

William Barlow
Constable
Summer Shade, Kentucky 42166

James Beaumont
City Councilman
204 West Madison
LaGrange, Kentucky 40031

J. M. Bransford
City Councilman
615 South Lewis Street
Glasgow, Kentucky 42141

Matthew Brooks
City Councilman
505 West Washington Street
Franklin, Kentucky 42134

Dr. P. C. Brooks
School Board Member
201 South Virginia Street
Hopkinsville, Kentucky 42240

Alexander Brown
Alderman
2610 Hale Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Edgar Carter, Sr.
City Councilman
Route #2, Box 17
Munfordville, Kentucky 42765

John Coats
Constable
315 North Line Street
Munfordville, Kentucky 42765

Paul Curry
City Councilman
Horse Cave, Kentucky 42749

Georgia M. Davis
State Senator
733 Cecil Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

George L. Harlan
City Councilman
446 Bate Street
Danville, Kentucky 40422

Robert L. Harriford
School Board Member
422 Murrell Boulevard
Paducah, Kentucky 42001

Rev. W. G. Harvey
City Councilman
1126 Harrison Street
Paducah, Kentucky 42001

Carl Hines
School Board Member
635 South Western Parkway
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Joseph Hobbs
City Councilman
Tyrone Pike
Versailles, Kentucky 40383

K E N T U C K Y

Mae Street Kidd
State Representative
2308 West Chestnut
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Rozelle Leavell
City Councilman
914 East First Street
Hopinsville, Kentucky 42240

Hughes McGill
State Representative
2328 West Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Lee Nor Mack
City Councilman
1111 High Street
Shelbyville, Kentucky 40065

Jesse E. Mason
City Councilman
414 East Maple Street
Nicholasville, Kentucky 40356

Will Mason
City Councilman
Sulphur Avenue
Eminence, Kentucky 40019

J. Daniel F. Massie
Magistrate
1207 East First Street
P. O. Box 46
Hopinsville, Kentucky 42240

Frank Moore
City Councilman
339 Bourbon Street
Georgetown, Kentucky 40324

Mrs. Lois Morris
Alderman
740 South 44th Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Edgar T. Reynolds
City Councilman
114 Oak Street
Greenville, Kentucky 42345

Frederick G. Sampson
School Board Member
950 South Western Parkway
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Jerry D. Sanders
City Councilman
132 Lincoln Street
Nicholasville, Kentucky 40356

Harvey Smith
City Councilman
391 South Morgan Street
Russellville, Kentucky 42276

George Knott Stewart
Constable
3032 Greenup Avenue
Ashland, Kentucky 41101

James Wardeen Stewart
Board of Trustees
Hardin County
Senora, Kentucky 42776

Harry M. Sykes
City Councilman
438 Bamberger Road
Lexington, Kentucky 40505

Neville M. Tucker
Police Court Judge
4633 Garland Street
Louisville, Kentucky 40211

Luska J. Twyman
Mayor
1208 South Lewis Street
Glasgow, Kentucky 42141

K E N T U C K Y

Joseph Van Cleave
City Councilman
356 Lincoln Street
Lebanon, Kentucky 40033

Prather Walker
Magistrate
470 Erie Road
Lexington, Kentucky 40505

Francis E. Whitney
City Councilman
102 South Virginia Street
Hopkinsville, Kentucky 42240

William Wilson
Constable
563 Haskins Drive
Lexington, Kentucky 40508

Dr. R. L. Yorkley
School Board Member
220 Spring Street
Russellville, Kentucky 42276

L O U I S I A N A

Roland Adams
County Constable
Route 3, Box 116
Vacherie, Louisiana 70090

Wesley Albert, Sr.
Justice of Peace
P. O. Box 441
New Roads, Louisiana 70760

F. J. Atlas
School Board Member
Box 299
Lake Providence, Louisiana 71254

Larry Balthazar
Constable
Route 1, Box 15-1/2
Natchez, Louisiana 71456

Morris Barnes
Constable
P. O. Box 82
Palmetto, Louisiana 71358

John Bobb, Jr.
Mayor
P. O. Box 74
Grand Coteau, Louisiana 70541

Joseph J. Borne
Constable
Box 24
Edgard, Louisiana 70049

James C. Bowie
Alderman
East Hodge, Louisiana 71247

Ruth D. Bradford
Alderman
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Anderson Broussard
Justice of Peace
Star Route B
Franklin, Louisiana 70538

J. Woodrow Calvey
School Board Member
Welcome, Louisiana 70093

Felton C. Ceasar
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 114
Welcome, Louisiana 70093

Oliver Cooper, Sr.
Police Juror
Route 2, Box 120-B
Welcome, Louisiana 70093

Eddie Davis
Police Juror
Weyanoke Post Office
Weyanoke, Louisiana 70787

Joseph M. Davis, Jr.
Police Juror
Route 2, Box 43
Jeanerette, Louisiana 70544

Joseph Delphin
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 38
Natchez, Louisiana 71456

Joseph A. Delpit
City Councilman
725 Lettsworth Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70802

Fred Ford
Town Marshal
East Hodge, Louisiana 71247

Cleo Foster
Alderman
East Hodge, Louisiana 71247

Henry Lee Fusilier
City Councilman
P. O. Drawer 409
Crowley, Louisiana 70526

L O U I S I A N A

Richard Gallot
Alderman
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Isaac Garritt, Jr.
Police Juror
P. O. Box 132
Vacherie, Louisiana 70090

Whitmore Gordon
City Councilman
Route 1, Box 79
Edgard, Louisiana 70049

Reed Green
City Councilman
Maringouin, Louisiana 70757

Charlie Harris, Jr.
Justice of Peace
1006 Singletary Street
New Roads, Louisiana 70760

Jake W. Holmes
School Board Member
Box 85
Bayou Gaula, Louisiana 70716

Levis T. Jackson
Town Marshal
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Rev. C. P. Jenson
Alderman
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Stanley Johnson
Justice of Peace
Star Route B, Box 165
Franklin, Louisiana 70538

James H. Jones
City Councilman
Grand Coteau, Louisiana 70541

Milton Jones
Constable
Route 1
Convent, Louisiana 70723

Raymond Julien
Police Juror
P. O. Box 565
Donaldsonville, Louisiana 70346

Milton Kelly
Alderman
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

L. D. Land
Alderman
Box 475
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Mrs. Helena B. McClinton
School Board Member
203 Stansbrough Street
Tallulah, Louisiana 71282

Ledell Mackie
Police Juror
Route 5 W, Box 1465
St. Francisville, Louisiana 70775

Verla Malone
Alderman
East Hodge, Louisiana 71247

Rufus Mayfield
City Councilman
1526 Pine Street
Lake Charles, Louisiana 70601

Ernest Metz
Constable
Star Route B, Box 230
Franklin, Louisiana 70538

L O U I S I A N A

Raymond A. Minor
School Board Member
Route 5, Box 300
St. Francisville, Louisiana 70775

Harry Mins
Mayor
P. O. Box 171
East Hodge, Louisiana 71247

Anatole Monconduit
County Constable
Welcome, Louisiana 70093

Henry A. Montgomery
Alderman
Box 259
Ferriday, Louisiana 71334

Ernest N. Morial
State Representative
State House
1821 Orleans Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70116

Thomas Nelson
Constable
Route 2, Box 30
New Roads, Louisiana 70760

Jesse Paul
Marshal
311 Gabriel Street
Patterson, Louisiana 70392

Joseph A. Pete
City Councilman
508 North Avenue C.
Crowley, Louisiana 70526

Edward J. Ray
City Councilman
Grand Coteau, Louisiana 70541

Joseph Russell Richard, Sr.
City Councilman
P. O. Box 117
Grand Coteau, Louisiana 70541

Watson Sanders
Police Juror
Route 1, Box 227
Sondheimer, Louisiana 71276

Harvey Schexnayder
Justice of Peace
P. O. Box 93
Vacherie, Louisiana 70090

Arthur D. Smith
Alderman
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Nathaniel Smith, Sr.
Police Juror
Route 5, Box 314
St. Francisville, Louisiana 70775

Peter Smith
City Councilman - Mayor Pro tem
P. O. Box 146
Grand Coteau, Louisiana 70541

Rudolph Sorapuru
Police Juror
River Road
Lucy, Louisiana 70069

Dr. Mack J. Spears
School Board Member
Dean of Student Affairs
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana 70122

Leonard Tardy
Constable
Star Route B, Box 163
Franklin, Louisiana 70538

L O U I S I A N A

James A. Thomas
School Board Member
P. O. Box 814
Tallulah, Louisiana 71282

Rev. O. L. Virgil
Police Juror
1601 Fourth Street
Lake Providence, Louisiana 71254

Alvin White, Jr.
School Board Member
Route 5 W, Box 1130
St. Francisville, Louisiana 70775

John Williams
School Board Member
Weyanoke, Louisiana 70787

B. T. Woodard
Mayor
Box 37
Grambling, Louisiana 71245

Zelma C. Wyche
Town Marshal
505 West Green Street
Tallulah, Louisiana 71282

Anderson Yancy
Police Juror
Star Route B, Box 256
Franklin, Louisiana 70538

M A R Y L A N D

Floyd B. Adams
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Mrs. Victorine Adams
City Councilman
3103 Carlisle Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

Dr. Aris T. Allen
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Troy Brailey
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Tommie J. Broadwater
City Councilman
3309 Hayes Street
Glenarden, Maryland 20801

Lawrence Brooks
Mayor (Fairmount Heights, Md.)
717 60th Place, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Charles K. Brown
Vice President (Venice Beach)
2311 Lyndhurst Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

Stanley D. Brown
City Councilman
7916 Grant Drive
Glenarden, Maryland 20801

Theodore Brown
President (Venice Beach)
2311 Lyndhurst Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

John P. Buckley
Exec. Committee (Venice Beach)
2311 Lyndhurst Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

John T. Chambers
City Councilman
City Hall
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Joseph A. Chester
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Richard Clayton
Commissioner (Highland Beach)
2920 Terrace Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Dr. Montague Cobb
Exec. Committee (Venice Beach)
1219 Girard Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Harry Cole
Judge
Supreme Bench Baltimore City
Court House Building
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

Isaiah Dixon, Jr.
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Calvin A. Douglas
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Robert Douglas
City Councilman
2110 Homewood Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

M A R Y L A N D

Randall R. Evans
Commissioner (Highland Beach)
2920 Terrace Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Hortense Fitzgerald
Secretary (Venice Beach)
2311 Lyndhurst Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

John Hargrove
Judge
Municipal Court Baltimore City
Municipal Court Building
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

Joseph Howard
Judge, Supreme Bench
Baltimore City
Court House Building
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

Herbert Jackson
City Councilman
7923 Dellwood Avenue
Glenarden, Maryland 20801

Henry N. James
City Councilman
Municipal Hall
Glenarden, Maryland 20801

Mrs. Bessie H. Johnson
Mayor (Highland Beach)
2920 Terrace Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Dr. Emerson R. Julian
City Councilman
2329 Arunah Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

Arthur King
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Mrs. Lena K. Lee
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Charles McGee
Mayor
Seat Pleasant, Maryland 20027

Clarence Mitchell III
Senator
State House
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Richard A. Naylor
Commissioner (Highland Beach)
2920 Terrace Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Roscoe J. Parker
City Councilman
City Hall
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Henry G. Parks
City Councilman
1737 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21217

Lloyal Randolph
Delegate
House of Delegates
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

J. Avery Smith
Commissioner (Highland Beach)
2920 Terrace Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Nathaniel Stinson
Exec. Committee (Venice Beach)
2311 Lyndhurst Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

M A R Y L A N D

Decatur Trotter, Jr.
Mayor
8600 Glenarden Parkway
Glenarden, Maryland 20801

Edward Watkins
City Councilman
Cambridge, Maryland 21613

Robert Watts
Judge
Supreme Bench Baltimore City
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

James S. Webb
City Councilman (Glenarden)
3603 Cousins Drive
Landover, Maryland 20785

Mrs. Verda F. Welcome
Senator
State House
Annapolis, Maryland 21404

Alphonso Williamson
Treasurer (Venice Beach)
2311 Lyndhurst Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21216

Floyd E. Wilson
City Councilman
Municipal Hall
Glenarden, Maryland 20801

M A S S A C H U S E T T S

Thomas Aikens
Councilman
City Hall
Boston, Massachusetts 02201

Edward Brooke
U.S. Senator
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Kenneth Desmond
School Board Member
Malden, Massachusetts 02148

Henry Diggs
School Board Member
439 Wash Street
Norwood, Massachusetts 02062

Franklin W. Holgate
Representative
State Capitol
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

George A. Johnson
Representative
State Capitol
Boston, Massachusetts 02202

Paul Mason
Councilman
City Hall
Springfield, Massachusetts 01101

Gustave M. Solomons
School Board Member
85 Inman Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

M I C H I G A N

Richard Austin
Auditor (Wayne Co.)
1236 City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Rev. Roosevelt Austin
Councilman
2426 Phoenix
Saginaw, Michigan 48601

Sam Bass
Councilman
418 Burton Court
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

Leon Bates
Supervisor
5125 South Lake Drive
Idlewild, Michigan 49642

Edward F. Bell
Judge, Circuit Court
Wayne County
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Ollie Bivens
Judge, District Court
Flint, Michigan 48502

Robert B. Blackwell
Mayor
City Hall
30 Gerald Avenue
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Roscoe Bobo
Councilman
4135 10th Street
Ecorse, Michigan 48229

Gil Bradley
Commissioner
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49003

James Bradley
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Mrs. Kathleen Bright
School Board Member
306 LaBelle Avenue
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Nellie Jo Brooks
Supervisor
131 North 5th Street
Saginaw, Michigan 48607

Basil Brown
Senator
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Christopher C. Brown
School Board Member
485 Orchard Lake Avenue
Pontiac, Michigan 48053

Ernest Brown
Councilman
City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Ernest C. Browne, Jr.
Councilman
5967 Allendale Street
Detroit, Michigan 48204

Harry Browne
Supervisor
441 North Jefferson
Saginaw, Michigan 48607

Maude Bristol
Supervisor
22 Roseneath
Battle Creek, Michigan 49017

M I C H I G A N

Fred G. Burton
Supervisor
2557 Concord
Detroit, Michigan 48207

Mrs. Millie Butler
School Board Member
4006 Alfred
Inkster, Michigan 48141

August J. Calloway
Trustee
Wayne State University
Board of Governors
4075 West Outer Drive
Detroit, Michigan 48221

Arthur Cartwright
Senator
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

John Conyers
Congressman
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

John S. Cook, Jr.
Supervisor
1320 City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

George W. Crockett, Jr.
Judge, Recorder's Court
1321 St. Antoine Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Ruben Daniels
School Board Member
615 Athens
Saginaw, Michigan 48607

Elvin Davenport
Judge, Recorder's Court
1321 St. Antoine Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Mrs. Marie Davis
Supervisor
732 Athens
Saginaw, Michigan 48607

James Del Rio
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Charles Diggs, Jr.
Congressman
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Henry Dixon
School Board Member
403 West Chestnut
Albion, Michigan 49224

William L. Dunbar
Supervisor
1320 City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Donald M. Edmonds
Supervisor
401 South Washington Street
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

George H. Edwards
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

M I C H I G A N

Edward Eivens
School Board Member
4723 Middlebelt Road
Westland, Michigan 48184

Daisy Elliott
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

John Epps, Jr.
Supervisor
2014 Chelan Street
Flint, Michigan 48503

Robert Lee Evans
Judge, Recorder's Court
1321 St. Antoine Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Dr. William A. Ezell
School Board Member
23438 Michigan Avenue
Inkster, Michigan 48141

Charles S. Farmer
Judge, Circuit Court
Wayne County
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Rosetta Ferguson
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Joel Ferguson
Councilman
City Hall
Lansing, Michigan 48933

George L. Fisher
School Board Member
6132 Magnolia
Mt. Morris, Michigan 48458

Richard A. Fleming
Supervisor
2312 South 17th Street
Niles, Michigan 48120

Geraldine Bledsoe Ford
Magistrate, Recorder's Court
1321 St. Antoine Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Roy Ford
Supervisor
927 Prospect Street, S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49507

Sam Fowlkes
City Commissioner
115 Grand Boulevard
Dowagiac, Michigan 49047

Charles Gray
Ward Commissioner
369 John
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Marcus J. Gray
County Clerk
Calhoun County Building
Marshall, Michigan 49068

Victor Greer
Councilman
726 Thresher
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Mrs. Alvene Grice
School Board Member
Covert, Michigan 49043

William C. Hague
Judge, Recorder's Court
1321 St. Antoine Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

M I C H I G A N

Clyde A. Hambin
Councilman
27206 Kitch
Inkster, Michigan 48141

Curtis Hartfield
City Commissioner
781 East Washington Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Harold Hayden
Supervisor
201 West Mc Clellan Street
Flint, Michigan 48505

Henry Heading
Judge, Recorder's Court
1321 St. Antoine Street
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Robert Holland
Councilman
619 West Center
Albion, Michigan 49224

David S. Holmes, Jr.
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

William Holt
School Board Member
30111 Matthew Drive
Inkster, Michigan 48141

Nicholas Hood
Councilman
1320 City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Raymond W. Hood
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Rev. Ellis Hull, Sr.
Trustee, Benton Township
1691 East Empire
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Herman Ivory
Supervisor
2404 Reynolds Street
Muskegon Heights, Michigan 49444

B. Moses James
Supervisor
320 West Paterson Street
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49007

Dr. Foraker Johnson
School Board Member (Pres.)
434 Frazier
River Rouge, Michigan 48218

Froley T. Johnson
Supervisor
722 Logan Street, S.E.
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503

Charles Jones
Councilman
City Hall
Albion, Michigan 49224

Johnny Jones
School Board Member
1224 Taylor
Ecorse, Michigan 48229

Dr. Clarence Kimbrough
School Board Member
1402 South Saginaw
Flint, Michigan 48503

Terrell LeCesne
Councilman
3723 Burns
Inkster, Michigan 48141

M I C H I G A N

George H. Leonard
School Board Member
Box 128
Covert, Michigan 49043

John T. Letts
Judge, Circuit Court
Kent County
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49502

Dr. Harold Lockett
School Board Member
319 Brookside Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

William S. Lucas
Wayne County Sherrif
City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

James McIntosh
County Commissioner
218 South Albion
Albion, Michigan 49224

Matthew McNeeley
Representative (Assoc. Speaker)
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Blanche Martin
Trustee, Michigan State
Board of Trustees
1999 Winchester
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Mrs. Josa Martin
School Board Member
3586 Alfred Street
Inkster, Michigan 48141

James Mathews
Supervisor
91 Earlemoor Boulevard
Pontiac, Michigan 48053

Virgil May
Commissioner-at-Large
616 Thresher Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Roy Meeks
School Board Member
26245 Pennsylvania
Inkster, Michigan 48141

Dr. Sam B. Milton
School Board Member
28661 Michigan
Inkster, Michigan 48141

Charles E. Morton
State Board of Education
13110 14th Street
Detroit, Michigan 48238

James T. Nelson
Supervisor
4426 Sheridan Road
Baldwin, Michigan 49304

Walter Parks
School Board Member
3862 19th Street
Ecorse, Michigan

Gladys J. Porter
Supervisor
1210 West St. Joseph
Lansing, Michigan 48915

Andrew Purdue
School Board Member
8601 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Dr. Remus Robinson
School Board Member
664 Chicago
Detroit, Michigan 48210

M I C H I G A N

Julian P. Rodgers
Judge, Common Pleas Court
Detroit, Michigan

Lawrence Royals
School Board Member
Ecorse Board of Education
Ecorse, Michigan 48229

Clarence B. Sabbath
Mayor Pro Temp
508 Frazier Street
River Rouge, Michigan 48218

Nelis J. Saunders
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Dennis M. Smith
Councilman
3900 17th Street
Ecorse, Michigan 48229

Willie R. Smith
School Board Member
339 Highland Avenue
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Rev. Darneau Steward
School Board Member
8601 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Dr. Harzell Taylor
School Board Member
262 Pleasant Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Mrs. Ethel Terrell
Councilwoman
220 Tennyson Avenue
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Robert Tindal
Councilman
City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Rudolph Tucker
School Board Member
416 Beechwood Avenue
River Rouge, Michigan 48218

Nathaniel Turner
Supervisor
810 East Ruth Avenue
Flint, Michigan 48055

Dr. Robert R.Turpin
School Board Member (V.Pres.)
350 Wide Track Drive
Pontiac, Michigan 48058

Lawrence Union
School Board Member
208 North Ann Street
Albion, Michigan 49224

Jackie Vaughn, II
Representative
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

W.J. White
School Board Member
386 Tuxedo Avenue
Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Charlotte L. Williams
Supervisor
2030 Barks Street
Flint, Michigan 48503

Lee J. Williams
Councilman
315 Clinton River Drive
Mt. Clemens, Michigan 48043

M I C H I G A N

Rev. J.P. Wilson
Supervisor
2038 Cherry Street
Saginaw, Michigan 48601

Frederick Yates
Supervisor
1320 City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

Coleman A. Young
Senator
State Capitol
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Joseph F. Young
Supervisor
1320 City-County Building
Detroit, Michigan 48226

M I N N E S O T A

Dr. George O. Berry
School Board Member
983 St. Anthony Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55140

Jonathan Byrd
Library Trustee
700 Sheridan Avenue, North
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55411

Harry Davis
School Board Member
3621 Portland Avenue, South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407

Clarence Harris
School Board Member
1579 Grandview Street
Maplewood, Minnesota 55109

Dr. Robert Lewis
School Board Member
1640 Hillsboro Street
St. Louis Park, Minnesota 55426

Stephen Maxwell
Judge, District Court
1521 Court House Boulevard
St. Paul, Minnesota 55111

Ray Pleasant
Councilman
9841 Xerxes Curve
Bloomington, Minnesota 55431

Fred Weston
Clerk, District Court
Ramsey County
1487 East Lourie Street
North St. Paul, Minnesota 55109

M I S S I S S I P P I

Ferd Allen
Alderman
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Isaiah Anderson
Alderman
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Howard T. Bailey
Election Commissioner
Route 3, Box 57
Lexington, Mississippi 39095

Mrs. Julia Banks
Election Commissioner
Route 1, Box 117
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Meddie Bedford
Alderman
P.O. Box 34
Winstonville, Mississippi 38781

Osborne Bell
Coroner, Marshall County
417 Memphis Street
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635

Ellis Braxton
Election Commissioner
Route 1, Box 139
Lorman, Mississippi 39096

G.C. Brown
Alderman
Jonestown, Mississippi 38639

E.H. Bryant
Alderman
Arcola, Mississippi 38722

Annyce Campbell
Alderman
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 37862

Howard Chambliss
Alderman
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Robert G. Clark
Representative
P.O. Box 184
Lexington, Mississippi 39095

Rogers Clark
Election Commissioner
Royal Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Alexander Collins
Justice of Peace
716 Coffee Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
716 Coffee Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Richard Cosby
Alderman
Jonestown, Mississippi 38639

Milburn J. Crowe
Alderman
Drawer F.
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 37862

John Daugherty
Election Commissioner
Lamar, Mississippi 38642

Dudley Davis
Alderman
Bolton, Mississippi 39041

Mrs. Gladys Davis
Election Commissioner
P.O. Box 244
Woodville, Mississippi 39669

M I S S I S S I P P I

Charles Evers
Mayor
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Rev. Dan Ferguson
Justice of Peace
General Delivery
Clarksdale, Mississippi 38631

Sylvester Gaines
Supervisor
Route 2, Box 18
Lorman, Mississippi 39096

James Gales
Alderman
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

W.E. Garrett
Election Commissioner
169 North Hickory Street
Canton, Mississippi 39046

Flonzie Belle Goodloe
Election Commissioner
344 Boyd
Canton, Mississippi 39046

James Matthew Gray
Election Commissioner
Highway 18
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Robert Dean Gray
Alderman
P.O. Box 420
Shelby, Mississippi 38774

John Green
County School Board Member
Box 553
Woodville, Mississippi 39669

Mrs. Marie Green
School Board Member
Route 2, Box 938
Woodville, Mississippi 39669

Will Greer
Alderman
Friars Point, Mississippi 38631

Arthur Holmes, Sr.
Alderman
General Delivery
Winstonville, Mississippi 38781

Ira W. Hones
Councilman
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 37862

Mrs. Mary Huddleston
Alderman
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 37862

Sylvester Ingram
Alderman
Moorhead, Mississippi 38761

Sol Jackson
Election Commissioner
Route 1, Box 66a
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Everett Jennings
Election Commissioner
Hermansville, Mississippi 39086

Mrs. Elva Johnson
Election Commissioner
100 Hinel Street
Durant, Mississippi 39063

Hermon Johnson
Alderman
Box 262
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

M I S S I S S I P P I

James Jolliff, Jr.
Supervisor
Route 2, Box 112
Woodville, Mississippi 39669

Bartha Jones
Election Commissioner
General Delivery
Bolton, Mississippi 39041

Charlie Jones
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 14
Coahoma, Mississippi 38167

Marshall Earl Jones
Election Commissioner
Route 3, Box 75
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635

Richard W. Jones
Alderman
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

L.C. Leach
Alderman
Bolton, Mississippi 39041

Mrs. Martha Lee
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 38
Lorman, Mississippi 39096

Moses Lewis, Sr.
Mayor
P.O. Box 68-B
Winstonville, Mississippi 38781

Horace Lightfoot
School Board Member
Farm Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Earlie Lott
Constable
Box 274
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Earl Lucas
Mayor
Box 476
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

Griffin McLaurin
Constable
Route 2, Box 56
Tchula, Mississippi 39169

Mrs. Arenia C. Mallory
County School Board Member
Saints Junior College
Lexington, Mississippi 39095

James Malone
Justice of Peace
Route 2
Waterford, Mississippi 38685

Steward Mason
Alderman
General Delivery
Winstonville, Mississippi 38781

Leander Monroe
Constable
106 Mulberry Street
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Sandy Nealey
Constable
5 Ray Street
Natchez, Mississippi 39120

Mrs. S. Flotilla Norman
Alderman
P.O. Box 13
Winstonville, Mississippi 38781

M I S S I S S I P P I

Judge Price, Sr.
Alderman
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

Mrs. Legora A. Reed
Councilwoman
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

U.S. Rimmer
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 74
Camden, Mississippi 39045

Leroy Robinson, Jr.
Election Commissioner
Route 1
Lorman, Mississippi 39096

Floyd Rollins
Election Commissioner
Route 1, Box 68
Port Gibson, Mississippi 30150

William Matt Ross
Supervisor
Box 115
Port Gibson, Mississippi 39150

Bertha W. Sanders
Alderman
P.O. Box 18
Winstonville, Mississippi 38781

T. R. Sanders
Alderman
Hollandale, Mississippi 38748

Rev. W. S. Scott
Justice of Peace
4 St. Catherine Street
Natchez, Mississippi 39120

James Shanks
Alderman
P.O. Box 337
Jonestown, Mississippi 38639

Melvin Smith
Constable
Box 53
Mayersville, Mississippi 39113

Kermit Stanton
Supervisor
Box 611
Shelby, Mississippi 38774

Burrell Tate
Election Commissioner
Route 1, Box 186A
Pickens, Mississippi 39146

Bennie Thompson
Alderman
Bolton, Mississippi 39041

Lyle Thompson
Alderman
Mound Bayou, Mississippi 38762

Willie Thompson
Justice of Peace
Box 581
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Will T. Turner
Alderman
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Matthew Walker
Justice of Peace
Star Route, Box 27
Rolling Fork, Mississippi 39159

M I S S I S S I P P I

McEwen Walker
Constable
Route 2, Box 79-A
Waterford, Mississippi 38685

Thomas Walker
Alderman
Edwards, Mississippi 39066

Clay Walter
Town Marshall
Friars Point, Mississippi 38631

Eugene White
Justice of Peace
P.O. Box 384
Fayette, Mississippi 39069

Robert Lee Williams
School Board Member
Route 2, Box 95
Lorman, Mississippi 39096

Joseph Woodard
Alderman
Box 285
Bude, Mississippi 39630

M I S S O U R I

Johnny S. Aikens
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

J. B. Banks
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

G. Lawrence Blankinship
Councilman
1900 Vine Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64108

Frank Bledsoe
Judge
Civil Court Building
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Samuel Boyd
School Board Member (Sec.)
Kinloch High School
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Robert Brewer
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Edna Brown
Councilwoman
5857 Kennerly Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63112

Dr. William H. Bryan
Coroner
3221 Victor Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64128

Mrs. Deverne L. Calloway
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

C. B. Carthers
City Marshal
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Joseph W. B. Clark
Councilman
4030 Cottage Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

William L. Clay
Congressman
1209 House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Louis Clymer
Judge, Municipal Court
4644 Cleveland Avenue
Kansas City, Missouri 64130

Mrs. Bessie Cole
City Collector
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Milton K. Crenshaw
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Clennon Farr
Alderman
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Russell Goward
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

James E. Harper
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

M I S S O U R I

John W. Harvey
Magistrate
3954 Page Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

Elmer Henderson
School Board Member
Kinloch High School
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

John Henderson
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Mrs. Ernestine Hinton
Councilwoman
City Hall
1206 Market Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Harold L. Holliday
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Henry Howard
Alderman
City Halll
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Mrs. Laura Howard
City Treasurer
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Raymond Howard
Senator
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Travis B. Howard
Mayor
Howardville, Missouri 63869

William Hughes
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

James E. Hurt, Jr.
School Board Member
26 Windermere Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63112

Thomas Jennings
Alderman
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Herman A. Johnson
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Leon J. Jordan
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

DeWitte Lawson
Councilman
2740 Franklin Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63106

Theodore D. McNeal
Senator
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Leroy Malcolm
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

W. G. Mathews
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

M I S S O U R I

Robert Metcalf
Mayor
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Rev. Earl E. Nance, Sr.
School Board Member
4559 Evans Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

Leroy Noah
School Board Member
Kinloch High School
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

John O'Guin, Jr.
School Board Member (Treas.)
Kinloch High School
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

John Page
School Board Member (Pres.)
Kinloch High School
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Franklin Payne
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Bennie Peeble
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

James Pentlester
Alderman
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Dr. John F. Ramos
School Board Member
3612 East 46th Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64130

Sidney R. Redmond
School Board Member
705 Chestnut Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63101

Nathaniel J. Rivers
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Henry C. Ross
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

J. B. Rowe
Police Judge
Howardville, Missouri 63860

Henry C. Shelton, Jr.
Alderman (Pres.)
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Richard T. Singleton
Alderman
City Hall
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Mrs. Adella R. Smiley
School Board Member
7 Windermere Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63112

Robert Smith
Municipal Judge
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Waymen Smith
Councilman
4456 Easton Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

M I S S O U R I

Mrs. L. T. Tallie
Tax Collector
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Mrs. Ann Thomas
Jr. College Board
2418 West Paseo
Kansas City, Missouri 64108

Dr. Earl D. Thomas
Councilman
2418 West Paseo
Kansas City, Missouri 64108

Walter D. Thompson
Alderman
City Hall
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

James T. Troupe
Representative
State Captiol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Bruce R. Watkins
Judge, Circuit Court
1900 East 17th Strret
Kansas City, Missouri 64127

Gwendolyn Wells
Jr. College Board
4011 Linwood Boulevard
Kansas City, Missouri 64128

Jack White
Alderman
Howardville, Missouri 63869

Fred Williams
Representative
State Capitol
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Napoleon Williams
School Board Member
Kinloch High School
Kinloch, Missouri 63140

Lawrence Woodson
Councilman
4939 Northland Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63113

N E B R A S K A

Damion Lacroix
School Board Member
4123 North 22nd Street
Omaha, Nebraska

Rev. E.T. Streeter
School Board Member
2439 Evans Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68103

N E V A D A

Robert E. Mullen
Judge, Municipal Court
Las Vegas, Nevada 89101

Aaron Williams
City Commissioner
North Las Vegas, Nevada 89030

Woodrwood Wilson
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Carson City, Nevada 89701

NEW JERSEY

Earl Addison
School Board Member
722 19th Avenue
South Belmar, New Jersey 07719

Bryson C. Armstead, Sr.
City Councilman
222 Roberts Avenue
Lawnside, New Jersey 08028

George Bell
School Board Member
Box 352
Glassboro, New Jersey 08028

Alfred W. Brown
City Councilman
35 Park End Place
East Orange, New Jersey 07019

Andrew Bryant
School Board Member
283 East Albert Street
Rahway, New Jersey 07065

Matthew G. Carter
Mayor
City Hall Montclair, New Jersey 07042

Frank Conwell
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Trenton, New Jersey 07625

Thomas Cook
City Councilman
32 North 17th Street
East Orange, New Jersey 07017

Aldrage Cooper
Commissioner
City Hall
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

Garner Cotton
Councilman (President)
505 North Warwick Road
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Clarence Custis, Jr.
School Board Member
(Fairfield Township)
2002 East Commerce Street
Bridgeton, New Jersey 08302

Mrs. Wila Durham
School Board Member
1003 Langham Street
Camden, New Jersey 08103

Robert E. Ferrell
School Board Member
110 South Street
Brielle, New Jersey 08730

Dudley Gill
School Board Member
510 16th Avenue
Belmar, New Jersey 07719

William Goodrum
School Board Member
5 South Firey Road
Pleasantville, New Jersey 08232

Maxwell Griffin
School Board Member
1582 South 10th Street
Camden, New Jersey 08104

Dr. C. Harris
County Coroner
13 Jersey Avenue
Morristown, New Jersey 07960

NEW JERSEY

William S. Hart
Mayor
City Hall
East Orange, New Jersey 07018

Rev. John Henry Hester
Freeholder (Atlantic County)
400 North Ohio Avenue
Atlantic City, New Jersey 08401

William C. Holt
City Councilman
City Hall
East Orange, New Jersey 07018

William Howard
City Councilman
138 Ellin Street
Somerset, New Jersey 08873

William R. Jenkins
City Councilman
City Hall
Camden, New Jersey 08101

Benjamin F. Jones
City Councilman
163 Central Place
Orange, New Jersey 07050

Rev. Benjamin Kelling
School Board Member
164 Berry Street
Hackensack, New Jersey 07601

William Kline
City Councilman
346 9th Avenue
Patterson, New Jersey 07514

Thomas Lane, III
School Board Member
(Fairfield Township)
R.D. # 7
Bridgeton, New Jersey 08302

Karlos R. LaSane
City Commissioner
City Hall
Atlantic City, New Jersey 08401

Dr. James Lassiter
City Councilman
34 Ridgedale Avenue
Morristown, New Jersey 07960

Rev. Everett Lattimore
City Councilman
214 Hillcrest Avenue
Plainfield, New Jersey 07062

Wynona Littman
Freeholder (Essex County)
121 Chestnut Street
Montclair, New Jersey 07042

Leroy H. Lyons, Sr.
City Councilman
113 East Charleston Street
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Dr. Adam McDaniels
City Councilman
97 East Milton Avenue
Rahway, New Jersey 07065

Isaac McNatt
City Councilman
125 Voorhees Street
Teaneck, New Jersey 07666

Christopher Martin
City Councilman
22 Gregory Terrace
Morristown, New Jersey 07960

Raymond Mesiah
School Board Member
27 Gifford Road
Somerset, New Jersey 08873

NEW JERSEY

Aldee G. Miller
City Councilman
City Hall
New Shrewsbury, New Jersey 07724

John Miller
School Board Member
608 Pine Street
Asbury Park, New Jersey 07712

Milton Minus
City Councilman
37 Phoenix Avenue
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Mrs. Constance Montgomery
School Board Member
17 Liberty Street
Morristown, New Jersey 07960

Hilliard R. Moore, Sr.
Mayor
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Paul L. Moore
School Board Member
1294 Marcella Drive
Union, New Jersey 07083

Thomas Moore
School Board Member
19 Green Street
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Curtis Murphy
School Board Member
56 Bank Street
Red Bank, New Jersey 07701

Mrs. Mary A. Nelson
Tax Collector
160 East Oak Avenue
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Ronald Owens
Assemblyman
State House
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

Roy Paige
School Board Member
48 Hampton Lane
Willingboro, New Jersey 08046

Miss Patricia Parker
School Board Member
Blue Anchor Road
Cedar Brook, New Jersey 08018

Elijah Perry
City Councilman
City Hall
Camden, New Jersey 08101

Sam Perry
City Councilman
City Hall
Passaic, New Jersey 07055

Walter Redding
City Councilman
316 Tillman Street
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Ted Reed
School Board Member
Board of Education Office
Riker Building
Willingboro, New Jersey 08046

George C. Richardson
Assemblyman
State House
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

Richard Roundtree
City Councilman
City Hall
Plainfield, New Jersey 07061

NEW JERSEY

Wilbur Russell
City Councilman
City Hall
Long Branch, New Jersey 08008

Floyd Scott
School Board Member
2019 Springwood Avenue
Neptune, New Jersey 07753

Rev. Horace Sharper
City Councilman
City Hall
Newark, New Jersey 07102

Leonard Simmons
City Councilman
1019 Chandler Avenue
Roselle, New Jersey 07203

Harold J. Smith
City Councilman
City Hall
East Orange, New Jersey 07019

Mrs. Tamar Smith
Councilwoman
83 Charleston Street
Lawnside, New Jersey 08045

Mrs. Herbert Southern
School Board Member
571 East Hazelwood Avenue
Rahway, New Jersey 07065

Emmett Spurlock
School Board Member
919 Hamilton Street
Roebling, New Jersey 08554

Dewey Thomas
School Board Member
200 Burgess Place
Passaic, New Jersey 07055

William S. Thomas
City Councilman
City Hall
East Orange, New Jersey 07018

Joseph Thompson
School Board Member
(Fairfield Township)
R.D.#7
Bridgeton, New Jersey 08302

William Thornton
City Councilman
City Hall
Jersey City, New Jersey 07302

Vincent Tibbs
City Councilman
City Hall
Englewood, New Jersey 07631

Irvine Turner
City Councilman
City Hall
Newark, New Jersey 07102

Chester Vaughn
School Board Member
1230 Brookside Road
Piscataway, New Jersey 08854

John Watson
Freeholder (Mercer County)
County Courthouse Building
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

William J. Watts
School Board Member
Aura Road
Glassboro, New Jersey 08028

Arnold Webster
School Board Member
1504 Bradley Avenue
Camden, New Jersey 08103

N E W J E R S E Y

Calvin West
City Councilman
City Hall
Newark, New Jersey 07102

S. Howard Woodson, Jr.
Assemblyman
State House
Trenton, New Jersey 08625

N E W M E X I C O

Ray P. Hardwick
Councilman
City Hall
Carlsbad, New Mexico

Albert N. Johnson
City Commissioner
City Hall
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001

Lenton Malry
Representative
State Capitol
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87102

N E W Y O R K

Paget Alves
School Board Member
5 Madison Avenue
White Plains, New York 10604

Emerson Ashby
School Board Member
200 Powell Street
Freeport, New York 11520

Laplois Ashford
School Board Member
80 West Main Street
Rochester, New York 14614

Betram L. Baker
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Roger I. Blackwell
County Legislator
47 Inter Park
Buffalo, New York 14214

Ronald Blackwood
Alderman
614 Fourth Avenue
Mt. Vernon, New York 10550

Robert Bowles
County Legislator
431 East Utica Avenue
Buffalo, New York 14208

Amos E. Bowman
Judge, Supreme Court
150 West 131st Street
New York, New York 10027

Henry Bramwell
Judge, Civil Court
400 Herkimer Street
Brooklyn, New York 11213

Guy Brewer
Assemblyman
107-35 170th Street
Jamaica, New York 11433

Kenneth N. Browne
Judge, Civil Court
185-19 Henderson Avenue
Hollis, New York 11423

Richard A. Byron
School Board Member
River Road
Calverton, New York 11933

Bernard Charles
Councilman
109 Old Nyack Turnpike
Spring Valley, New York 10977

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Mrs. Mary Ellen Cooper
School Board Member
353 4th Avenue
Mt. Vernon, New York 10550

Thomas Dickens
Judge, Superior Court
150 West 131st Street
New York, New York 10027

Edward R. Dudley
Judge, Supreme Court
549 West 123rd Street
New York, New York 10027

Richard Dunlap
School Board Member
30 Broadview Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

NEW YORK

Hezikiah Easter
Village Trustee
Village Hall
Nyack, New York 10960

Herbert B. Evans
Judge, Civil Court
676 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10031

Joseph Evans
School Board Member
42 Thomas Place
New Rochelle, New York 10801

Arthur O. Eve
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

George Fleary
Judge, Civil Court
744 Putnam Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11221

Marquette Floyd
Judge, 2nd District Court
Suffolk County
Babylon, New York 11702

Thomas R. Fortune
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Dr. James Frank
School Board Member
5 Madison Avenue
White Plains, New York 10604

Joseph L. Galiber
Senator
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Ronald J. Good
Monroe County Legislator
318 Chatham Gardens
Rochester, New York 14605

Jesse Harmon
School Board Member
100 Pine Hollow Road
Oyster Bay, New York 11771

Hulan E. Jack
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Horace C. Johnson
Councilman
101 Hamlin Road
Buffalo, New York 14208

Thomas R. Jones
Judge, Supreme Court
230 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York 11217

Henri Legendre
School Board Member
(Val Halla)
81 Stone Avenue
White Plains, New York 10603

John H. Lewis
School Board Member
25 Elm Drive
Roslyn, New York 11567

Dr. Stephen Lockwood
School Board Member
834 East Bay Drive
West Islip, New York 11797

John McIver
School Board Member
1446 Main Street
Peekskill, New York 10566

NEW YORK

Delmar L. Mitchell
Councilman
45 Blaine Avenue
Buffalo, New York 14208

Franklin W. Morton
Judge, Supreme Court
229 Quincy Street
Brooklyn, New York 11216

William Oliver
School Board Member
20 Hicksville Road
Westbury, New York 11590

Samuel L. Parham, Jr.
School Board Member
6 Orchard Parkway
White Plains, New York 10606

Basil A. Paterson
Senator
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Adam Clayton Powell
Congressman
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Tracey Powell
Village Trustee
Village Hall
Hillburn, New York 10931

Dr. Greta Rainsford
School Board Member
312 Greenwich Street
Hempstead, New York 11550

Charles Rangel
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Ernest B. Reynolds
School Board Member
49 Otis Street
West Babylon, New York 11704

Milton Reynolds
School Board Member
34 Gage Street
Kingston, New York 12401

Jawn A. Sandifer
Judge, Supreme Court
2255 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10037

Clifford A. Scott
Judge, Civil Court
111 Centre Street
New York, New York 10013

William Sells
School Board Member
759 Doane Avenue
Bellport, New York 11713

Russell Service
Village Trustee
13 Angevin Avenue
Hempstead, New York 11550

James H. Shaw
Judge, Civil Court
1141 Bergen Street
Brooklyn, New York 11216

William D. Smith
Monroe County Legislator
122 Tremont Street
Rochester, New York 14608

Mark T. Southall
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

NEW YORK

Harold Stevens
Judge, Supreme Court
10 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10037

Edward Stevenson
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

Waldaba Stewart
Senator
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

William Sudderth
Fire Commissioner
32 Longdale Avenue
White Plains, New York 10607

Percy Sutton
President of the
Borough of Manhattan
Municipal Building
New York, New York 10007

Melvin Tapley
School Board Member
1230 Maple Avenue
Peekskill, New York 10566

Charles Taylor
Councilman
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

Darwin Telesford
Judge, Supreme Court
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, New York 10032

Joseph Thaxton
Village Trustee
Village Hall
Spring Valley, New York 10977

William C. Thompson
Councilman
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

Andrew R. Tyler
Judge, Supreme Court
200 West 90th Street
New York, New York 10024

William A. Urquhart, Jr.
School Board Member
19 Glenmore Avenue
Hempstead, New York 11550

John D. Van Buren
School Board Member
108 Carolina Avenue
Hempstead, New York 11556

Charles Ward
School Board Member
17 Meyer Street
Roosevelt, New York 11575

Eric J. Ward
School Board Member
19 Melvin Avenue
West Hempstead, New York 11552

Ivan Warner
Judge, Supreme Court
748 East 175th Street
Bronx, New York 10457

Samuel Welcome
Judge, Civil Court
276 Stuyvesant Street
Brooklyn, New York 11221

Albert P. Williams
Judge, Civil Court
111 Centre Street
New York, New York 10007

NEW YORK

Oliver D. Williams
Judge, Supreme Court
580 Flatbush Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11225

William K. Wolfe
School Board Member
22 Minkel Road
Ossining, New York 10562

Samuel D. Wright
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Albany, New York 12224

NORTH CAROLINA

Rev. James Abernathy
Councilman
East Spencer, North Carolina 28039

Mrs. Elreta Mc. Alexander
Judge
Southeastern Building
Suite 508
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Fred D. Alexander
Councilman
P.O. Box 273
Charlotte, North Carolina 28201

Frank Ambrose
Councilman
Belhaven, North Carolina 27810

Thurman Anderson
School Board Member
Route 1, Box 370
Rowland, North Carolina 28383

Henry P. Armond
Councilman
Vandemere, North Carolina 28587

Jimmie L. Barber
Councilman
Greensboro, North Carolina 27402

O.L. Beatty
Councilman
Salisbury, North Carolina 28144

Kenneth E. Bell
Councilman
P.O. Box 131
Bayboro, North Carolina 28515

Holland Boney
Commissioner
Greenevers, North Carolina

C. Elwood Boulware
Councilman
405 Lawson Street
Durham, North Carolina 27707

W.E. Bridges
Councilman (Princeville)
Tarboro, North Carolina 27886

Alex Brown
Mayor
Greenevers, North Carolina

Charles W. Bryant
Councilman
Madison, North Carolina 27025

Felton J. Capel
Mayor Pro Tem and Treasurer
1009 W. New Hampshire Avenue
Southern Pines, North Carolina 28387

Rev. Clarence Carr
Councilman
East Spencer, North Carolina 28039

Vance H. Chavis
Councilman
1311 Marboro Drive
Greensboro, North Carolina 27406

Mrs. Elizabeth Coefield
School Board Member
2322 Wade Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

Dr. Joseph S. Colson
Commissioner
809 Raleigh Street
Oxford, North Carolina 27565

NORTH CAROLINA

James Curtis
Councilman
Vandermere, North Carolina 28587

Ruben J. Dailey
Councilman
Asheville, North Carolina 28801

A. J. Dixon
Commissioner
Greenevers, North Carolina

Thomas Dixon
Commissioner
Greenevers, North Carolina

Dr. C. R. Edwards
School Board Member
312 Moore Street
Fayetteville, North Carolina
28301

Henry E. Frye
Representative
State Legislative Building
Raleigh, North Carolina 27602

Braxton Foushee
Councilman
Carrboro, North Carolina 27510

Marion C. George, Jr.
Councilman
125½ Person Street
Fayetteville, North Carolina
28301

David D. Ghist
Councilman
Nashville, North Carolina 27856

W.C. Horton
Councilman
Morehead City, North Carolina
28557

Howard Hunter
School Board Member (County)
Box 354
Ahoskie, North Carolina 27910

Theboud Jeffers
Mayor Pro Tem
Gastonia, North Carolina 28052

Howard N. Lee
Mayor
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dr. Lillian B. Lewis
School Board Member
Winston-Salem State College
Winston Salem, North Carolina
27105

Clarence E. Lightner
Councilman
717 Delany Drive
Raleigh, North Carolina 27610

Dr. Perry Little
School Board Member
1221 Wendall Avenue
High Point, North Carolina
27260

Joseph G. McClain
Councilman
Davidson, North Carolina 28036

Fred D. McNeill, Jr.
School Board Member (County)
1100 Cana Street
Durham, North Carolina 27707

Rev. Cecil H. Marcellus, Jr.
Councilman
206 William Street
Reidsville, North Carolina 27320

NORTH CAROLINA

Henry Marsh
Councilman
Ahoskie, North Carolina 27910

W. Ray Matthewson
Mayor (Princeville)
Tarboro, North Carolina 27886

Rev. Thurman Murphy
Councilman
Laurinburg, North Carolina 28352

Nathan Murray
Commissioner
Greenevers, North Carolina

Dr. J. C. Owens
Councilman
Roxboro, North Carolina 27573

Hilton Oxedine
Councilman
Lumberton, North Carolina 28358

David Pittman
Councilman (Princeville)
Tarboro, North Carolina 27886

Dr. M. A. Ray
Councilman
Tarboro, North Carolina 27886

Ely Reid
Councilman
Main Street
Winton, North Carolina 27086

Cleveland Roberts
Councilman
Tarboro, North Carolina 27886

Charles C. Ross, Sr.
Alderman
814 Bruce Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina
27101

Jacob Ruffin
Councilman
Murfreesboro, North Carolina
27855

Carl H. Russell
Councilman
822 North Ridge Street
Winston Salem, North Carolina
27101

Mrs. Anne Shephard
School Board Member
Fayetteville State College
Fayetteville, North Carolina
28301

R. L. Smith
Councilman
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
27514

Mack Sowell
Councilman
Selma, North Carolina 27576

Asa T. Spaulding
Commissioner (County)
P.O. Box 3804
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Theodore Speigner
School Board Member
North Carolina College
Dept. Of Geography
Durham, North Carolina 27707

John S. Stewart
Councilman
128 Masondale Avenue
Durham, North Carolina 27707

Dr. E. B. Turner
Councilman
509 West Second Street
Lumberton, North Carolina 28358

NORTH CAROLINA

David Tyson
Councilman (Princeville)
Tarboro, North Carolina 27886

Dr. Herbert W. Vick
School Board Member
439 Moore Street
Fayetteville, North Carolina
28301

E. V. Wilkins
Councilman
Roper, North Carolina 27970

Rev. John B. Woodhouse
Councilman
1113 Goodwin Avenue
Elizabeth City, North Carolina
27909

O H I O

David D. Albritton
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Benjamin Anderson
Councilman-At-Large
824 Garfield Street
Bellefontaine, Ohio 43311

John C. Armstrong
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

James Bell
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

John W. E. Bowen
Senator
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

William F. Bowen
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

William Boyd
School Board Member
1380 East 6th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Rev. William J. Broaddus
School Board Member
Dayton, Ohio 45401

Lloyd Brown
Judge, Muncipal Court
16112 Delray Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44139

Virgil Brown
Councilman
1101 Parkside Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Lillian Burke
Judge, Municipal Court
Lakeside and Ontario
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Myron Bush
Councilman
2931 Gilbert Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45206

Carrie Cain
Councilwoman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Charles V. Carr
Councilman
8311 Quincy Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44104

William J. Chenault
Councilman
415 Clinton Springs
Cincinnati, Ohio 45229

Frederick Coleman
Judge, Muncipal Court
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Calvin Conliff
School Board Member-President
1076 Sunnyslope Drive
Cincinnati, Ohio 45229

Vincent L. Cooke
School Board Member
103 South Centennial Road
Holland, Ohio 43528

O H I O

Edward Davis
Councilman-President
City Hall
Akron, Ohio 44307

Phillip M. DeLaine
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

George Ellis
Councilman
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Arthur Fisher
Judge, Municipal Court
Dayton, Ohio 45401

George Forbes
Councilman
City Hall
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

James A. Ford, Sr.
County Commissioner
R. R. 5
Xenia, Ohio 45385

John D. Ford
Councilman
164 Orchard
Wintersville, Ohio 43952

Robert B. Ford, DDS
School Board
1307 Germantown Street
Dayton, Ohio 45408

Jack Franklin
Judge
Ottawa Hills Police Court
Ottawa Hills, Ohio 45875

Robert V. Franklin
Judge, Municipal Court
525 North Erie Street
Toledo, Ohio 43624

William Franklin
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Douglas Gardner
School Board Member
2032 Ontario Avenue
Springfield, Ohio 45505

Harold J. Garner
City Council
General Mills, Inc.
1250 Laskey Road
Toledo, Ohio 43601

Warren Gilliam
Councilman
2541 East 38th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Samuel Glover
School Board Member
Lindy & Magee
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Paul Haggard
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Phale D. Hale
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

O H I O

James E. Harding
Treasurer
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

William Harrison
Trustee
4567 Soldiers Home
Miamisburg Road
Miamisburg, Ohio 45342

James T. Henry, Sr.
Mayor
416 Columbus Avenue
Xenia, Ohio 45385

Robert Henry
City Commissioner
City Building
Springfield, Ohio 45501

Ozie Hill
Councilman
544 Lily Street
Manfield, Ohio 44903

Thomas E. Hill
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Leo A. Jackson
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44116

M. Morris Jackson
Senator
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Perry B. Jackson
Judge, Common Pleas Court
Cuyahoga County
3296 East 137th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44120

Troy Lee James
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Calvin C. Johnson
Senator
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Casey Jones
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

John W. Kellogg
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Sylvester Kilgore
Councilman
Lincoln Heights City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Oliver Lackey, Sr.
Councilman
Lincoln Heights City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

James E. Lawson
Councilman
225 West Limestone Street
Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

Leo Lucas
School Board Member
736 Argonne Drive
Dayton, Ohio 45408

O H I O

Robert McCall
City Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

James McGee
City Commissioner
City Commission Office
Municipal Building
Dayton, Ohio 45401

C. J. McLin, Jr.
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Mrs. Mildred Madison
State Board of Education
State Office Building
Columbus, Ohio 43215

William Mallory
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Harvey Matthews
City Councilman
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Samuel Mays
School Board Member
Lindy & Magee
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Eugene Morgan
School Board Member
799 Diagonal Road
Akron, Ohio 44320

Dennis J. Palmer
School Board
615 Spring Avenue
Steubenville, Ohio 43952

Samuel S. Perry
Mayor
Village of Woodmere
Cleveland, Ohio 44128

Arnold Pinkney
School Board Member
16903 Eldamere Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44128

Albert Pottinger
Councilman
City Hall
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Lewis Rattliff
Councilman-At-Large
824 Garfield Street
Bellefontaine, Ohio 43311

Curvis Rhyne
City Councilman
City Hall
Alliance, Ohio 44601

John Rosemond
City Councilman
City Hall
Columbus, Ohio 43215

Joseph Rouhlac
Judge, Municipal Court
Summit County
10 South Main Street
Akron, Ohio 44308

Dr. James Scott
Coroner
1013 12th Street
Portsmouth, Ohio 45662

Larry G. Smith
Representative
State Capitol
Columbus, Ohio 43215

O H I O

Walter J. Smith
City Councilman
Lincoln Heights City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Charley Southall
City Councilman
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Herman Starks
City Councilman
202 North Fruit Street
Youngstown, Ohio 44506

Carl B. Stokes
Mayor
City Hall, Room 202
601 Lakeside Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Louis Stokes
Congressman
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

William N. Thomas, Sr.
School Board Member
209 Gardner Avenue
Toledo, Ohio 43616

Clarence R. Thompson
City Councilman
City Hall
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

Clayton Umbles
City Councilman
City Hall
525 North Erie
Toledo, Ohio 43624

Dr. Watson H. Walker
School Board Member
1801 Oak Street
Columbus, Ohio 43205

Robert W. Weaver
City Councilman-At-Large
Auditorium Building
22-24 West Main Street
Newark, Ohio 43055

Guy T. Westmoreland
Auditor
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Elijah Wheeler
City Commissioner
1237 Melbourne Road
East Cleveland, Ohio 44112

Charles White
Judge, Court of Appeals
Cuyahoga County
1082 East 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44108

George White
Judge
Court of Appeals
1082 East 98th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44108

Theodore Wilburn, Jr.
Police Chief, Scioto County
Portsmouth City Hall
732 Second Street
Portsmouth, Ohio 45662

James Williams
City Councilman
City Hall
Akron, Ohio 44301

O H I O

Theodore Williams
Judge, Municipal Court
1077 East 97th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44108

Vernon W. Woolfork
City Councilman
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

Penn Zeigler
Mayor
City Hall
1201 Steffens Avenue
Lincoln Heights, Ohio 45215

O K L A H O M A

Ed Alexander
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Mrs. Hannah D. Atkins
Representative
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

J. C. Bush
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Dr. J. S. Chandler
Councilman
2301 Dennison Street
Muskogee, Oklahoma 74401

Mrs. Vernel Clark
City Councilman
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Mrs. Carne Cotton
School Board Member
Route 1, Box 417
Muskogee, Oklahoma 74401

Hickman Criver
School Board Member
Route 1, Box 420
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

Duncan Curl
Mayor
Box 73
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

Mrs. Jeanette Dolphin
City Councilman
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Alfonzo Dowell
City Councilman
405 North Durland
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73104

Clyde Fields
School Board Member
City Councilman
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

Taft Forshee
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Sebron Green
School Board Member
Route 1
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Frank Grubbs
School Board Member
Route 1
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Mrs. Leonia Hall
City Councilman
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Archibald B. Hill, Jr.
Representative
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

Rev. Ben H. Hill
Representative
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

Rev. Robert Hubbard
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

George Jackson
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

A. Visanio Johnson
Representative
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

O K L A H O M A

B. T. Kees
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Cecil Lanbardia
City Councilman
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

Roy Leblanc
School Board Member
719 North Porter
Okmulgee, Oklahoma 74447

Forrest Lee
City Councilman
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Maurice Lee
City Councilman
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

James Lowe
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Mrs. Fanny B. Martin
School Board Member
Box 296
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

Roy Martin
City Councilman
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

James Mitchell
School Board Member
Route 4
Okemali, Oklahoma 74859

C. E. Morgan
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

E. Melvin Porter
Senator
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105

S. H. Russell
School Board Member
Box 61
Taft, Oklahoma 74463

Dr. Fred D. Smith
City Councilman
710 North Terrace Street
Muskogee, Oklahoma 74401

Walter White
School Board Member
Route 4
Okmulgee, Oklahoma 74447

Sam Wilcot
Mayor
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

Mrs. Louise M. Young
School Board Member
Boley, Oklahoma 74829

P E N N S Y L V A N I A

Sarah A. Anderson
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Herbert Arlene
Senator
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

James D. Barber
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Homer Brown
Magistrate
Allegheny County Court of
Common Pleas
County Courthouse
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Herbert R. Cain, Jr.
Judge, Court of Common Pleas
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Edgar Campbell
City Councilman-At-Large
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

John Chandler
Alderman
314 Dinwiddie Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Paul Dandrige
Judge, Municipal Court
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Horace A. Davenport
School Board Member
508 Swede Street
Morristown, Pennsylvania 19401

Charles Durham
City Councilman
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Edward Finch
City Councilman
Columbea Avenue
Braddock, Pennsylvania 15104

Pronty L. Ford
Constable
2220 Wylie Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Wilbur H. Grant
Judge, Superior Court of Pa.
City Hall - Room 369
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Freeman Hankins
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Rev. William Harris
School Board Member
1223 Willow Street
Morristown, Pennsylvania 19401

Clarence L. Huff
Constable
7127 Hamilton Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15208

K. Leroy Irvis
Representative Majority Leader
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Joel J. Johnson
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

P E N N S Y L V A N I A

Theodore Johnson
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Paul M. Lawson
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Stanley Lawson
City Councilman
City Hall
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17101

Thomas McIntosh
City Councilmna
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Louis Mason, Jr.
City Councilman
931 Clarissa Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Mitchell W. Melton
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

Henry T. Nichols
School Board Member (V. Pres.)
Administration Building
21st and Parkway
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103

Robert N. C. Nix, Sr.
Congressman
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Sterling Perkins
Alderman
7127 Hamilton Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15208

Hence Price
City Councilman
Municipal Building
Rankin, Pennsylvania 15218

Ralph Rivera, M.D.
Coroner, Beaver County
County Home and Hospital
Beaver, Pennsylvania 15009

Clarence Roberts
School Board Member
1904 West 9th Street
Chester, Pennsylvania 19017

Walter Rowe
City Councilman
Municipal Building
Homestead, Pennsylvania 15120

James H. Rowland, Sr.
School Board Member
812 A. North 17th Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17103

Ulysses Shelton
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

George W. Shields
City Councilman
City-County Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Herbert Simmons
City Councilman
1082 Willow Street
Norristown, Pennsylvania 19401

Grant Smith
School Board Member
828 7th Street
Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania 15010

P E N N S Y L V A N I A

Henry Smith
Constable - 21st Ward
City-County Building
44 Grant Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Henry Smith, Jr.
Judge, Common Pleas Court
County Courthouse
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

S. Briggs Smith
School Board Member
1118 North 3rd Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17102

Theodore Spaulding
Judge, Superior Court
City Hall - Room 369
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Juanita Kidd Stout
Judge, Common Pleas Court
City Hall
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

Earl Vann
Representative
State Capitol
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120

George Walker
School Board Member
723 Grove Street
Aliquippa, Pennsylvania 15001

Warren Watson
Judge, Allegheny County Court
530 Fourth Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

Chester White
School Board Member
832 5th Avenue
Corapolis, Pennsylvania 15108

Glen Williams
Comptroller
City Hall
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17101

Jacob Williams
Alderman
2220 Wylie Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

George Wilson
Constable - 21st Ward
City-County Building
44 Grant Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219

William Woods
Magistrate
1417 North 3rd Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17102

R H O D E I S L A N D

Phillip Addison
City Councilman
City Hall
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

Peter J. Coelho
Representative
State House
Providence, Rhode Island 02903

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

Dover Bowman
City Councilman
Bowman & Howard Funeral Home
Timmonsville, South Carolina 29161

Leroy E. Browne
City Board of Directors
Post Office Box 124
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

Freddie Campbell
City Councilman
Post Office Box 72
Eastover, South Carolina 29044

Herbert Cook
Town Councilman
Post Office Box 536
Summerville, South Carolina 29483

St. Julian Devine
City Councilman
68 Cooper Street
Charleston, South Carolina 29403

Franklin R. DeWitt
City Councilman
510 Highway 378
Conway, South Carolina 29526

Lawrence A. Dunmore
City Councilman
Georgetown, South Carolina 29440

Anthony Eddings
Magistrate
RFD 1, Box 124
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

Herman H. Felix
City Councilman
Main Street
Lynchburg, South Carolina 29080

R. A. Frazer
City Councilman
Society Hill, South Carolina 29593

Daniel Gore
City Councilman (Atlantic Beach)
Windy Hill Beach
South Carolina 29597

Mrs. Dorothy Hart
City Councilman (Atlantic Beach)
Windy Hill Beach
South Carolina 29597

William J. Heath
Town Councilman
Municipal Building
Winnsboro, South Carolina 29180

Bennie Hopkins
Town Councilman
General Delivery
Sellers, South Carolina 29592

Ronald Isom
City Councilman (Atlantic Beach)
Windy Hill Beach
South Carolina 29597

George Jacobs
Town Councilman
419 Lincolnville Circle
Summerville, South Carolina 29483

William Jefferson
City Councilman
19 Corbett Street
Mayesville, South Carolina 29104

Richard Johnson
City Councilman
General Delivery
Eastover, South Carolina 29044

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

David Jones
County Board of Directors
C/O Jones Garage
Hilton Head Island, South Carolina
29928

Eddie Kline
Magistrate
Route 1, Box 12
Seabrook, S. C. 29940

Jim Lebreu
City Councilman
Eastover, South Carolina 29044

Jessie McCellan
City Councilman
General Delivery
Sellers, South Carolina 29592

John L. McCoy
City Councilman
Route 1, Box 508
Great Falls, South Carolina 29055

Dr. E. L. McPherson
City Councilman
154 Greenacres Road
Greenville, South Carolina 29607

Wendell J. O. Martin
City Councilman
Box 30
Jenkinsville, South Carolina 29065

Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell
School Board Member
P. O. Box 54
Sheldon, South Carolina 29941

Charles H. Ross
Mayor (Lincolnville)
P. O. Box 526
Summerville, South Carolina 29483

Mildren Rucker
Mayor (Atlantic Beach)
City Hall
Windy Hill Beach,
South Carolina 29597

Miss Luella Seele
Town Clerk
P. O. Box 712
Summerville, South Carolina 29483

Mrs. Agnes Sherman
School Board Member
P. O. Box 38
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

John Mark Simmons
City Councilman (Atlantic Beach)
Windy Hill Beach,
South Carolina 29597

Mrs. Hattie Sims
Magistrate
Route 1, Box 95
Hopkins, South Carolina 29597

Joseph Stroy
Magistrate
Route 2, Box 242
Hopkins, South Carolina 29061

Arnie J. Washington
Town Councilman
414 Lincolnville Circle
Summerville, South Carolina 29483

Booker T. Washington
County Councilman
Box 435
Lobesco, South Carolina 29931

Fred Watson
City Councilman
Watson Street
Loris, South Carolina 29569

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

Charlie Bell Williams
Town Councilman
General Delivery
Sellers, South Carolina 29592

Joseph M. Wright
City Councilman
1824 Green Street
Beaufort, South Carolina 29902

T E N N E S S E E

Mrs. Gladys Allen
Magistrate
Route 1, Box 182 1/2
Oakland, Tennessee 38060

Dennis Banks
Constable
901 Morningside Drive
Knoxville, Tennessee 37915

Cauldwell Biggers
Quarterly Court
503 Fleetwater Lane
Lewisburg, Tennessee 37091

M. G. Blakemore
Representative
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Robert J. Booker
Representative
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Carlos Bruce
Magistrate
408 Cedar Street
Lebanon, Tennessee 37087

Lawrence Curry
Constable
2312 Wilson Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37406

Fred L. Davis
City Councilman
1365 Airways Boulevard
Memphis, Tennessee 38114

John Driver
City Councilman
1018 35th Avenue N.
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Mansfield Douglas
City Councilman
1802 Beech Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Wilbert Fowler
Magistrate
101 Sycamore Street
Lebanon, Tennessee 37087

Mrs. Sarah M. Greene
School Board Member
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Bennie Harris
City Judge
Municipal Building
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37402

William Hazlett
Magistrate
County Court
Route 1
Collierville, Tennessee 38017

Blair T. Hunt
School Board Member
731 Hastings
Memphis, Tennessee 38107

Mrs. Geraldine Johnson
County Court
Route 1
Mason, Tennessee 38107

Alvin King
Representative
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Robert E. Lillard
City Councilman
1031 Stahlman Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37201

T E N N E S S E E

Albert Lockard
School Board Member
Route, Box 226
Ripley, Tennessee 38063

Z. Alexander Looby
City Councilman
327 Charlotte Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37201

Harold M. Love
Representative
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Miss Deotha Malone
Alderman
Gallatin, Tennessee 37066

Charlie Minon
Magistrate
County Court
Route 5, Box 141
Summerville, Tennessee 36068

Ira H. Murphy
Representative
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Rev. James L. Netters
City Councilman
258 Edsel Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee 38109

Dan Nixon
Magistrate
Route 1, Box 424
Brownsville, Tennessee 38012

Cooper Parks
Magistrate
Route 2, Box 690
Collierville, Tennessee 38017

J. O. Patterson, Jr.
State Senator & Councilman
244 South Danny Thomas Boulevard
Memphis, Tennessee 38126

Sherman Perry
Magistrate
P. O. Box 64
Oakland, Tennessee 38060

A. D. Powell
Magistrate
Route 1, Box 429
Brownsville, Tennessee 38012

Rev. Robert Richards
Justice of Peace
1818 Citico Avenue
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37404

Theotis Robinson
City Councilman
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Robert Scales
City Councilman
320 East State
Murfreesboro, Tennessee 37130

Dr. M. Spotwood
School Board Member
225 West Woodking
Pulaski, Tennessee 38478

James Staples
Constable
115 Van Glider Place, N. E.
Knoxville, Tennessee 37917

James I. Taylor
Representative
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

T E N N E S S E E

Jesse Turner
Magistrate
1439 Star Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee 38106

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
Senator
State Capitol
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

T E X A S

George Allen
City Councilman
Great Liberty Insurance Company
2527 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75201

Harmon Bell
City Councilman
2312 Hiway 21, West
Bryan, Texas 77801

Mrs. Sedalia Brittian
City Councilman
Easton, Texas 75641

I. W. Brown
Alderman
1115 West Highway 31
Box 472
Malakoff, Texas 74148

Dr. Emmett J. Conrad
School Board Member
4432 South Oakland
Dallas, Texas 75215

Mrs. Wilhelmina Delco
School Board Trustee
1805 Astor Place
Austin, Texas 78721

Wilbert Lee Eagleton
School Board Member
105 Cypress
Crosby, Texas 77532

Dr. Marion G. Ford
School Board Member
10338 Cheves
Houston, Texas 77106

Curtis M. Graves
Representative
4517 Troost Street
Houston, Texas 77026

Arthur J. Guidry
City Councilman
1525 West Fifth Street
Port Arthur, Texas 77640

Dr. E. W. Gwinn
City Councilman
5304 Ramsey Street
Fort Worth, Texas 76105

D. Davis Halton
City Councilman
Easton, Texas 75641

David Hamilton
School Board Member
Highland Hills Apartment
Simpson-Stuart Road
Dallas, Texas 75241

Theasel Henderson
School Board Member
Galveston, Texas 77550

Zan Wesley Holmes, Jr.
Representative
6910 Robin Road
Dallas, Texas 75209

Rev. S. H. James
City Councilman
430 North Pine Street
San Antonio, Texas 78202

Scott E. Johnson
Councilman
716 Tenth Street
Huntsville, Texas 77340

Alfred Jones
Mayor
Box 717
Easton, Texas 75641

T E X A S

Miss Barbara Jordan
State Senator
5303 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas 77020

Alfred Zack McElroy
School Board President
341 Linkwood Drive
Port Arthur, Texas 77640

John Miles, Jr.
City Councilman
302 South Alamo Street
Hearne, Texas 77859

Dr. J. N. Nelum
School Board Member
64-14 Barney View Road
Dallas, Texas 75241

Dr. G. H. Radford
City Councilman
City Hall
Waco, Texas 76703

Jimmy D. Reece
City Councilman
Easton, Texas 75641

David K. Robinson
City Councilman
Easton, Texas 75641

Ilester Sparks, Jr.
City Councilman
Easton, Texas 75641

William H. Taft
School Board Member
1395 Gladys Street
Beaumont, Texas 77701

Harrison E. Taylor
Alderman
515 Duncan Street
Wichita Falls, Texas 76301

Mrs. Artie Mae White
School Board Member
7968 Cinderella Street
Houston, Texas 77028

V I R G I N I A

Mrs. Iona W. Adkins
County Clerk
Charles City County Courthouse
Charles City, Virginia 23030

Moses E. Anthony
City Councilman
Glasgow, Virginia 24555

Mrs. Sadie Bland
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 224
Disputanta, Virginia 23842

Harry Brown
Justice of Peace
Route 2
Petersburg, Virginia 23803

Embria Byrd
City Councilman
City Hall
Royal Port, Virginia 22535

Floyd Carter
Board of Supervisors
Charles City County Courthouse
Charles City, Virginia 23030

William P. Clarke, Sr.
City Councilman
764 Bell Mill Road
Chesapeake, Virginia 23320

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
City Councilman
1205 Cardwell Street
Fredericksburg, Virginia 22401

Garland Faison
Justice of Peace
Greenville, Virginia 24440

H. E. Fauntleroy
City Councilman
901 Wilcox Street
Petersburg, Virginia 23803

Oliver Fortune
City Councilman
City Hall
Royal Port, Virginia 22535

Ernest A. Gaines
City Councilman
234 Virginia Avenue
Tappahannock, Virginia 22560

Charles H. Harris
City Councilman
P.O. Box 640
Danville, Virginia 24541

Dr. A. B. Harrison
City Councilman
City Hall
Franklin, Virginia 23851

William D. Hobson
City Councilman
Box 268
Martinsville, Virginia 24112

James W. Holley, III
City Councilman
466 Effingham Street
Portsmouth, Virginia 23704

Mrs. Leola Holloway
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 38
Spring Grove, Virginia 23881

Kenneth L. Jones
City Councilman
City Hall
813 15 North Augusta Street
Staunton, Virginia 24401

V I R G I N I A

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
City Councilman
2506 Myrtle Avenue
Norfolk, Virginia 23504

J. B. Lewis
City Councilman
Lexington, Virginia 24450

Henry L. Marsh, III
City Councilman
3211 Q Street
Richmond, Virginia 23223

Henry A. Minor
City Councilman
City Hall
Fairfax, Virginia 22030

Dr. Hugo A. Owens
City Councilman
4405 Airline Boulevard
Chesapeake, Virginia 23321

Merrel Owens
Justice of Peace
Route 3, Box 213
Jarratt, Virginia 23867

John William Porter
City Councilman
City Hall
Dumfries, Virginia 22026

William Ferguson Reid
House of Delegates
State Capitol
112 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Moses Riddick
Supervisor
2333 Norfolk Road
Suffolk, Virginia 23434

Arthur Robinson, Jr.
Justice of Peace
Route 2, Box 373
Hopewell, Virginia 23860

Dr. William P. Robinson
House of Delegates
State Capitol
112 East Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Basham Sims
City Councilman
Box 565
Purcellville, Virginia 22123

Richard Thomas Spinner
City Councilman
2440 Ivy Avenue
Buena Vista, Virginia 24416

S. O. Sykes
County Supervisor
Route 1, Box 101
Drewry Ville, Virginia 23844

Charles R. Turner
City Councilman
Box 546
Middleburg, Virginia 22117

Raymond Turner
City Councilman
526 Bunche Court
Portsmouth, Virginia 23701

Lawrence Douglas Wilder
State Senator
3026 P Street
Richmond, Virginia 23223

Thomas R. Williams
Board of Supervisors
New Kent, Virginia 23124

W A S H I N G T O N

George Fleming
Representative
State Capitol
Olympia, Washington 98501

Charles L. Smith
Judge
Superior Court
Seattle, Washington 98104

Sam Smith
City Councilman
1106 Municipal Street
Seattle, Washington 98104

Charles M. Stokes
Judge
Seattle District
Justice Court
Seattle, Washington 98104

W E S T V I R G I N I A

Dr. S. J. Baskerville
School Board Member
Box 725
Charleston, West Virginia 25323

W I S C O N S I N

Lloyd Barbee
Assemblyman
State Capitol
Madison, Wisconsin 53702

Cornelius L. Golightly
School Board Director
1702 West Capitol Drive
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53206

Lloyd Jackson
Alderman
1902 Franklin Street
Racine, Wisconsin 53403

Calvin Moody
County Supervisor
County Courthouse
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233

Mrs. Vel Philips
Alderman
2218 North 3rd Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212

Orville Pitts
Alderman
135 West Wells Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

Clinton Rose
County Supervisor
2660 North 18th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53206

W Y O M I N G

Dr. Rogers Wise
School Board Member
Route 2, Box 401
Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1970

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA:
TIME OF TRIAL AND DECISION

BY MIKE BOWLER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

INTRODUCTION

Periodically, the Southern Regional Council issues reports on matters in the region which we feel are particularly important. This is the profile of a city, Daytona Beach, Florida. It is authored by Mike Bowler, a professional investigative reporter, and edited by the SRC staff. We have chosen to report on Daytona Beach because in December 1970 this city seems a microcosm of the smaller and medium-sized towns of the South and of America. All of the tragedy, misunderstanding, misuse of power, the serious efforts of concerned citizens and the strained, though still-existing, hope and good-will in American race relations are there.

Daytona Beach is a city at once prosperous and image-minded, yet burdened by long unsolved problems of race and poverty. And, it is a city divided, uncertain. For instance, black leaders talk of the need to improve wages in the city's tourist industry while city officials insist on seeing the whole situation in terms of a "police problem."

This report makes it clear that Daytona has not in the past been insensitive to the plight of its black citizens. There have been and are in the city's leadership--white and black--a nucleus of good men and women who have striven mightily to bring about racial desegregation of the schools, to end discrimination in public accommodations, and to improve the economic conditions of the poor.

But, there is also implicit throughout this report a new reality, which is not unique to this locality. The sweep of black leadership throughout the country, and the demands for "action now" on the part of significant numbers of people has come to Daytona. Black men will now lead themselves. They will insist on being dealt with directly, and they will no longer be satisfied by delaying tactics.

In this regard, we feel there is need in Daytona for more than the machinery of a public forum. For immediate response and for long-range programs there is an urgency for the creation of an official community relations commission that will serve as a direct, and official, link between city officials and the poor and black communities, focusing attention on specifics, relating them to the mayor, and others in government, and offering solutions. Every other aspect of the city's operation has official and professional services. The race relations aspects of this community need such assistance badly.

Daytona Beach is not on the verge of going up in smoke or falling into rubble. To be sure there have been far too many instances of beatings, bombings, and other violence--likely instigated from both parts of the community. But, on the Saturday of a recent march which led to mounted tensions, perhaps as many young black teenagers washed cars for their fraternities and sororities as participated in the march. (Not that they weren't likely together in purpose.)

And, on that Saturday, far more people were on the beach than on the street watching the march. The situation in Daytona is crucial, but not yet fatal. There are all the symptoms of a very serious disease, but for wise men there yet remain treatments--both short and long range--that can effect cures. The official leadership of the city must listen to the black community, including the militant black community, and it must respond. Persons in the black community must not stereotype all of the white people of the community. The black leadership, which can only be determined by the black community, must choose its strategies and its goals with wisdom and they must negiotiate skillfully. Bridges of understanding, of response, of action, of mutual trust are virtually non-existent at this point. They must be built.

The alternative to affirmative action is one which the city could not truly want; the simple reduction of the city's problems to "matters of law enforcement." The city will suffer badly if it follows that course.

In Daytona Beach, Florida, men of wisdom, black and white, are working for humane solutions to the problems of people. The unanswered questions are whether there are enough such men and whether the city will listen to them.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, Publications
Southern Regional Council

THE SETTING

> Although the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders warns against lumping racial disorders in one category of civil strife, the chaos in Augusta did bear haunting similarities to the major disturbances of the summer of 1967. It was as if the people involved were following a script or acting out roles in a seasonal ritual. There was a series of "incidents," piled on top of centuries of oppression and rejection, then the big "incident." The incident was followed by the gradually escalating, all-too-familiar pattern of violence, from marching and shouting to rock-throwing, beatings, overtruning of cars, burning, looting and, finally, police overreaction and the shootings. --
> From "Augusta, Ga. and Jackson State College. Southern episodes in a national tragedy." Southern Regional Council Special Report. June, 1970.

Daytona Beach, Fla., is hardly a carbon copy of Augusta, but one had the feeling in mid-November 1970 that blacks and whites were following the scenario to the letter. There had been an initial incident followed by gradually escalating violence--fire-bombing, rock-throwing and shooting. A black youth narrowly missed being killed. Police and concerned citizens of both races were tense.

Then, nervously and tenuously, Daytona made efforts to pull itself together. A human relations council was formed to represent nearly every point of view in the community, from segregationist to black militant, and nearly every official agency--the police and sheriff's departments, City Hall, the school board. The new council had no official voice. It was initially regarded with

suspicion by many blacks and, after a meeting in which a group of whites voiced strong repressive, racist-oriented sentiments, both blacks and moderate whites had grave reservations as to the council's future effectiveness. But the head of a militant black organization was elected to the council's executive committee and a black minister became one of its co-chairmen. The council continued to function but in an atmosphere of increasing tension.

What had brought the city to such a time of trial? To the visitor, Daytona Beach does not fit the stereotype of a Southern city going through the throes of racial upheaval. It is largely a resort city, a place for sun and frolic. College students coagulate on its beaches for spring holidays; to patrons of automobile racing nearby Daytona Speedway is almost a cultural shrine. The yellow pages of the telephone directory list 423 motels. Most of them stand shoulder-to-shoulder along the 23 mile long Atlantic beach, one looking much the same as the other.

Behind the glamour there are harsher realities, invisible to the tourist. The ocean bathes Daytona Beach on a peninsula, which is populated mostly by middle-income whites. Poor whites and blacks live across the Halifax River on "the mainland", the blacks in what looks like a more prosperous-than-average Southern ghetto. There are more than a few shacks and 18 miles of unpaved streets.

The Florida State Employment Service reports that wages in Volusia County average below the state level. The average family

income in the county is about $6,000 and average per capita income about $2,100. About 14,500 residents were receiving public assistance in 1969, and the service estimated about 16,100 are receiving welfare or unemployment checks (or both) in 1970. "It's a lot easier for a woman to get a job in Daytona than a man," said a spokesman for the service, "because of the dominance of the maid and secretarial forces." He said most maids are paid $1.30-an-hour but that some motels, because of the volume of their business, have fallen under the Federal Wage and Hour Law and are bringing their maids to the federal minimum, $1.60.

Both Daytona Beach Junior College, predominantly white, and nearly all-black Bethune-Cookman College are on the mainland. Daytona Beach Junior College is praised in a tourist magazine placed in motel rooms along the beach; Bethune-Cookman is not mentioned. A column in the Chamber of Commerce publication, "Day by Day in Daytona Beach," is given over to Daytona Beach Junior College news; again, Bethune-Cookman is not mentioned. A pamphlet mailed to prospective students by Bethune-Cookman says, "The social climate of Daytona Beach is wholesome. All ethnic groups work together in promoting the best interests of the area."

Whether the best interests of blacks were served in the county's school desegregation plan, implemented a year ago, is open to question. The school board's original plan to keep the black high school, Campbell, as a high school was discarded after a Federal

court found the plan unacceptable. Campbell became a junior high under the new plan. The district's current plan assigns about 640 blacks to Mainland High School along with 1,738 whites. The board also designated "islands" of blacks who are bused across the Halifax to Seabreeze High, where they make up about seven per cent of the enrollment.

Mainland High, built for 1,600 students, runs on split sessions. No concessions on changing the team name and colors (one had been green and gold, the other blue and gold) or the school song were made to incoming blacks. School officials admit that blacks are forced to take "rickety" school buses but add that this is because newer buses take the longer trips, and the black community is closet to the school.

Although both blacks and whites say school desegregation is a major issue in Daytona Beach, they believe it is only symptomatic of deeper and more long-lasting problems. Nevertheless, it was a fight between black and white Mainland High students that touched off racial disturbances in November.

THE ACTION

Those disturbances started melodramatically on Halloween night when a black teen-ager was accused of stealing a bag of "trick-or-treat" candy from the younger sister of a white boy. The incident occurred in a convenience store. According to the Daytona Beach newspapers

the white youth contacted his friends and vowed revenge.

From that point, trouble escalated.

On Monday, November 2, a fight broke out between black and white students of Mainland High. The incident in the school parking lot lasted perhaps 20 minutes. The Daytona Beach News-Journal reported that Homecoming King Matt Miles was the only participant requiring hospital attention. Miles, according to the paper, had gone to the defense of a crippled white classmate who was being attacked by an assailant using the youth's own crutch.

Fourteen students were suspended, only four of them black, but rumors began snowballing immediately.

Black students staged a walkout the following day. The exact size of the class boycott was uncertain but probably did not exceed 70. Record-keeping was confused by the fact that white parents kept their children home in reaction to racial strife in Daytona. The News-Journal reported absenteeism reached a high of 650 on Friday, November 6, but Principal Jack Surrette said attendence was normal a week later.

Surrette and Volusia County School Superintendent Ray Dunne called parents' meetings on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday evenings--blacks and whites to meet separately and then together. "It was the only way we could do it," Surrette said. "Otherwise, they'd have been fighting. You would have been amazed at the difference in attitudes. The whites wanted to know why we were making 'all

those concessions.' (An example of white objections was the suspension of a school rule requiring majorettes to be members of the band, a step taken to allow black students to be on the majorette corps.) The blacks wanted us to do this and that to increase black participation. In light of what happened Thursday, we decided to cancel the Friday meeting."

What happened Thursday was that the focal point of the disturbance shifted from Mainland High to the black community. And the first shot was fired--by a white service station attendant--at an 18-year-old black youth. That incident, about 3 p.m., presaged an evening of rock-throwing, shooting and minor violence. Police Chief Oscar Folsom, describing a "very serious and critical situation," added: "We have reliable information that a certain group of these people are armed and are dangerous, and this is definitely indicated since a police car was shot at Thursday night. We have no alternative other than to arm our men with riot guns and, if they shoot at us, we are going to return the fire." Folsom said there had been 25 assaults reported to police since the preceding Monday.

News-Journal reporters treated the story routinely, that is, as a police story rather than as an incident in a social upheaval. They did, however, note that "attempts are being made to sort out conflicting statements" about what happened at the gas station. But they quoted none of the black participants, not even the wounded youth, Tyrone Ross, in what may or may not have been a melee at the

station.

According to Ross's version he was walking down the street, heard a thud (apparently the tipping over of a soft drink machine) and turned around just in time to get shot. "At first, I didn't know what happened," he said. "Then I looked down and saw blood." Ross said police were reluctant to take him to the hospital, and when one officer finally did, he left Ross at the bottom of a hill and forced him to walk to the emergency room. He was treated for a superficial wound and released.

Bruce Hayes, 18, a black youth arrested at the scene, said he and some friends approached the station and were confronted by white youths who accused them of throwing a brick through the windshield of a station customer's car. An argument ensued. Suddenly, according to Hayes, the attendant burst from the station in a fit of anger. "You niggers," Hayes quoted him as shouting, " are the cause of what's happening her today." Hayes said the attendant fired into the ground and into the air. Someone tipped over the Coke machine, according to Hayes, and then the attendant fired at Ross.

Police said they approached the station and saw a group of about 20 black youths. They saw a window being broken in the garage building, then saw the vending machine tipped over and heard a shot. According to the News-Journal account, when Ross ran to the police car seeking a ride to the hospital, "four black youths ran up to Patrolman K. J. Seidel and grabbed at his throat. Several youths

tried to take the patrolman's gun from him. Seidel left the station to take the wounded youth to the hospital. When he returned from the hospital, Seidel said, the fight was continuing as well as another fight between several black youths and three policemen."

The service station attendant, Robert Fant, 31, was arrested and charge with aggravated assault. Fant told police Ross threatened him with a piece of pipe. Ross denied the charge. Fant was held on $5,000 bond on the felony charge. (Three days later, police arrested eight blacks on charges of carrying concealed weapons. Their bond was set at $10,000 each.)

Such conflicting accounts of the gas station incident were typical of those describing nearly every other incident in Daytona's November strife. Rumor piled on rumor, and even those trying to provide sensible leadership had little reliable information from which to work.

A black protest march on Saturday, November 7, culminated in 19 arrests and a tense weekend of firebombings (some of which caused considerable damage) and shootings. The march was staged by the Citizens Coordinating Committee (CCC), a loose coalition of blacks which had been instrumental in the Mainland High walkout. Only about 150 participated, a tiny proportion even of Daytona Beach black students. The CCC had obtained a permit which routed the march past City Hall and prohibited the blocking of intersections and unnecessary delays. The permit also said, "There shall be no obscene

or vulgar language directed to the police officers assisting the parade on its route."

Evidence suggests that the marchers violated many of the terms of the parade permit but that police overcovered the march.

When the parade reached city hall many of the demonstrators stopped and held a sit-in. This violated the terms of the parade permit and on this basis police moved in to make arrests. Observers, noting that many of the demonstrators had already begun to disperse, saw the police action at this stage as unnecessary. Some thought that the city police and sherriff's deputies, unaccustomed to working together, experienced a crisis of leadership. Police, for instance, had not surrounded the demonstrators when the arrest order was given so that most of the marchers escaped. Police were forced to run after many of them, lending an air of ludicrousness to the proceedings.

For their part, the CCC marchers also were disorganized. A picture taken by a News-Journal photographer shows Isaac Brown, a black leader who is considered public enemy No. 1 by many Daytona Beach whites, standing quietly and unattended with his hands in the air while police are nudging other blacks into a police van with nightsticks. Actually, Brown and Charles Cherry, a black real estate dealer who heads the CCC, tried to talk the marchers into giving up their sit-in, which both knew was not permitted under the parade permit. Many of the protesters had left the march and re-

turned to the CCC headquarters when the arrests were made.

Charges of police brutality were rife. Observers said they saw police beating marchers with nightsticks. Miss Norma Prince, 22, a CCC staff member, said she was knocked to the ground and kicked in the stomach after a policeman yelled, "Let's go and get 'em!" Marvin White, 10, said he required 18 stitches in his head after a policeman hit him with a nightstick. "I didn't even know there was a demonstration. I was just walking by," he said. The Rev. Sam Paul Combs, a white minister, went on television to complain of police brutality he had witnessed.

Mayor Richard Kane, a 35-year-old lawyer, was asked at one point to speak to the blacks. He declined. Later, Kane said the police did a "reasonable job. Those trying to run were apprehended. Those who went peacefully weren't roughed up." He was backed up by City Manager Charles Jackson, who actually has the power to hire and fire the police chief. Jackson said officers did a "superb job."

Another major incident occurred Sunday night, November 8. In the midst of more firebombings of white-owned businesses in the black neighborhoods, police raided and closed the CCC headquarters, which are separated from Bethune-Cookman College only by a church. Firearms and firebomb-making paraphernalia were found at the office, the latter behind the building, police said. They also reported that "sniper shots", fired from the vicinity of the building, hit police cars. Blacks charged, as they had on Thursday, that police

fired at them. Again, Chief Oscar Folsom said no police weapons were discharged. ("What's to prevent them from carrying their own weapons?" asked one CCC member.)

An observer said he was standing in front of the CCC building on Second Avenue, "and I heard a bunch of shots in the vicinity of the Bethune-Cookman dormitories. There were about six police cars there at the time. Confusion reigned. I saw cops jump out of their cars. I could have sworn one of them took a shot."

When the commotion started at CCC headquarters, Bethune-Cookman President Dr. Richard V. Moore was summoned to the building to help escort several dozen youngsters home, according to the News-Journal. Many of them were lying on the floor in fear, Moore said. He organized a convoy of private cars to take the boys and girls out of danger.

Next day, city officials expressed great pleasure at their "find" at the CCC building. "I consider Sunday night's actions a break for the police department in that we finally have established a direct connection between the firebombings and shootings and the CCC," said Mayor Kane. CCC members and supporters admitted that "one or two of the people inside the building might have armed themselves for their own protection. They might have left a few of their guns when the cops got there." They denied having committed the firebombings, however, and noted the fact that firebomb equipment was found behind the CCC building, not in it.

THE ISSUES

The issues in Daytona are not unlike those in other Southern cities. Already mentioned has been the desegregation plan which places the burden largely on the shoulders of blacks, at least at the high school level. There are other familiar issues. Blacks say job discrimination is common in Daytona; they are all but denied admission to business and professional jobs. Because of Daytona's tourist-oriented economy, blacks assert that it is easier for a woman to get a job (cleaning up after the tourists) than a man.

The one organization in the city which has repeatedly raised the issues is the Citizens Coordinating Committee (CCC). The CCC is widely blamed by the city's white leadership for Daytona's troubles, and there is no doubt that it has been abrasive force in the community. It has been vocal. It has not operated with deference toward moderate white leaders. Quite simply CCC is the local edge of the militant black movement in America. Its enemies say it will not stop short of employing violence to reach its goals, but those who influence and control CCC say that none of the violence or the fire-bombings in recent weeks can be linked to the organization.

The CCC was founded in September, 1969 as the coalescing force behind black complaints over the quality of city bus service. Since that time, lead by black real estate dealer Charles Cherry, it has emerged as an umbrella group of various action committees working

on specific social problems of the city. One of its primary goals is to organize the motel maids.

A typical CCC view is expressed in its occasional newspaper, West Side Rapper:

> It is widely known by most people that the federal government has fostered and sponsored certain loopholes which are meant to benefit the tourist industry. The laws have been written in the best interests of the rich hotel and motel owners. Why? There are several reasons; foremost among these is the fact that our government is run by a bunch of racists who don't consider minority groups as being human. . .

By no means have all the maids flocked to the call of the union. "I'm happy with my salary ($10 a day, six days a week)," said one. "My boss is real good. I get a good lunch and I got no complaints. They (the union) came around here and we run 'em off."

Terry Nimmons, a CCC coordinator, conceded that organizing the maids has been difficult. "There's a tremendous ratio of blacks on welfare here, and an awful lot of broken homes," he said. "Some of the women are working on the beach at $45.00 to $50.00 a week with six kids at home and now they're walking to work. When we ask them to go out (strike) for higher wages, they want to know what kind of alternatives we offer. It's a question of who can hold out the longest, the guy who owns the motel or the person who is starving to death. Well, you know the answer."

Another source of irritation is the lack of strong black-owned businesses. Charles Cherry, gestures out a window and says, "There

are few black businesses in Daytona, and if you drive around this area, you'll find not one first-class black business."

Urban Renewal is still another grievance. Blacks fought it from the very beginning, according to Cherry, because they were not included in the planning and because renewal proceeded without careful and adequate preparation. Nevertheless, a large area of the city was cleared, several thousand blacks displaced and the land is for sale, and blacks claim it is being sold to white developers. Assistant City Manger Tom Kain says Daytona's Urban Renewal project "may be the most successful in the State of Florida" and adds that "most" of the 60 to 70 parcels sold so far have been purchased by blacks. Cherry disputes the claim and states flatly, "No white company is going to develop the land. We're saying that right now." A black man recently was appointed to head the Urban Renewal project. The CCC takes credit for this and there is considerable evidence that it is a justified claim.

But few other black men serve in governmental positions in Daytona. One of seven city commissioners is black, two of 105 policemen and four of 27 sheriff's deputies. Not one of the agencies even approximates the 35 per cent (or so) black proportion of the city, and there are no black firemen. Black leaders remember that the city once had seven black policemen and a black police lieutenant, a rare position for a black man in the South to achieve at the time. But he has now retired and no other black policeman holds so high a

rank.

Some blacks and whites blame Chief Oscar Folsom for the disappearance of the black officer in Daytona, but others say that in the racially polarized society of today, a black law enforcement officer's position is nearly untenable. His white colleagues bring their traditional racism to bear, the Rev. Carl Brinkley, a former county deputy sheriff, told the News-Journal, "while his black brothers and sisters see him as a powerless and rankless tool for the establishment." Mayor Kane sees the problem as "totally one of recruitment. . . We can't train and keep a good black officer."

Beyond their problems with a white-dominated police force in Daytona, CCC members have two favorite targets. One, Captain Robert Palmer of the Police Department, was blamed by the CCC for what was regarded as police overreaction at the November 7 march. The other enemy according to the CCC is Captain L. C. Gilley, the second highest officer in the county sherriff's office.

THE CAST

> "Eeeny Meeny Minee Mo
> Catch Whitey By His Throat
> If He Says 'Nigger', CUT IT!!!" -- from the West Side Rapper.

> "If you want to march peacefully, I'll march. If you want to throw firebombs, I'll throw firebombs. If you want to start killing everybody, I'll do that, too" -- Levy Wilcox, former chairman of the Florida Black Front, arrested November 8, in Daytona on a concealed firearms charge and held in jail on a

$10,000 bond.

"These young people are fighting for liberty, equality and justice so their children won't have to live under the conditions they have lived under. I can promise you their children won't be as patient as they have been." -- Dr. Richard V. Moore, president of Bethune-Cookman College.

"We've (blacks) made progress. I've seen it right here in my lifetime. Respect, understanding and appreciation have grown over the years. . . Things don't happen overnight." -- William F. Kornegay, Bethune-Cookman academic dean.

"Bourgeois blacks have for a number of years abandoned the problem that exists. They are too busy enjoying what they have to help the people who really need the help." -- Terry Nimmons, CCC activist.

"I don't like what's going on downtown. I don't like it a bit. Violence is no way to get things done. If these (CCC) kids used their heads they wouldn't be doing any of this." -- Clifford Hardy, black waiter, father of three.

The above quotes represent a cross-section of black opinion in Daytona Beach. Clifford Hardy, the head waiter at an S&S Cafeteria who has lived in the city for eight years, probably represents the view of most people in Daytona--black and white. He has read the glaring headline in the morning paper, "Blacks, Police Fight Here," has dismissed the CCC as a bunch of young rowdies and has made a mental note to avoid driving down Second Avenue. Only a few blacks and whites have acted in the drama, and, by no means, have all the blacks supported the CCC nor all the whites Mayor Kane, Chief Folsom and the actions of the Daytona Beach Police Department.

Despite strenuous efforts to put forth a united front, blacks

in Daytona are seriously divided between (as one observer put it) "Toms and bombs;" that is, "Uncle Toms" and the militant activists of the CCC. It is an ironic coincidence that CCC headquarters and Bethune-Cookman College are nearly neighbors, for the CCC says the college is the bastion of "Tomism" in Daytona. Bethune-Cookman is accused of being essentially a middle class school most of whose students could care less about the problems of poor blacks. And Bethune-Cookman's faculty and administrators are among the most well-paid blacks in the city. (A special assembly was called at Bethune-Cookman to discuss racial tensions in Daytona. The solo rendered was, "What the World Needs Now Is Love, Sweet Love.")

For many militant blacks, the embodiment of "Uncle Tom" is James E. Huger, the only black on the City Commission and Bethune-Cookman treasurer. Huger in action as a city commissioner is described in a recent issue of the Rapper this way:

> (Mayor) Kane calls the meeting to order and colored commissioner James Earl Huger immediately cracks something supposed to be a joke. Huger's white commissioner buddies rear back in their seats with mock-laughter, and when Huger isn't looking, they give each other funny looks as if to say, 'Yes, James is a good nigger. Sure wish all niggers were like him.'"

But in the closing of black ranks that followed the week of violence, Huger was welcomed to CCC strategy sessions, was roundly praised by several speakers and received polite applause.

President Moore is another black who moves easily in black and white circles and who is accused by militants of "selling out."

But it was Moore, in fact, who helped engineer the uneasy truce between black factions. Furthermore, Moore is one of the few blacks with immediate access to Daytona's white power structure--the business leaders. He is on the board of the Chamber of Commerce ("an indication of our broadmindedness," according to Chamber Manager Robert Kays) and is just finishing a term as vice-president (to be succeeded by Huger). An indefatigable man who has guided Bethune-Cookman for 23 years, Moore worked 24-hours-a-day during the crisis period of early November to keep tensions at the college down. Exhausted, he appeared at a CCC rally and became himself a rallying point. "The shouting isn't over," he declared. "This is only the beginning." If Daytona Beach blacks marched into battle, Moore might not lead them but he would give his life to save theirs.

The CCC is hardly a thriving, buzzing anti-poverty or community action agency. It is headquartered in an old building behind dirty, plate-glass windows, one of which has been cracked for as long as anyone can remember. A picture of Malcolm X stares out at the street. Inside, a sign on the wall says, "In every Negro there's a potential black man."

Many whites think the CCC is a Black Panther front. A charge that is dismissed as a smear by its sympathizers. Motel owners think it is a front for union organizing. Mrs. Mabel Norris Chesley, associate editor of the News-Journal, calls it a "coordi-

nating outfit for black advancement." Nimmons, a CCC "coordinator," says it is a "central point where the community can come to talk about their problems and get help solving them." A white lawyer, unaffiliated with the organization, feels the city has made a mistake in its approach to CCC complaints. He thinks the city, instead of responding to the organization's criticisms on their own merits, has chosen simply to discredit the CCC and thereby, implicitly, to dismiss the issues it raises. He does not feel that the CCC approaches the degree of militancy found in other black civil rights organizations in other sections of the country.

Says Sister Joan Campbell, a white nun who headed the CCC for a time during the summer, "The CCC is a little organization running on guts and committment and starving to death--but beginning to call the shots in town, anyway."

That the CCC is calling any shots is an absurd proposition to Mayor Kane and his colleagues at City Hall. White officialdom in Daytona--and a good number of white business and community leaders --think the CCC is a group of "upstarts" which doesn't represent black thinking in the city.

City fathers say they have been working hard to understand, identify and solve the problems of blacks, and they believe their record on race relations is better than that of most other cities. The News-Journal was and continues to be a strong voice for racial justice under its publisher, Herbert M. Davidson, who celebrated

his 75th birthday during the November crisis. Some of Davidson's editorial stands--in favor of school desegregation, for example--were so unpopular that they cost the newspaper hundreds of subscribers. Editorially, the paper performed splendidly during the crisis, trying to calm tempers on both sides. One day, the lead editorial praised a reorganization of the Daytona, Ohio, police department, whose chief believes, "Crime is not a police problem; it's a community problem." Daytona Beach was not mentioned, but it didn't have to be.

Unfortunately, the News-Journal in its news coverage as have many other papers in similiar situations around the nation treated the community crisis of November essentially as a police story. Chief Folsom was almost the sole authority on which reports were based, seldom Charles Cherry or any other CCC leader. Not once did the paper do a story placing the crisis in social or historical perspective. And most behind-the-scenes peacemaking, much of it by the paper's own publisher, went unreported.

"I call Davidson and his friends in town the 'old liberals,'" said one of the paper's reporters. "They're probably more distraught than anyone in town over what's happening because they see the possibility of all their years of work going up in flames in one night."

"It's a different ball game for a lot of whites," said Sister Joan Campbell, the nun who teaches English at Bethune-Cookman.

"Blacks can tear down their own Jim Crow signs these days."

Mayor Kane, a former legal services attorney, talks in terms of "socially progressive programs" which "take time to develop." At 35, he is one of the youngest big-city mayors in the nation. He is an articulate man who divides his time between a law practice and the mayoral office. (The city is actually run by a city manager and city commission.)

One of his first acts after being elected a year ago, Kane said, was to launch a study of Daytona Beach's "human resources." He appointed a bi-racial committee which returned recommendations in the spring. The CCC rejected the report, calling it a stalling action, according to the mayor.

"The CCC," Kane said, "says to the city, 'We want equal employment opportunities tomorrow, not next week, but tomorrow.' My response to them is that solving their problems is a huge task involving large amounts of energy and resources on the part of both elected officials and community leaders. . . One of the CCC's weaknesses is that it is either unable or unwilling to get involved in the process of problem-solving."

Kane is a man who seems sure of his answers. He is not agonizing over what has happened in Daytona. The black demands and complaints, Mayor Kane says, "are not new to us; they've been around for years." Kane termed the CCC a "group of dedicated revolutionaries" and said the city "will not negotiate in an atmosphere of violence."

What is more, the mayor does not believe there is a relationship between the issues in Daytona and the violence (for which he is sure the CCC is "definitely responsible"). "If by some miracle we could satisfy all the demands," he said, "it wouldn't satisfy the needs of those who feel violence is the answer to solving problems." An unresponsive conservative in the eyes of the CCC, Kane calls himself a liberal.

City Manager Charles Jackson is Chief Folsom's boss, though Folsom has been at his post for eleven years and Jackson only since 1964. "My role," said Jackson, "is as much a supporting role for my department heads as anything. We're another pair of eyes and ears for them."

Jackson was asked if he felt a social responsibility came with the job of managing a city of 50,000. "It used to be just housekeeping," he said, "but now with all the programs from the federal government, we're supposed to show social concern. I agree with the (big-city mayors') position that the federal government shouldn't dump all of its programs on the cities, because we just don't have the resources to enact them."

If Mayor Kane is sure of himself, Jackson is groping. There are so many voices clamoring in Daytona, he says, that "you never know who you're listening to any more." Jackson believes blacks have attained "physical equality." Now, he says, "the next step is to go beyond physical equality and solve the problems of

economic and social equality. I don't know the answer. I wish you guys would figure out what to do."

Haunting many of Daytona's motel owners and businessmen is the memory of what happened to tourism in St. Augustine, up the beach a piece, after demonstrations and white violence in the summer of 1964. A racial explosion in Daytona simply would not be good for the city's image.

Robert Kays, manager of the Chamber of Commerce said he thought the racial trouble in the city had been overplayed, particularly by the television networks, but he said, "The situation isn't being taken lightly by any stretch of the imagination. That would be facetious."

Of couse, the Chamber of Commerce is concerned about tourism, Kays said, "but in recent years more attention has been given to the quality of life in the city. . . We don't sit in an ivory tower. We have more than 300 people working on committees." One of those committees, two years old, is the Human Action Resources Committee, headed by the owner of an auto supply store, which Kays said has "taken hold with the identification of a lot of problems in Daytona." The Chamber, Kays said, keeps in daily touch with the city administration. And business leaders keep in daily touch with each other. "We've got a meeting going on right now," Kays said. "Of necessity, a lot of our talk has to be behind the scenes."

ACT III?

By November 16, two weeks after fighting broke out at Mainland High School, tensions had eased considerably in Daytona Beach. A list of more than 40 demands involving the police department, urban renewal, city and county governments and the schools had been drawn up by an 11-member committee representing a cross-section of the black community and delivered by the CCC November 10.

The demands ranged from the general to the specific. The blacks insisted on an immediate end to "the practice of police brutality and harassment." They demanded the transfer of Captian Palmer in the police department and the dismissal of Captain Gilley from the sheriff's department. They asked for an investigation of wage practices in the Daytona Beach tourist industry but supported a campaign to attract more industry to the city. They said black students should be involved in all school activities, in a ratio not less than their percentage of the total student body, but they did not demand the junking of the present desegregation plan nor the teaching of black history as a separate course.

Over the weekend of November 14, an oral surgeon, Dr. P. T. Fleuchaus, and others proposed the formation of a Daytona Beach Area Community Relations Council. The council, to be composed of 44 members representing every interest group in the area, from motels to the CCC, as well as all official governmental bodies, would act as a sounding board for black demands and, hopefully,

would smooth racial feelings in the troubled community. Whites and blacks both bought the idea, the CCC with suspicion and reluctance, and the council held its first meeting November 18.

"I got there early and it was already crowded," said a Daytona Beach minister. "There seemed to be a lot of rednecks in the crowd, and I thought for sure there'd be physical fighting between them and the CCC crowd."

Formation of the council seemed to dampen hot tempers in the city. Blacks held another march on November 21, this time from CCC headquarters to the beach. There were no incidents, although police again covered the march in force. City officials praised the demonstration for its peacefulness.

At its second meeting, the Daytona Beach Area Community Relations Council chose an eight-member steering committee and co-chairmen, one from each race. The black chairman, the Rev. Carl Brinkley, was nominated by Chief Folsom. The executive committee included Cherry; J. Saxton Lloyd, owner of the local Buick-Cadillac dealership who had been working behind the scenes as a peacemaker for some weeks; the sheriff and school superintendent; a conservative white minister; the Bethune-Cookman chaplain and a representative of a conservative white group, United Citizens Inc.

The new council was not the first attempt in Daytona at bringing together the principals involved in the city's disputes. Sensing a deterioration in racial relations in Daytona, the Halifax Area

Council on Human Relations last summer tried to get city officials, black leaders and CCC representatives involved in a series of dialogues. Council members themselves admitted that their efforts amounted largely to a failure-- and a frustrating one at that. For one thing, Chief Folsom declined to attend the meeting-discussions. "Chief Folsom," said City Manager Jackson by way of explanation, "is an extremely competent man, but it just happens that he doesn't like to talk to people." For another, members of the council's "task force" which was trying specifically to smooth racial reltions in Daytona, were thought by white officialdom to be too sympathetic to the CCC. One city official referred to the council as "that human relations bunch."

The new Daytona Beach Area Community Relations Council has a chance to succeed where the Halifax Area Council could not because it has, at least at the outset, wide support and a membership encompassing nearly everyone who makes decisions affecting people in Daytona. The council is only advisory, but it can succeed if its members take their responsibilities seriously and if those in decision-making capacities take the council's recommendations back to their boards and departments and enact them. But adding, say, six black policemen to the city force is only part of the answer. The hard part will be tackling that set of attitudes that makes it difficult to keep black officers.

Blacks and whites in Daytona have not done much talking with

each other. The problem is as simple as that. And those of both races who have "crossed over" in an attempt to help have been rewarded with unpleasant epithets from members of their own race.

What white officialdom needs to do is drop its cocksure attitude and reach out in a genuine effort to improve the lot of Daytona blacks. Mayor Kane says, resignedly, that he "tried talking" with the blacks. What the mayor needs to do is go to the blacks (not invite them to City Hall) and talk until he fully understands their problems. And the police chief needs to do the same thing.

Mayor Kane is, no doubt, right that the attitude of some militant blacks in Daytona really isn't directly related to the black complaints, that some blacks feel a need to operate in an atmosphere of militant rhetoric. But that merely begs the larger question. If violence is illegitimate in the eyes of white public officials, the black complaints and demands simply cannot be. Nor can they be swept under a rug woven of sociological jargon and the old cliche that "change takes time." Blacks have had their fill of that.

Daytona Beach blacks, for their part, have reached a tenuous truce in their battle over who is an "Uncle Tom" and who is not, who has "sold out" and who hasn't. The strength of the CCC movement, if it is measured in numbers, is small, but Charles Cherry, the 44-year-old CCC leader, believes the organization "represents the feelings of most blacks." It is to be hoped that the blacks will at least give the new human relations council a chance to work

some changes. Many changes in Daytona are called for.

But the most frightening attitude is that expressed by a city official: "The main problem here," he said, "is one of law enforcement." What must be understood is that Daytona's troubles are social and political. Solving them by adding more policemen and riot equipment and stepping up patrols could be disastrous.

###

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES in the South

A CHALLENGE

Report on government and citizen action

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

July, 1971
Single copy 50¢
Bulk rate 40¢

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES in the South

A CHALLENGE

Report on government and citizen action

This report represents a cooperative effort between the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project and the editorial section of Research and Information. Horace Barker of Urban Planning and Robert E. Anderson, Jr., editor of publications, co-authored the paper, based on Mr. Barker's research.

Cover design and art work by Marge Manderson.

INTRODUCTION

During the past several decades residential segregation in this country has increased so rapidly that Karl E. Taeuber, a demographic scholar, has concluded that it is now more extensive here than in any other major developed country except the Republic of South Africa where apartheid is official government policy.

A drive through any major city will confirm Dr. Taeuber's careful block-by-block research. Inner cities, increasingly occupied by blacks, are ringed by predominantly white suburbs. What this means to cities can be seen in controversies over *de facto* school segregation, in eroding tax support for public education as affluent whites migrate leaving lower economic groups to bear tax burdens disproportionate to their means, in efforts to consolidate metropolitan governments.

Against such a background, urban experts, housing experts, civil rights advocates have long recognized that only the federal government has the power and resources to make dramatic changes in the nation's residential patterns. This could most obviously be achieved through vigorous enforcement of existing civil rights legislation and through effective use of various federally-assisted housing programs.

The major part of this report focuses on federal government enforcement activities and on the failure of most state and local governments in the South to act against discriminatory practices.

In some parts of the South, primarily in urban areas, local citizen groups have been formed to help fight discrimination. This report begins with a description of housing discrimination as many people experience it today and then describes how citizen organizations have attempted to deal with the problems they have encountered.

Throughout the report one theme emerges. Individuals acting alone, without concrete evidence that the national purpose is behind them, can achieve little. Even with full governmental commitment the goal of equal housing opportunity will be difficult, but still possible if priorities are understood and boldly acted upon.

ARTHUR C. CAMPBELL

MORELAND G. SMITH

Co-Directors, Urban Planning Project

YOUR DOOR IS SHUT AGAINST MY TIGHTENED FACE AND I AM SHARP AS STEEL WITH DISCONTENT...

Claude McKay

I THE BARRIERS AND THE BURDEN

On a day in early March, 1971, John Wesley Jackson, an administrative assistant to a Greensboro, N.C., state representative, visited the rental offices of a fashionable Raleigh apartment house. There were no vacancies at the moment, he was told, and, no, he could not even have an application form. Jackson, a black man, later discovered that there was a vacancy and filed suit against the apartment house management under Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.

In the South of 1971 men such as John Wesley Jackson, willing to take on the personal burden of challenging entrenched housing discrimination, are perhaps understandably few, for the burden is heavy. Housing discrimination itself has never been the focus of large scale civil rights activity nor of federal government attention. This is not to say, of course, that housing, itself, is not considered a priority of urban planners, federal and local officials, and civil rights advocates. Rare is the city of any size that does not have reports from local housing authorities describing the appalling housing conditions of its poor. Thus, a Jackson, Mississippi, Chamber of Commerce task force recently reported that 14,400 of the city's 53,000 housing units were substandard. The Jackson group in a statement, surprising in its candor, blamed the situation on public indifference or outright hostility to federal programs that could bring low-rent public housing into the city.

The sad truth is that for all the problems involved in simply building decent and adequate housing in the South as in the nation, housing discrimination and segregated communities present larger problems still. The enormity of the problem alone, in fact, may well serve as a major deterrant to positive, committed action. Three factors loom large in efforts to break racial housing patterns—the tangible maneuvers of such vested interests as mortgage, financial and real estate institutions; the subtle psychological pressures brought to bear on individuals, black and white, by society; and half-hearted enforcement of federal open occupancy laws and such state and local ordinances as do exist.

A black family moving into an all-white community, miles from their previous home, has quite likely been through an excruciating experience. If they went to a white real estate dealer it is virtually certain that they were not shown a home in an all-white neighborhood unless they specified the exact location into which they wanted to move. Even then, operating totally within the law, the agent may deliberately have discouraged them through suggestion that they would be happier elsewhere, through failure to keep appointments at specified hours, or through other devious means.

When, however, the transaction reaches the contract stage, even federal financing can be held up for weeks, months, and sometimes denied altogether after exhaustive credit examination. Mortgage brokers, in fact, have wide discretion in deciding who is a good or bad credit risk. There is, according to a retired white builder interviewed in connection with this report, a presumption among most mortgage brokers that blacks automatically are poorer credit risks than whites.

"They can just about lend to whom they want to," the builder said, "And if a black man is trying to buy property in an area they would rather see remain all white, they will at least try to seem twice as hard in their credit demands than if he were buying in an all-black neighborhood. Push them and they know when to back down. But the trouble is in dealing with the kind of power they represent, there is a built-in kind of intimidation. Anybody feels it."

As as result, the builder added, few blacks today seek to move into a white area totally removed from black neighborhoods. "They just don't see the value of putting themselves through something like that just to live next door to a white man."

The recent experience of a black couple in Atlanta is illustrative. On moving to the city they found a house advertised for sale in the city's northeast section, an area largely occupied by upper middle class whites. The house seemed to meet their needs. It was near

schools and shopping centers. It was well within the price range of what the Veterans Administration had told them they could afford in approving their application for a G.I. loan. Arriving at the broker's office, the couple found him courteous and exceptionally polite. But he insisted that their budget simply could not support the house they had in mind and, futhermore, that his firm had no other houses within their price range. He referred them to a black realtor in predominantly black southwest Atlanta where, he said, "You will find something more suitable."

Further discussion proved fruitless.

The couple followed the realtor's suggestion and went to see the recommended realtor. All of the houses they were shown were in all-black communities and even more expensive than the one they had seen in northeast Atlanta. The couple finally located a home in a neighborhood adjacent to a transitional area. There was one other black couple on their street when they arrived. Soon after they moved in, all other white families left.

Such a panic exodus by whites, acting simply out of racial preconceptions, is, of course, a major factor in the perpetuation of segregated housing patterns. But white panic is not necessarily an automatic response. Some whites may decide to stay in their communities because they like where they live and its convenience within the city, because they might already have paid off their mortgage and do not want to incur another elsewhere on a higher interest market. But the best intentioned of such whites, alone and isolated, without inner strengths of his own or even reliable information with which to resist the hysteria of others, finds himself in what to his way of thinking is a desperate situation. He is harrassed by friends and kin who appeal to his prejudices and he is harrassed by profiteering real estate agents who appeal to his concern over property values. Individual real estate agents invariably emerge as the one easily identifiable villain in a neighborhood's transition from white to black. But the truth is that the entire real estate industry in promoting practices that deny blacks access to housing outside traditional black areas has created a situation in which harrassing realtors can thrive and prosper. Whites interviewed in connection with this report were bitter in their condemnation of white and black realtors. One concerned housewife even asked her neighbors to fill out a questionnaire as to the nature and number of solicitations they received over a recent two-month period. The results from 31 completed forms showed that many homes had received an average of three to four calls per week for two to three week periods. Pathos and despair were reflected in some written comments. "I have been harrassed," one woman wrote, "until it has been detrimental to my health."

A white real estate agent described the tactics of her colleagues in dealing with whites in transitional neighborhoods this way:

> *They don't come up, for instance, like they used to do and say, "The niggers are coming." "It's going all black." "Your street is going to be black in no time.". . . They go around and say things like, "I'm sure you must be about ready to sell your home now."*

The woman described such agents as "vultures" and told an SRC researcher of an incident in which a real estate company had brought pressure to bear on a neighborhood newspaper which was doing research for an expose of blockbusting tactics. The story never appeared and from what the woman was able to determine, the paper had been threatened with loss of legal notices and real estate advertising if it did appear.

To resist panic conditions and to foster open occupancy in general, communities have formed neighborhood organizations many of which have themselves recently organized under an umbrella group called National Neighbors, Inc.[1] More than 25 neighborhood groups exist in the South today, most of them having come into being within the past three years.[2] Certain broad objectives were common to the groups contacted by SRC.

All were deeply involved in efforts to combat blockbusting techniques of real estate interests, but this was not their only concern. All reported they were working to maintain, if not improve, the physical characteristics of their communities, through insistence that adequate city services be continued. This is a vital concern because cities often cut back on services in areas into which blacks have moved. Such areas may also be fair game for re-zonings, conversions to multiple occupancy, allowing entry of more commercial enterprise, and a number of other actions which were somehow not so appropriate when the area was all white.

Another objective of many neighborhood organizations is sponsoring social events to foster a spirit of community between black and white neighbors, an intangible but often desperately needed prerequisite to effective action.

A fundamental issue which all neighborhood organizations face is whether they will be concerned primarily with restricting entry of

---

[1] *National Neighbors, Inc. was formed in May, 1970, to foster and encourage "successfully integrated neighborhoods." The organization hopes to encourage local community groups to learn from each other and to join together in broad efforts to promote open housing.*

---

[2] *A list of such groups is available through the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project.*

blacks in the hope of maintaining a rigid racial balance or with building a quality living environment regardless of the neighborhood's racial composition. Some organizations have found it necessary to make special efforts to impress upon real estate agents the necessity of marketing houses in integrated areas to whites as well as to blacks. But working to make housing available to all races is far different from attempting to limit housing to one race. The latter course, moreover, is obviously self-defeating as well as inconsistent with democratic principles. For any neighborhood organization to succeed it must have black members. Few blacks could be expected to view with much enthusiasm an organization dedicated to restricting the number of blacks in their neighborhood.

The long range success of any neighborhood organization, however, depends on the degree of cooperation it receives from local political and business leadership in helping to reshape the directions in which black expansion is permitted to develop. Although real estate interests, financial institutions, local politicians and Federal Housing Administration officials will deny they have any real control over restricting black expansion (and documenting such illegal action is extremely difficult), there is visibile evidence from the residential patterns of most cities that they have encouraged segregated communities.

Declaration of Independence

II THE FEDERAL ROLE

Prior to the 1950's federal housing programs not only tolerated racial discrimination, but gave it official sanction. Federal Housing Administration manuals, for instance, cautioned against "infiltration of inharmonious racial and national groups" in new neighborhoods. The agency prepared model racial covenants, leaving a blank space for the prohibited race and religion. Zoning was advocated as a means for exclusion. The Home Loan Bank System, the federal agency which regulates savings and loan associations, used similiar exclusionary practices.

It took the tragedy of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination to spur Congress in April, 1968, to pass the first federal open occupancy law in a century. For despite high-sounding pronouncements by the Johnson administration in having previously introduced the legislation, opposition to the bill had stalled its passage. Civil rights advocates were not at all certain that an effective open occupancy law would finally emerge. The act, as passed, prohibited discrimination in all areas of the housing industry, including financing, advertising for sales or rentals, and provision of brokerage services. The law required the government to take affirmative action toward eliminating discrimination. Blockbusting was expressly prohibited. Certain housing units were exempted, apartments in buildings for up to four families if the owner occupies one of the apartments, single family houses sold or rented by the owner without the services of a

real estate broker, and lodgings operated by religious organizations or private clubs for other than commercial purposes. Even these exceptions, however, were covered by an 1866 civil rights law, the constitutionality of which was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in June, 1968.

THE PRESIDENT'S JUNE 11 STATEMENT

Thus never before had a new administration had such a strong and unequivocal legal mandate to work for open housing as did the present administration in January, 1969. The verdict of civil rights organizations, however, to date is that that mandate has gone largely unheeded. President Nixon's June 11, 1971, policy statement on housing offers little hope that the future will be different.

Faced with a stern rebuke by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission three days earlier in a report on the FHA 235 homebuyer program,[3] and apparently anticipating that Commission hearings three days later would be highly critical of federal inaction in other areas, the President was at pains to emphasize the positive achievements of his administration. Thus he began with statistics showing an increase in the construction of moderate and low income housing units from 150,000 in 1968 to a projected figure of some 650,000 in 1972. But from that point his statement (with the exception of a section describing the activities of the Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] and the Justice Department in acting on complaints) became, in effect, a rationale for minimal use of federal power in attempts at breaking down suburban racial barriers. Letter-of-the-law enforcement of Title VIII was promised, but the President made it clear that his administration will take no active role in placing low or moderate income housing in middle class suburbs. In so doing he raised a point which quite likely will be debated for some time to come.

> *In public discussion of "fair housing" or "open housing". . . . another issue has often become confused with that of racial discrimination. This is sometimes referred to as "economic integration." Frequently it arises in debates over whether subsidized low-rent public housing should be placed in the suburbs as a means of moving poor people out of the inner city and, if so, where, to what extent, and by what means.*
>
> *One of the arguments frequently advanced is that poor people are often disadvantaged by living in low-income*

[3]Homeownership for Lower Income Families, A Report on the Racial and Ethnic Impact of the Section 235 Program. *June, 1971.*

neighborhoods; that poverty thus perpetuates itself; and that the remedy therefore is to scatter the poor among the more affluent. Another argument often heard is that blacks and other minorities tend to be disportionately poor and that "economic segregation" is therefore equivalent to racial segregation.

The President went on to reject such arguments on the ground that "black" and "poor" are not interchangeable terms and that many affluent blacks have "taken their deserved place in the leadership, not simply of inner-city neighborhoods but of urban, suburban and rural communities all across America."

Further, the President said,

> *Quite apart from racial considerations, residents of outlying areas may and often do object to the building in their communities of subsidized housing which they fear may have the effect of lowering property values and bringing in large numbers of persons who will contribute less in taxes than they consume in services. Beyond this, and whether rightly or wrongly, as they view the social conditions of urban slum life, many residents of outlying areas are fearful that moving large numbers of persons—of whatever race—from the slums to their communities would bring a contagion of crime, violence, drugs, and the other conditions from which so many of those who are trapped in the slums themselves want to escape.*

This assessment of suburban moods was probably accurate and it raised legitimate concerns which cannot and should not be denied. Crime, violence, drug addiction are conditions of slum life. But by injecting such considerations without at the same time defining in a more compassionate, understanding way their inter-relationship to poverty and the need for federal involvement in its eradication, President Nixon simply gave credence to the stereotype of blacks and the poor as undeserving members of society.

Prior to the President's statement the administration had been pressured for nearly a year by HUD to clarify its position on equal housing opportunities. Many observers felt that Secretary Romney had grown increasingly restive as the administration delayed. Various HUD equal opportunity programs had been held up due to White House procrastination. In an administration not otherwise distinguished by the zeal of its department heads in promoting equal opportunity goals, Romney seemed a man very much torn between conscience and loyalty to his chief.

INDIVIDUAL COMPLAINTS

The administration in the past has concentrated most of its equal opportunity resources on securing redress of individual complaints. The President's June 11 statement promised that this policy will continue.

Through the complaint process, however, only small numbers of people are affected and such action as is taken draws little publicity. Lacking the power to bring suit or issue cease and desist orders, HUD must rely almost completely on conciliation and negotiation. During 1969 HUD received 979 complaints, but the department was able to conciliate successfully only about 100 cases during the year. About 270 cases had been dismissed without an investigation and over 400 were still in various stages of negotiation at the end of the year.[4] During 1969 and 1970 HUD's regional office in Atlanta, which serves eight southern states received a total of 350 complaints.[5] Jurisdiction was established (i.e., the law apparently covered the alleged conduct) in some 229 cases, but only 78 complaints resulted in a successful settlement through the formal conciliation process. In the first four months of 1971 the Atlanta office had received 54 complaints (a number slightly larger than that received for the equivalent period in 1970.) Thirteen cases were conciliated (four unsuccessfully) with eleven conciliations pending at the end of April.

Successful conciliation, in HUD's definition of the term, means that the complaining parties received both the housing they sought and cash settlements when the offended party has suffered a financial loss and psychological insult as a result of being discriminated against. In virtually all successful conciliations, too, those against whom complaints were lodged signed written agreements to stop discriminatory practices, to advertise that their units were open to all, and to file written reports with HUD during the subsequent twelve months.

HUD has been successful in more than 60% of the cases it has decided to conciliate. But conciliation of many complaints is never attempted. HUD officials say the reason for this is that the initial investigation often fails to support the charge of discrimination. In some cases the complaint may be withdrawn before HUD decides

---

[4]*See the comprehensive report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, entitled* Federal Civil Rights Enforcement, *issued October, 1970, pages 447-449.*

[5]*States in this region are: Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, Kentucky. Breakdown in kinds of cases is as follows: rental housing, 80%; sales housing 7%; blockbusting 9%. Financing, advertising, miscellaneous altogether represented 4% of total complaints.*

to conciliate it. In other cases HUD may not be able to make a prompt and thorough investigation due to manpower limitations.

The number of successful conciliations is not unimpressive when the manpower and enforcement limitations of the department are considered. But the fact is that a vast number of other complaints could likely be surfaced and acted upon if HUD's investigative and legal staffs were larger and if its enforcement powers were stronger. For example, an SRC researcher recently learned from a Chicago attorney representing The Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities that the organization had filed over 140 housing discrimination suits in Chicago alone over the past two years. The group, funded under a HUD demonstration project grant and staffed by four attorneys, reported that it was successful in over 90% of its completed cases. According to a March, 1971, report, the organization had secured 34 voluntary dismissals in which the complaining parties received the housing sought. Thirty-nine other cases resulted in court orders in which the complaining party received both the housing and damage payments. A spokesman said the large number of complaints received was "due primarily to the Council's ability to give prompt and efficient service." Such service is possible in part because within 24 hours after a complaint is received the attorneys can validate complaints and secure temporary restraining orders to prevent the disputed property from being disposed of until the case is settled. The organization should serve as an example to the administration of the potential of other similiar demonstration projects which would be totally consistent with the President's pledge for strict enforcement of Title VIII.

The experience of the Chicago attorneys suggests other ways that the federal government might make the complaint process more effective and efficient. One significant step might be to give HUD authority to issue administrative equivalents to temporary restraining orders immediately after receiving a complaint. Civil rights advocates have also urged that the administration request Congress to grant HUD the power to issue cease and desist orders. This would enable HUD to hold a hearing and, if warranted, to require not only that discriminatory practices be halted but that the contested housing be held available. HUD already has the authority to take steps terminating funds when the owner of a dwelling has an FHA mortgage. But this authority covers only a small percentage of cases and is seldom applicable in apartment rental cases.

Other HUD investigating procedures also are unnecessarily complex and time-consuming. For example, Title VIII gave HUD authority

to subpoena witnesses and materials. At one time local officials in HUD's Equal Housing Opportunity offices could secure approval of subpoenas in their own regional offices. But in May, 1970, HUD defined new policies which delegated approval authority to the Office of General Counsel in Washington. The time required to secure subpoenas thus increased from two to as much as forty days. Subpoenas are actually sought in only a few cases, but the change in policy is generally regarded by civil rights observers as an effort from Washington to build delays into the complaint procedure.

Pressed as to why it cannot be more effective in handling complaints, HUD cites its appalling lack of investigative manpower. In 1970, for instance, the Office of Housing Opportunity had a staff of approximately 120, including those maintaining its regional offices. In its Atlanta offices there are five professional investigators who must cover complaints from eight Southern states.

Under present conditions the regional office is forced to assign only one investigator per case and this man usually must use his time attempting to resolve several cases at once. Rarely is he free to concentrate his energies on a single complaint. Presently an average of 30 days is required to complete and report results of an investigation and 75 days is normally spent in completing the conciliation process. Such delays are likely a major reason why the complaint process has not helped more people since complaining parties generally have an immediate need for housing and thus may sometimes feel that filing a complaint is not worth their time and effort.

However dedicated present HUD investigators may be (and there is no reason to doubt their diligence), the lack of manpower merely points up the lack of priority which the administration seems to have placed on enforcement of Title VIII, as opposed to other issues of more apparent popular concern. Last year, for instance, the President called on Congress to increase the FBI investigating force by 1000 men in order to investigate bombings and incendiarism on college campuses. One wonders if perhaps some of the manpower thus indicated for the FBI might not equally well serve the country by enforcing laws that help to create a more open, democratic society.

PUBLICIZING THE LAW

With its present operating procedures and low manpower commitment, HUD tends to respond first to complaints from those who appear to understand the law and have a solid, well-documented case, usually the middle class and well-educated. In situations involving the poor and uneducated, HUD is required to spend much more

time in investigating, collecting evidence and sometimes encouraging the complaining party to persevere in his charges.

The accompanying table shows a breakdown of the percentages of complaints by states received by HUD's regional office in Atlanta.

State	Per Cent of Total Complaints
Mississippi	4
Alabama	7
South Carolina	10
North Carolina	15
Florida	18
Georgia	21
Tennessee	24
Kentucky[6]	1

The smallest number of complaints come from Mississippi and Alabama, states that all too often rank high in any cataloging of discriminatory acts. They are states, however, with great numbers of poor and dispossessed people living in or near small towns where the chances are good that federal open occupancy laws are not well known. However, even when the poor may be vaguely aware of the law, they often will not know what it means to them, how or where to file a complaint, and they may well fear repercussions if they should do so. If they live in an urban area, HUD may be able to find a civil rights lawyer to assist them, a circumstance that is unlikely in small Southern towns where legal aid for the poor is scarce, if existent at all.

It is possible, of course, for HUD to inform the poor of their rights under the law through a continuing nationwide television advertising campaign. In 1969 the agency conducted such a campaign but halted the practice during 1970 and much of 1971. A contract for new promotional materials was let in June, 1970, but it was not until June 28, 1971, that a new campaign was begun. It is scheduled to be aired for a two month period in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Washington, D.C., Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland. Even when a campaign is in progress, however, HUD does not buy television or radio time, relying instead on local stations to run public service announcements, an uncertain means, in many areas of the South, to guarantee a wide audience.

---

[6]*Kentucky passed a HUD-approved state fair housing law which permits the state government to handle almost all complaints.*

Section 809 of Title VIII directs HUD to commence educational activities to further equal housing opportunities, including the convening of conferences of persons in the housing industry and other interested parties. In implementing this mandate it would seem appropriate for HUD to call a series of state-wide conferences throughout the South, inviting representatives of the private housing industry and of other groups affiliated with the housing industry to let them know how HUD intends to enforce the law.

Even if such conferences produced no mass conversions to open housing, the gatherings would at least give the fair housing law some needed publicity.

UNUSED FEDERAL POWERS

The major deficiency of the individual complaint process is that it operates on a scale far too small to have widespread impact on segregated housing patterns. In relying on this approach the administration has allowed a number of potentially effective enforcement powers to lie dormant.

President Nixon's policy statement of June 11 expressed pride in the progress his administration has made "in increasing the supply of housing, including particularly low and moderate income housing. . ." The President also pointed out that remaining housing needs are "still enormous." Yet, even as he acknowledged this need, the President rejected the use of the full range of federal powers which must be applied if the nation is to house its poor in a decent environment.

On the one hand the President said, "If we build federally assisted instant ghettos we fail both our communities and the people we are trying to help." On the other hand he said that his administration "will not attempt to impose federally assisted housing upon any community."

Neither the President's statement nor subsequent HUD policy pronouncements outlined an approach which can deal effectively with restrictive land use regulations in the affluent suburbs of America. The President failed to explain what his administration will do when the production of more housing for the poor in central cities enlarges existing ghettos and when the affluent white communities surrounding those central cities refuse to accept such housing.

Section 808 (d) of Title VIII states that "All executive departments and agencies shall administer their programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to

further the purposes of this title" (to promote open housing). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits federal funds from being used in a discriminatory manner. Many civil rights lawyers believe that this legislation authorizes the federal departments and agencies to condition all financial assistance to local governments on "the provision of housing at all levels of income, open to all, and conceived and planned to expand housing choice throughout every Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as well as within every individual community."[7] Minimum standards for funding would include positive evidence from city and county officials that housing for low and moderate income people will be available outside areas of existing racial concentration and that every community will accept a fair share of such housing.

Housing for the poor must be built in areas where they can enjoy the same opportunities as more affluent Americans, in areas where there are well-lighted and well-paved streets, access to employment opportunities and good schools. These are the conditions under which the poor can best help themselves. The President, however, has failed to use all of the resources at his command to see that such conditions are created.

FHA: "A FEUDAL DOMAIN"

In the federal bureaucracy HUD has the primary responsibility for encouraging production of housing and for enforcing the equal opportunity provisions of federal laws, but the department, which should be setting an example for private builders, has long avoided imposing equal opportunity criteria on all of its own housing programs.

In the summer of 1970 Mr. Samuel Simmons, HUD's Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity, said that equal opportunity site selection regulations for FHA-administered 235 and 236 ownership and rental housing programs would be issued by September, 1970. But preliminary guidelines on site selection were not issued until June 14, 1971, three days after the President's statement.

In the meantime FHA continued to approve the 235 and 236 developments which often were segregated and often were located on sites which forced minority groups to live in impoverished areas of large racial concentration.

---

[7] *See the pamphlet published in January, 1971, by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, entitled* Open Housing and Open Communities, NCDH Recommendations to the President.

In August, 1970, the Raleigh, N.C., Community Relations Commission together with church and community leaders protested against a local developer's plan to build 104 units of FHA-assisted low and moderate income apartments in a predominantly black residential area. The Raleigh *News and Observer* reported, "FHA officials said they generally did not take into consideration the concentration of existing minority housing in making a decision on a site."

Robert Affeldt, former Director of Conciliation at HUD's Office of Equal Opportunity, says that the resistance of program directors is largely responsible for the fact that site selection criteria has not been more widely applied. "The program directors are production-oriented and they regard any form of quality control in the form of equal opportunity as an enfringement upon their feudal domains."[8]

In making an administrative decision regarding an apartment complex in DeKalb County, Georgia, FHA officials have recently demonstrated what to civil rights advocates seems an infuriating insensitivity to the equal opportunity mandate of Title VIII and the housing needs of lower income people in the Atlanta area.

Located northwest of Atlanta in a predominantly white middle class section of DeKalb County (one of the nation's more affluent bedroom communities) Oglethorpe apartments became the property of FHA in December, 1970.[9] A coalition of Atlanta civil rights and non-profit organizations, including the Atlanta Urban League, the Atlanta Chapter of the NAACP, and Interfaith (a church-sponsored non-profit organization) have tried to negotiate the sale of the apartments from FHA at a price which will permit the apartments to be rehabilitated and to be used for racially and economically integrated housing.

To support its proposal the coalition cites among other factors the shortage of housing for the poor in the Atlanta metropolitan area[10] and the fact that "the only existing interest subsidy project in the area. . . has maintained a waiting list for several years and has nearly 200 inquiries per month. No other properties with this type financing is available. . ."[11]

---

[8]*Statement to the press, September 17, 1970. Mr. Affeldt's resignation from HUD in September, 1970, was due in part to his dissatisfaction with the weakness of HUD's civil rights programs.*

[9]*Private management of the apartments defaulted. Litigation had tied up the question of ownership since October, 1968.*

[10]*The city of Atlanta has a waiting list of 4000; Decatur, the major city in DeKalb County, has a waiting list of 1000.*

[11]*Fred J. Thompson,* "We, the People. . . " and the Oglethorpe Group Apartments. *(Atlanta, Ga.; the Atlanta Urban League, March, 1971), p. 4.*

The apartments are also near employment opportunities for lower income workers.

FHA officials, however, adamantly refuse to enter into negotiations with the non-profit coalition despite HUD policies that permit and even encourage the use of this method for disposing of such properties.[12] FHA intends, instead, to rehabilitate the property and sell it to the highest bidder. This procedure virtually guarantees that neither the coalition nor any other buyer will be able to purchase the property at a price low enough to permit the development of an economically integrated apartment complex.

Supporters of the coalition blame three factors for FHA's intransigent attitude: outright racial prejudice on the part of FHA personnel; opposition from community residents;[13] and opposition from a powerful group of real estate and investment interests "which desire to exploit the large tract of land and its surrounding suburban wealth."[14] The coalition has announced it will take legal action to force FHA to comply with HUD's own policy standards.

New project selection criteria covering the major federally assisted housing programs (including the 235 and 236 programs) were announced by Secretary Romney on June 14.[15] The proposed criteria included "community need", "improved environmental location for low income families", "effect of proposed housing project upon neighborhood environment", and "non-discriminatory location."

The publication of these criteria by HUD is a long overdue step toward implementing federal law. Given HUD's existing manpower shortage in the area of equal opportunity, however, there is no assurance that HUD will be able to enforce these new guidelines. One member of the agency's equal opportunity staff told an SRC researcher that even under the new policies, equal opportunity personnel will not automatically review all applications for 235 and

---

[12]*Section 2 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, 42 U.S.C. 1441; FHA's Property Disposition letter No. 129, January 4, 1968 as incorporated into FHA's Property Disposition Handbook; and numerous statements by HUD Secretary George Romney favoring dispersal of housing for lower income groups.*

[13]*In 1969 the census tract where Oglethorpe lies showed 5324 whites and 47 non-whites.*

[14]*Fred J. Thompson,* op cit, *p. 3.*

[15]*Secretary Romney also announced new regulations relating to the marketing of federally assisted housing, including new policies on providing housing availability information to relocation agencies and employing sales personnel on a non-discriminatory basis. Open housing and other concerned organizations may obtain lists from HUD of subdivisions or projects on which FHA has issued comments.*

On May 21, 1971, HUD published in the Federal Register *proposed guidelines governing the advertising of all housing for sale or rent.*

236 projects. Primary administrative authority remains in the hands of FHA. This agency's past refusal to accept responsibility for the location of Section 235 housing and for the racial segregation resulting from the operation of the 235 program suggests that a major change in attitude or practices will come only with direct and continuous pressure from other concerned HUD officials.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Title VIII authorizes the Department of Justice to initiate lawsuits where a "pattern or practice" of discrimination exists or where the issue is of general public importance.

The Housing Section of the Civil Rights Division has filed over 66 suits since October, 1969, against more than 200 defendants. Thirty cases have originated in the South.

As of May 15, 1971, some 43 cases had been successfully completed, 37 by consent decrees, which usually include affirmative relief as well as a prohibition against discrimination. The department has not lost a single case on the merits. Injunctions secured have required defendants not only to stop discrimination, but to take affirmative steps to open up projects to black purchasers or renters. Defendants have agreed to advertise in newspapers with predominantly black readerships, to instruct subsidiaries not to discriminate and to indicate in all advertising that black people are welcomed. Defendants have also been required to make quarterly reports to courts detailing the action they have taken in abiding by court orders.

The Section also negotiated a signed agreement with a Richmond, Virginia, title insurance company under which the company no longer will insure titles to property carrying racially restrictive covenants. The Division subsequently wrote to over 17 of the nation's largest title insurance companies advising them to cease insuring such titles.

The Housing Section's staff was recently increased from 13 to 19 attorneys. However, like the Office of Equal Opportunity of HUD, the Section still suffers from inadequate resources to carry out its responsibilities. But the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has noted that the Department. . . "has made strategic and effective use of these resources in enforcing the law."

The manpower shortage may become acute as an increasing number of the suits already filed reaches the trial stage. This work overload may seriously impair the Section's ability to prepare for and to argue the cases in court and simultaneously continue an aggressive program of filing suits in the field.

Political consideration have weighed heavily in determining whether the Housing Section will be permitted to act in certain cases, particularly those cases involving suburban discriminatory zoning.

Three days after the President's statement was issued, Secretary Romney and Attorney General Mitchell in a joint press conference announced that the Justice Department was intervening in a controversial case involving officials of Blackjack, Missouri. This predominantly white town incorporated itself in 1970 and adopted a zoning law which prevents the use of land for low income housing. The decision to intervene, however, came after months of procrastination by the President's political advisers and after great pressure by some national civil rights organizations. Secretary Romney himself had requested the Justice Department to intervene several months before the decision finally came. Hopefully, the administration will now be more willing to act in more of the numerous other exclusionary zoning cases.

THE INADEQUACY OF LOCAL ACTION

Throughout the President's policy statement of June 11 a certain deference to local leadership in many critical areas was evident. "This administration," the President declared "will not attempt to impose federally assisted housing upon any community." Further, he added:

> *We will encourage communities to discharge their responsibility for helping to provide decent housing opportunities to the Americans of low and moderate income who live or work within their boundaries. We will encourage communities to seek and accept well conceived, well designed, well managed housing developments—always with the community's capacity to assimilate the families who will live in them.*

In the South of 1971, despite a great deal of national comment on the progressivism of newly elected governors and the cautious hopes of skeptics that such progressivism will prove real, it is still unrealistic to expect that great strides in the area of equal housing opportunity will be taken without the spur of strong federal action.

Rep. Fletcher Thompson of Georgia's Fifth Congressional District, himself a resident of an Atlanta suburb, and quite likely representative of an influential portion of the local leadership to which Mr. Nixon's statement was ultimately addressed, denounced the President for "hypocrisy" shortly after the Justice Department intervened in the controversial Blackjack, Missouri case. Mr. Thompson said such

action was inconsistent with the President's policy statement and represented a victory for "left wing" advisers on his staff. Earlier the congressman had injected himself into a controversy over a public housing project in an Atlanta suburb, and later he bitterly criticized HUD Secretary George Romney for refusing to withdraw HUD's approval of the project.

A perhaps more telling measure of the potential for affirmative action in housing discrimination by Southern political leaders can be seen in the fact that only Georgia among the Southern states presently has legislation concerning any phase of housing discrimination. Ironically, this legislation—an anti-blockbusting law—was signed into effect by then Governor Lester Maddox, whose support of the measure apparently stemmed from a desire to protect white home-owners from black encroachment.[16]

The reluctance of Southern states to support fair housing has its counterpart in local governments. Approximately 373 American towns and cities now have local open housing ordinances. Only 12 of these—three per cent—were passed by municipalities in the South.

Almost all of these local southern ordinances reflect the influence of the federal statute. As a group they include almost word for word the federal coverage and prohibitions provisions and differ only in their enforcement mechanisms.

The ordinances which have the best *potential* for enforcement are the ones passed by Dade County, Florida, and three Virginia governments, Alexandria, Arlington, and Fairfax County. These laws appear to be "substantially equivalent" to the federal law in terms of coverage and prohibitions and to provide for more effective enforcement mechanisms, granting the local enforcement agency not only power to conciliate cases of discrimination, but power to impose fines, secure injunctions, and require affirmative action by parties found guilty of discriminating.

Reports from three Virginia cities indicate that few complaints were received by local authorities during 1969 and 1970. Arlington re-

---

[16]*The Georgia law provides that persons convicted of blockbusting may be fined up to $1000 and sentenced to a maximum of one year in prison. It also calls for the revocation of the license of a convicted agent or broker for a period of five years. The Chairman of the Georgia Real Estate Commission, the licensing agency for real estate brokers and agents, is a Maddox appointee whose own real estate firm has been sued by the Justice Department for engaging in discriminatory rental and sales practices.*

ported processing 15 complaints during the calendar year 1969; Alexandria reported receiving 13 between February, 1969 and November, 1970; and Fairfax reported receiving seven between January, 1969 and November, 1970.

Left unanswered still is the manner in which these or other local fair housing agencies handled the various complaints and inquiries or how they have advertised the existence of local ordinances. However, the municipalities with laws authorizing effective enforcement methods at least have provided their citizens with tangible evidence that local authorities are willing to go on record and to provide some means for helping individuals cope with discrimination at a local level. As already noted, however, such municipalities in the south are scarce, indeed.

The Dade County ordinance, is seriously flawed by one section, added as an amendment in June, 1969, which calls for severe penalties against persons who file complaints "without probable cause and for the purpose of harassment."

Established legal precedent makes such a provision completely unnecessary to protect the rights of persons against false charges. The real evil of the provision, however, is that it may prevent legitimate complaints from being filed. It also gives property owners accused of discrimination a chance to assume almost a plaintiff's role in a situation involving their own culpability.

Three other municipalities have ordinances almost as good as the laws already cited: Falls Church and Fredericksburg, Virginia; and Corpus Christi, Texas.

Open housing ordinances which are fundamentally weak and have the least potential for effective enforcement are those adopted by Raleigh and Chapel Hill, N.C.; Knoxville and Oak Ridge, Tenn., and San Antonio, Texas. These laws fail to authorize one or all of the essential elements of an effective law, such as adequate penalties, complete prohibitions or enforcement personnel.

III LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: THE PROMISE AND THE TRAGEDY

If the President is to be taken at his word, if the burden for enforcement of Title VIII is to be primarily upon individual citizens through the complaint process and if the federal role in the dispersal of low income housing is to be limited essentially to encouraging action by local officials, then it is well to recognize that bringing about equal housing opportunities in the South—as elsewhere—is likely to be agonizingly slow.

A matter of great concern among thoughtful urban planners already has been that the nation will become so absorbed with the idea of housing production, *per se,* that equal opportunities in housing will be forgotten or deliberately shunted aside. The danger of this now is still ominous. As housing needs continue to mount, local authorities, faced with the urgent problems of getting on with construction and feeling no express mandate to seek sites outside areas of racial concentration, can be expected to locate housing in areas, the zoning of which will not create controversy or delay.

In the South, such a development would be particularly tragic, for here, most urban experts agree, there is still time to avoid the mass

concentrations of black people in central cities that have made Northern cities so rigidly ghettoized. Enough land is still available in the suburbs of most Southern cities to easily accommodate the dispersal of housing for poor and moderate income people.[17]

Housing, of course, is so related to a host of other critical issues that decisions made today can be felt for many years to come. Closely linked is the issue of *de facto* school segregation. The Legal Defense Fund's brief in the Charlotte-Mecklenberg (N. C.) case decided by the Supreme Court in March, 1971 dealt with the matter at some length. The brief described a familiar pattern of zoning practices that contributed to residential segregation in the city.

> *All white residential areas were zoned residential with restricted land usage. All black residential areas were zoned industrial with multi-land usage.*

The brief then noted that,

> *. . . consistent with the city's zoning practice of providing for low income housing in black residential areas, all public housing now principally occupied by blacks, has been located in black residential areas.*

In the District court's decision on the Charlotte-Mecklenberg case, Judge McMillan took specific notice of such practices.

> *There is so much State action imbedded in and shaping these events that the resulting school segregation is not innocent or 'de facto' and the resulting schools are not unitary or desegregated.*

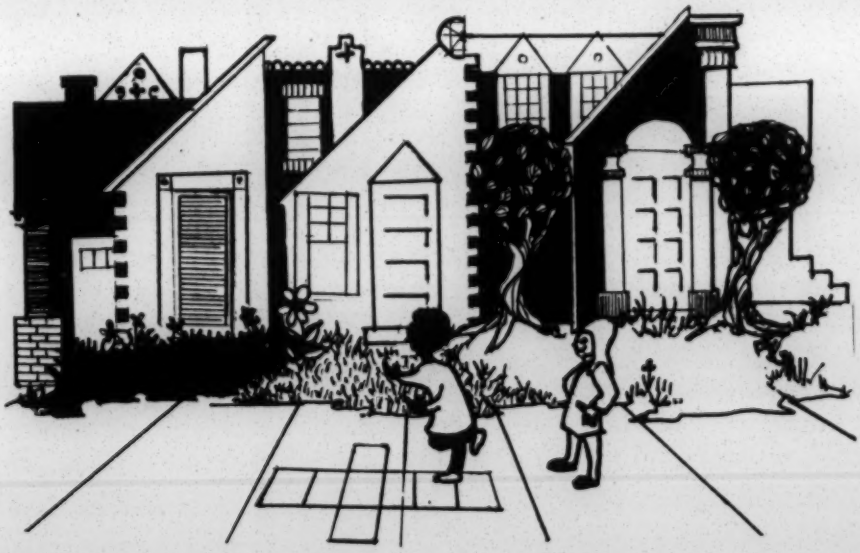
Access to new employment opportunities is also directly affected by housing patterns. A 1970 Carnegie Institute study found, for instance, that 75% of all new jobs created in the New York City area from 1959 through 1967 were outside the central city. The comparable national figure is estimated to be 80%. Partially as a result of this trend the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has estimated that by 1975 the unemployment rate among Negroes will be five times that for the labor force as a whole.

Thus the administration seems to favor a course that not only might perpetuate another generation of segregated housing patterns more

---

[17] *In Fulton County, Ga. for instance, (in which Atlanta with diminishing central city space is located) there is an estimated 220,000 acres of undeveloped land in the suburbs.*

inflexible than in the past, but in the process compound inherent, related evils. The enormity of those evils finally may force a rethinking of the President's announced policies. There are signs, indeed, from Secretary Romney's recent actions, that until specifically challenged by the President himself, HUD will take an increasingly active role in implementing the law. Thus two forces seem to be at work within the administration, one urging a swift accommodation with what are seen to be white suburban values, the other doggedly holding out for a course dictated by the nation's long range interests. In the realities of American politics today, neither is likely totally to prevail. But for those actively involved in equal housing opportunities, there is at least still hope that their voices may be heard.



OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE

Sponsored by

The School Desegregation Project
of the
Southern Regional Council
August 15 - August 25

Camp Fellowship
Waterloo, South Carolina

1971

Institute Coordinators

Clarence Wright
Leon Hall

* * * *

(These materials are not for quotation or attribution)

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE OVERVIEW

Introduction

School desegregation is a controversial, volatile, and complex issue in American society. As a result of litigation and heroic actions of a small group of Black students throughout the South over the past 17 years, massive school desegregation is a reality as we enter the 70's. Inherent in this situation, however, is the realization that the seventeen year period from 1954 until the present, was just the prelude to the battle confronting all students today - both Black and White. For, upon them falls the responsibility of organizing a "new constituency" dedicated to realizing and attaining quality desegregated education for all students with viable, clearly defined avenues for input from all students. The desegregation fight in the schools has tended to highlight the endemic educational problems confronting the American free public education in addition to the racial problems.

Taking this situation into consideration and recognizing their responsibility in making the newly desegregated situation work, a small biracial group of college and high school students met in Waterloo, South Carolina for a ten-day School Desegregation Institute to review last years experiences and activities,

to analyze the status of the desegregation movement and the institution of public education from the youth perspective, and to learn and/or refine specific skills needed for work in the back-home situation.

With an air of determination and hope, these students set forth over the 10-day period to attain these goals, while first unconciously and later consciously molding a spirit of direction and determination out of the collective realization that there were other young adults from throughout the South working towards similar goals - the establishment of a humane society and the development of quality education for all students.

This group represented a cross-section of youth encountered through nine months of extensive travel and work with youth groups and educational projects by the staff and volunteers of the School Desegregation Project as they attempted to provide direct assistance and/or resources to high school youth in massively desegregated districts. The focus of the project upon youth, is based upon the realization that students know that the racial problems are in most cases, surface manifestations of ingrained educational problems which affect all youth - Black and White.

In spite of the diversity of the group along chronological, racial, sexual, geographical and educational lines, the

participants were consistent in their quest for clarity, direction, resources, and skills. More graphically, there were 16 college and 16 high school students (7 White and 25 Black) in attendance, ranging in age from 16 - 25 and educational levels from high school sophmores to recent college graduates. Geographically, the participant grouping by state were as follows: Alabama 3, Arkansas 1, Georgia 6, Florida 1, Mississippi 8, North Carolina 3, South Carolina 7, Texas 1, Virginia 1. Eleven of the project's participants were unable to attend mainly because of recent employment and/or educational obligations. Three were from Mississippi, two from Georgia and six from Alabama.

The remainder of this report will focus on the content of the various workshops, points of information, themes of continuity, needs, and interpretations of salient points. The five categories are as follows:

1) Opening Session

2) Seminars

3) Workshops in community organization techniques and skills

4) Workshops in communications/intergroup relations

5) The in-school situation

6) Closing session

OPENING SESSION

Sunday, August 15, 1971
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

Paul Anthony, Guest Speaker

The Institute was convened with each person giving their name, home address, and their first experience with school desegregation. Responses to the latter point were quite diverse and ranged from childhood experiences with people of another race, to attendance at previously all white schools under Freedom of Choice, to recent experiences with the onset of massive school desegregation.

Following the introductions and the overview of the training schedule for the Institute, Paul Anthony, the Director of the Southern Regional Council, made a brief opening address and responded to questions from the floor, mainly about the Council - its scope, purpose, size of staff, resources and affiliations.

Mr. Anthony key-noted his opening remarks with the observation that youth traditionally push for "immediate" change but with time and age these youth will in turn be called upon to move farther and faster. Then, the realization will come, that all the problems couldn't be solved - that the old ones still exist, in addition to many new ones. "The only thing that we can do is continue to fight for what is right."

"It's imperative that we understand what in fact this Institution is, this thing that has grown into an institution - what was this house built for. Let's get the picture then we can dig into that."

S E M I N A R S

Case History of the School Desegregation Movement
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Monday, August 16
Julius Chambers

Four basic points were covered in the seminar on the legal/historical aspects of school desegregation: 1) the origin of the school desegregation movement; 2) the reason for massive school desegregation in the 70's; 3) the landmark cases in the school desegregation movement; and 4) some of the major dynamics and/or problems set off by the school desegregation movement in general and the Swann Decision in particular. Following coverage of these points, Attorney Julius Chambers made some general observations on various desegregation issues and responded to questions from the floor.

Law was described as an evolutionary process faced with the problem that many people differentiate the "letter of the Law" and the "spirit of the law." This has tended to hinder what is already a basically slow process, as illustrated by the seventeen year lapse between the Brown and Swann Decision.

The judicial process was deemed the most viable avenue of attack in the 1930's when a group of NAACP lawyers decided to challenge the constitutionality of the "seperate but equal" doctrine by focusing on the educational inequities of the segregated school systems. The constitutional foundation for this fight

was provided through the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the 14th Amendment, and the various reconstruction statues (42 U.S.C., 1981; 42 U.S.C. 1982, and others). These statues provided legal grounds for challenging discriminatory practices by states and/or individuals.

The landmark cases were the Brown Decision in 1954, the Green vs. New County Board of Education in 1968 and the Swann Decision in 1968-70. Some of the key points of these cases were:

> Brown vs. Board of Education. This decision declared seperate facilities inherently unequal for Blacks regardless of the number of Black teachers, the quality of facilities and so forth. More importantly, the court stated that the Brown Decision left some room for leeway between the "spirit of the law" and the "letter of the law," with the inclusion of the clause "with all deliberate speed" and the failure to stipulate "how" the schools were to be desegregated. Additionally, the Brown Decision established the trend of Black students seeking admission to white secondary and elementary schools.

During this period, several strategies were attempted in an effort to evade the law:

1) From 1955 through 1960, the various southern states enacted pupil placement laws to hinder desegregation. These laws abdicated all responsibility for desegregation plans to the various local districts. Therefore, each local district would have to be challenged

individually for whatever discriminatory acts might occur.

2) From 1960 through 1968, the various southern states resorted to various Freedom of Choice plans after the 5th Circuit Court declared pupil placement acts unconstitutional. Under the Freedom of Choice plan, a child had the right to choose a school before the board made assignments provided they met various criteria. Also, during this period, many courts okayed desegregation plans beginning with the first year and one per subsequent year.

3) From 1968 through the present, two key decisions were rendered: The Green vs. New County Board of Education in 1968 and the Swann Decision in Charlotte/Mecklenberg. The former decision attacked Freedom of Choice in instances in which it did not effectively desegregate schools and spelled out the areas in shich schools had to show affirmative steps to desegregate. These areas were: (1) students, (2) teachers, (3) extra-curricular, (4) transportation, and (5) facilities. This was a landmark decision in that both Black and White facilities and student bodies would be forced to desegregate. Two other cases, Goss vs. School Board of Memphis and

Watson vs. City preceded the Swann decision and expressed the dissatisfaction with the interpretations of the "deliberate speed" ruling. The term "now" was used in the case Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education and later changed in Carter vs. West Louisiana Parrish School Board, to immediately. This decision set the stage for massive school desegregation in the 70's, and laid the foundation for the desegregation of rural facilities - Black and White.

Beginning in 1968, the racial identity of schools in the larger metropolitan areas came under challenge when two questions were raised in the Charlotte case. The court responded yes and no respectively. (1) Must all schools be desegregated and (2) Must it be one way.

The Swann Decision, which was later re-affirmed by the Supreme Court, established the policy of considering the racial composition of schools in developing desegregation plans, made provisions for the utilization of transportation in desegregating the schools, and stated that teachers should be equal in number to the percentage of Black and White techers in the system. The Swann Decision, also left some leeway regarding interpretations of the "letter of the law" and "the spirit of the law" by allowing bussing if it did not infringe on the educational process

or affect the health of the child, and providing for the continuation of segregated schools in instances in which clear and convincing evidence could be provided to show why it should not be done. The court left to a later decision, the effect of desegregated housing on the racial composition of schools.

In ensuring dialogue, Attorney Chambers highlighted several points:

(1) School desegregation is a reality, the courts will not retract the decision, therefore, we need to "look toward developing means of protecting Black students and teachers in the desegregated schools. In many cases, these protective measures can be developed more feasibly through the political and legislative route than through the judiciary, at least until 1976.

Community organization is needed to pressure the school boards into establishing policies concerning suspensions, expulsions which will insure students the right to "due process Protection." Since the hearings usually result in a re-affirmation of the suspensions and/or expulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly, with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for seperate Black school boards, schools, and so forth, are

contrary to the history of this country in which Whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for seperate schools.

A statement from students and others is needed stating that "We need to desegregate the schools." The court in the Swann Decision asked if the Black community wanted to desegregate, to which the response was "yes", contrary to this, however, the press is highlighting the anti-desegregation statements of Blacks.

(3) Attorney Chambers also responded, in addition to these points, to points relating to the displacement of Black teachers, the feasibility of using quotas and ratios in assigning students and teacher accreditation. Students and community organizations were given the mandate to exert pressure on government agencies to protect the rights of Black students and on residents to block the closing of Black schools.

In conclusion, Attorney Chambers expressed the need for students to exert more pressure on lawyers to insure protection of students, "it doesn't make sense for students to carry the brunt of desegregation, parents, lawyers, everybody else should become more involved."

The Institution of Public Education
2:00 - 4:00 p.m., Monday, August 16
Tom Keating and Dr. Carlisle Holler

Two statements set the tone and focus for discussion/analysis of the institution of public education: "Is the goal to tear down schools or to tear down barriers to education;" and, "Every individual has a right to be developed. If schools are not doing it, where can we get back on the right track"? Although the seminar was focused upon the need for having a clear sense of direction in dealing with basic problems of the Institution of public education, the stated purpose of the workshop was to take a look at the institution in its totality - its purposes, objectives, framework and funding.

The framework of the institution of public education was described as unique for each state and local district. There is no uniform "system" of public education. Funding of schools, too, is different in the South and the various southern states. The bulk of the financing, however, comes from the State Treasury rather than from local districts as is in the case in some New England states. Millage (how it is figured), bonds, the role of property tax in education and other terms were other things discussed.

Within the focus of the Institution's central purpose, to teach people to think, four goals were given:

1) To recognize and promote the dignity and worth of the

individual.

2) To develop citizenship.

3) To serve the economy.

4) To develop the general morality by developing good moral character and habits.

In 1918, a group of educators met and developed Seven Cardinal Principals of Education to assist the student in 1) gaining command of the fundamental processes - reading, writing, etc.; 2) becoming worthy home members; 3) developing vocational competence; 4) establishing effective citizenship; 5) promoting worthy use of leisure; and 6) developing ethical character. Twenty years later, some educators revised these points to read:

1) Self-realization

2) Human relationship

3) Economic proficiency

4) Civic responsibility

Following the discussion of the stated purpose of public education, several suggestions were made concerning approaches to changing the institution of public education to the local level. Dr. Holler pointed out that teachers and principals are human too and should be dealt with as human beings. "Threats" only tend to alienate people.

Segregated Academy Movement
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Monday, August 16
Kitty Terjen

The seminar on the Segregated Academy Movement began with an open-ended conversation in which each workshop participant related their observations and/or experiences with the segregated academy movement. Particularly interesting were the comments concerning the possible negative effects of the segregated academy movement upon students who had been pulled out of the public school after the school term had begun and the behavior of students returning to the public school from segregated academies. The implications of the effect of the segregated academy movement upon the institution of public education, on the role of property taxes in supporting education and on the tax exemption proceedings for non-profit organizations led into a discussion of the methods of documenting violations of the law to support segregated academies.

With regard to documentation of violations, Mrs. Terjen outlined the difficulties in obtaining concrete evidence since most infractions were "paper" violations in which local funds and/or other supplies were secretly stolen. Private sources of funding (bank loans, donations, etc.) and tuition fees were also discussed. One of the best ways of blocking violations and illegal transactions tied in with calls for community organization and participation by other resource people. The presence of Blacks on the various committees (Title I, and ESAP) and in attendance

at the school board meetings will serve to hinder much of "wrong-doing."

The National/International, Regional, State,
and Local Implications of School Desegregation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m., Monday, August 16
Miss Jean Fairfax

The seminar on the broader implications of school desegregation was intended to provide the students with additional information which would hopefully provide the basis for a more universal view of the desegregation movement. Miss Fairfax set forth the international/national, regional, state, and local implications of school desegregation through three propositions:

1) School desegregation is a test of the resiliency of the American system, a test to see whether the American system can be changed from within by using the law as an agent of social change. In explaining this proposition, the various steps of defiance of the law were outlined from the initiation of pupil placement, gubernatorial resistance, Freedom of Choice plans, and ultimately, to the more sophisticated forms of resistance today - displacement of Black educators, in-school discrimination, closure of Black schools, and so forth. Though time consuming, this defiance has provided the courts with the opportunity to affirm and clarify the rights of all people. Each decision brings greater clarity to the law. This clarification

gives a better base for dealing with the complexity of today's situation.

2) What is the United States about anyway? This proposition was based upon the premise that school desegregation is one of the key, if not the key, issue in the United States today. References were made to Samuel Yette's book, The Choice, as a means of clarifying a possible perspective and explanation of the reactions of white "outlaws" ("outlaws" used to describe the various politicians, citizens, and government agencies) who fight the move towards a pluralistic society in America. Two basic reasons were given for the resistance of the "outlaws" to the law:

   a) They realize the value of information and education and that knowledge represents power. That as long as oppressed people are ignorant than there is no motivation to fight for a pluralistic society.

   b) That the goals of integration have changed. That integration now means total participation in the decision-making processes rather than assimilation into the middle-class oriented status

quo. The fight for community control and the fight to integrate the schools, are the things which frighten some people and give rise to defiance of the law.

The school desegregation movement forces whites "to say what they are about in America."

3) The school desegregation movement is a test of Black people's ability to blacken the educational system. Utilizing references to other cultures (Brazil, New Zealand), Miss Fairfax showed how the rising tide of "Black Pride" did not represent a contradiction of integration but a re-definition of the term and a realization/reorganization represented a step towards building a pluralistic society.

The ensuing dialogue covered the following points:

a) The difference between desegregation and integration.

b) How can you determine a truly integrated society?

c) The possibility of school integration before community integration.

Following discussion of these points, the seminar terminated on a key point, the implications of the pressure of groups, "chunks," of students in the desegregated school today as opposed

to small numbers under the other plans. Though in most cases in a minority, Black students now have the opportunity to organize a base within the system, if they become a politically aware body, which will strive to learn "where the power is, how decisions are made, where the money is, and how they can become a strategy group with a conscious plan."

The Effect and Impact of Mass Media upon Attitudinal Development
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Tuesday, August 17
Paul Delaney

This seminar was planned to focus upon developing an awareness among student of the potential benefits/pitfalls in utilizing the press and to teach them the rudimentary steps of press relations. The seminar began with each participant recounting their most vivid experience with the press and/or their experiences in attempting to publish a newspaper.

Several suggestions were made in terms of ultimate utilization of the press:

1) Get to know the key reporters on the various newspaper staffs, introduce yourself, be aggressive in establishing a comfortable relation (for you) with the press.
2) Carefully organize and plan your strategies when dealing with the press. Make sure you are using only facts, elect one spokesman who will present the agreed upon details - no more. Several ploys utilized in interviewing people were then illustrated and practiced.
3) In cases in which articles are incorrect, exclusions, misquotes, etc., one should read and review a story for two things - <u>facts</u> and <u>interpretations</u>. Notify the reporter of discrepancies. This doesn't rectify mistakes already made, but it does avoid antagonizing the press and will, hopefully, cause him to touch

base with you on any pertinent subsequent articles and to carefully doublecheck his story.

Quite a few terms came up and were defined. Some of these were: dodging, laying it on the line, embargo, stringer, Ap and Up.

The "how" of conducting press conferences and writing press releases was also discussed. The need for organization and the selection of a key spokesman were doubly highlighted in planning press conferences. The various parts of a "press conference kit" were listed and discussed: 1) Actual press releases; 2) Fact sheet on the group - length of existence, purpose, etc.; 3) Detailed background statement; and 4) previous articles. The press realease should answer the basic questions, who, what, when, where, and why and follow the four basic rules: 1) Select the most important W for the lead paragraph; 2) Keep it simple; and 3) Emphasize facts, not opinions.

The various parts of the press release, the heading, listing of key information (name, address, phone, etc.) and the embargo preceded the skills practice.

The resource people constantly counseled the participants on the potential pitfalls and/or negative effects that unorganized contact with the press could have.

Other media resources and their utilization were considered. Several resource organizations were listed.

Student's Rights
7:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 23
Laughlin McDonald

The seminar on student's rights amplified the lack of definitive policies on rights due students in the in-school situation.

The areas of discussion ranged widely and covered many of the issues affecting students in the desegregated schools today. Some of them were:

1) Suspensions. Several points came out in the discussion of suspensions as opposed to expulsion. From the administrative point, most students are quilty until proven innocent. Highlighted was a major contradiction "between law and action since many states had compulsory attendance laws requiring a specific number of days attendance but would permit suspensions and/or expulsions which would run over those days."

2) Communication Rights Due Students. Initially, the discussion centered upon various alternatives due students with regard to the increasing number of "hair" cases in court, "button" cases and/or arm band cases, and the legality of circulating petitions. With regard to the first two points,

it was observed that some legal precedents, though not definitive, had been established while there were no legal precedents set concerning in-school petitioning, therefore, placing the burden upon the petitioner to be cognizant of where, when, and how the petions were circulated.

3) School Elections. Unfair election procedures and discriminatory sanctions were largely classed as in-school problems not lending themselves to legal action but for individual organizing efforts.

4) Teacher Beatings of Students. "The quickest and most effective way to deal with corporal punishment by teachers is to file a civil suit against all parties involved." It was pointed out that this would amplify the problem, shake-up the parties involved, even if the suit is not won.

5) Record Tampering. This, too, was viewed as an in-school problem for which the only recourse without clear-cut evidence would be to call for a hearing before the school board.

Other points raised by the students were related to the legal role of students on discriplinary committees, the legality of ability grouping and transferral of students to vocational

schools as punishment for alleged disciplinary violations, in-school prosecution for incidents occurring away from school (non-school functions), police harassment, and intimidation of student dissidents and name calling by teachers. In responding to these questions, the need for strong local organizations was suggested, since each case would have to be dealt with individually and there were no clear-cut constitutional precedences established for dealing with these issues through the judicial process.

The seminar concluded with another call for strong, local organization, and a discussion of the method of documenting infringements of student rights (write down, solicit witnesses, if possible, notarize the description of the incident, document disciplinary actions). The need and possibility for establishing a student legal aid service or watchline was briefly discussed.

"There's gotta be a connection -- a logical connection between your action and what you want."

"Organizing is getting as many people together as possible."

Community Organization

The seminars and workshops on community organization skills and techniques focused upon the following areas:

1) Nonviolence as a strategy-way of life
2) Analysis of American society
3) Facets of enslavement
4) Nonviolent in-school tactics
5) Other community organization skills and techniques
   a. meetings
   b. coalitions
   c. voter education
   d. conferences
   e. community support

According to Rev. Young, "violence destroys people and property, not systems." He described nonviolence as organized aggressive goodwill, aimed at developing new relationships between people. Although the problems in school desegregation are immediate, we have to understand the overall picture and be clear on the ultimate goal -- the establishment of a humane society.

American society was described as a box with the walls of enslavement being:

1. Educational inequality. "Knowledge is the key to

breaking bonds."

2. Alienation. "As long as we hate ourselves and our culture, we enslave ourselves." There is a major need for Blacks and others to understand and accept themselves. Racial problems are created by fear and a lack of knowledge of others.

3. Economic exploitation.

4. Political denial.

"Students, once they get their minds together, are the most knowledgeable people concerning educational matters, because they are directly involved. They should therefore, look towards attending school board meetings, asking for youth representation on school boards, and utilizing other aggressive means of attaining power."

Four basic steps in organizing were delineated and discussed:

1) Investigation

2) Negotiation

3) Organization

4) Reconciliation

Within the framework of these points, several cautionary notes were added: First, a group should "take it slow," secondly, always write grievenace down, thirdly, always share leadership, thus avoiding designation or stereotyping of one person

as the leader. Lastly, build support, expand your base and carefully stage the tone of any meeting, or other activity.

The various community organizing skills and techniques discussed and/or practiced were:

1) Negotiations. Particular concentration upon analysis of school boards, consideration of methods to "educate" school board members to student perspectives, and problems. "Do's and Don'ts" of approaching administration and teachers.

2) Conferences and Meetings. Timing, site selection, agenda building, climate setting were some of the terms discussed in the workshop sessions on meetings and conferences. Role play activities were developed to encompass these and other techniques for organizing meetings and conferences.

3) Coalitions. In-school coalitions are consistent with the basic level of organizing to get as many people together as possible. In building in-school coalitions, several basic points need to be considered:

   a. Development of a steering committee with equal representation and clearly defined roles and relationships.

b. The need for open discussions between coalescing groups. In the words of one resource person, "you must maintain communications, it is suicide if you become isolated."

c. Share leadership -- avoid pairing.

4) 18-Year Old Voter Education. Because of the temper of the times, youth in coordination with other movements could play a major role in national, political activities. The youth potential in national affairs highlights the need for coalitions between Black and White students.

5) Community Support. Various techniques and approaches for gaining community support were discussed and practiced. Extensive discussion and practice was given to press relations, the framing of news releases, and identifying potential sources of community support. Extensive role play was given to approaching, informing and inviting people to meetings.

6) School Boycotts, Walk Outs. It was stressed throughout the workshop that "youth must be in school in order to effectuate meaningful change." School boycotts, usually tend to create more problems, legal repercussions, and reactions from the community than

positive effects. This tactic should be used with reservations.

"I must do these things in order to communicate; become aware of you (discover you). Make you aware of me (uncover myself). Be ready to change during our conversation, and be willing to reveal my changes to you."

C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Communications and Intergroup Relations
Saturday, August 21 - Tuesday, August 24
Dr. Rachel DuBois, Dr. Grace Scully, Bernice Coffer, Dr. William Dufford and staff, Dorothy Cotton, Joel Jacobson

---

The workshops on communications and intergroup relations were disigned to:

1) Enhance the participants understanding of "self."

2) Enhance the participants understanding of others, particularly, the institute participants.

3) Develop certain skills and trainer skills in the areas of communications/intergroup relations.

4) Stimulate an appraisal and/or reappraisal for the reasons for striving to attain quality desegregated education.

5) Share experiences in the in-school desegrated situation and to compare these experiences with those occurring prior to desegregated education.

The workshops initially focused upon activities to define the meaning of communications and related terms - - trust, feelings, verbal/non-verbal communications. Sharing common experiences, the participants attempted to capture the essence of these terms. In addition to consideration of positive aspects of human relations, the participants, again by sharing common experiences, analyzed the effects of bitterness, distrust, and other negative emotions in creating communication breakdowns.

The participants also participated in exercises geared

to pull out feelings concerning attendance in desegregated schools and individual motivation in striving to better the educational process and relations between students. This process was begun with a sharing of common educational experiences (first experiences with students, teachers, etc.) prior to desegregation, a sharing of experiences following desegregation, and lastly, consideration of the question, "Is it worth the sacrifice?"

The individual concept of "self" and its ramifications, was approached from the theoretical and experimental standpoint. Dr. Grace Scully, a Developmental Psychologist, led a three-hour lecture discussion of Eric Erickson's Seven Stages of Pshcho-Social Dimensions of Personality, after which, Dorothy Cotton conducted a series of feedback sessions on self-perception, perceptions of others, and image clarification.

The last two work days were devoted to skill training and skill practice in relation to the back-home situation. Dr. William Dufford and his staff, conducted a series of skill practice exercises, aimed at three barriers to communications and the development of small group discussion leaders. Various techniques and exercises were illustrated and used: (1) Buzz groups; (2) Fishbowls; (3) Climate setting exercises; and (4) Role play. Skill training and practice was provided in the group conversation method as a follow-up to the other training and skills development sessions.

The purpose, planning and implementation of the group conversation method were discussed, analyzed, and practiced.

The communications and intergroup relations sessions concluded with an exercise to define the feeling of "community" so apparent within the group. This aura was finally described as a "quality of human relations" between people which was characterized by a "trusting, caring, and sharing" feeling between individuals regardless of race, age and/or educational level. A cautionary note was appended with the reminder that this spirit of community must transcend the actual setting of the Institute and be promoted at home if a positive course is to be set which will lead to quality education and relations during these chaotic and confused times.

"Just listening to them, they had it easy compared to what we went through."

The In-School Situation

The In-School session was structured to allow students to set the tone and direction of the discussion, with the resource people concentrating on analyzing the information. The student evaluation committee for the Institute structured the program around a panel discussion by four high school students. Each of the students was from a different state (Mississippi; Alabama; North Carolina; and South Carolina, and different types of communities (rural, metropolitan, peredominantly Black rural small southern, etc.).

In spite of this diversity, similar issues were raised in the respective presentations. The panelists informally rated some of the priority issues confronting students in their respective communities by their choice of subject matter. The discussions following the panel presentations showed that these points/needs were not atypical among students.

The panelist from Mississippi led off the discussion and set the tone for subsequent presentations by enumerating a broad spectrum of problems confronting students (police harassment, student transferrals, dismissals without hearings, dismissal of Black teachers), a situation analysis of his home community (its resources, etc.) and an overview of the strategies attempted and resources needed to deal with some of the problems.

The other panelist (Alabama, South Carolina and North Carolina) focused to a great extent, on major personal issues with others treated more superficially.

Some of the major points were:

1) The impact that a politically aware Black majority has in making potential "outlaws" equitably administer the school and teach students.

2) The unlimited avenues of in-school harassment open to "wrong-minded" educators through record tampering, changing of grades, lost and/or destruction of permanent record folders.

3) The dangers of being caught in the emotionalism of volative issues related to school desegregation like bussing.

Following the panel presentations, the floor was thrown open for reactions/observations from the other students. This dialogue focused upon the role of the white student in the desegregated situation, the lack of moral leadership, the white students opinions of massive school desegregation; and an overview of various strategies and approaches to dealing with In-School problems. School walk-outs of varying degrees and duration appeared to be a common tactic for resolving grievances.

In the evening session brief introductory statements were given by representatives of several private agencies, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the American Friends Service Committee, the Atlanta Urban League and the Children's Foundation.

APPENDIX

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING INSTITUTE

Participant Reactions

The stated purpose of the Training Institute was to provide basic skills training in community organization and communications/intergroup relations and to introduce pertinent information and/or potential resources to a select group of high school and college students working in the area of school desegregation.

The Institute Evaluation Committee developed a three-part narative evaluation to test participant reactions to the Training Institute.

Three basic questions were asked:

(1) Why did you attend this Institute?

(2) What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

(3) What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

The participant reactions to the individual interviews were as follows:

Question: Why did you attend the Institute?

"When asked, I felt that I could get a lot from it. When I was told that it involved school desegregation, I was very interested."

"I felt that this would be a beneficial experience for me. I came with the expectation that I would be exposed to information and insights that would be helpful in solving the problems caused by desegregation in my community."

"I came because of the information I was sent. I was told that I would learn techniques for organizing in the community."

"I was asked to replace someone else; it was right after a shocking incident in my school which made me decide to come."

"My involvement in school depends on my knowledge of what school desegregation is about. I have a personal commitment to the students of my community and state. I wanted to gain new approaches, techniques, and ideas. I also wanted to find out what other people in other areas were doing and to share my experiences with them."

"There are a lot of problems at home. I came because of great interest. I wanted to learn how to deal with the problems we have and to learn (from other people) what problems I might be facing in the future."

"I was told that the session was on community organization and school desegregation. I wanted to know especially about community organization because I have been organizing at home. I hoped that by working in the community, I could somehow influence school desegregation. I also like to meet people."

"I felt that I could get a lot out of it."

"When I found out it was dealing with desegregation, I was very interested."

"My community needed to have someone come and see what other people are doing who have similar problems."

"I came to find out what was coming down and perhaps find ways to improve the situation at home regarding school desegregation and Students' Rights."

"I came because I felt I would learn something. I was excited about the resource people. I wanted to meet people."

"I wanted to meet students from different states and gather information."

"I came because I am involved in my community and school. I hoped to get valuable information and training in order to deal with my situation, that is, the problems of my community."

"It was a last minute decision. When I heard it concerned Black students, I decided to come."

Question: What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

"I learned how to get people together."

"I uncovered a whole new dimension of organizing. I gained even more than I had hoped. I met people whose heads were in the same place as mine and met geniuses in the field of dealing with people. I know now what positive direction of action I will take in my community."

"I have gained a lot and intend to put it to use."

"I gained a lot of insight -- insight to a better understanding of all things dealing with desegregation -- insight into ways of coping with these issues."

"I feel better since I've been here."

"I gained insight into ways of changing/improving conditions. I also learned more about some of the resources in the area of school desegregation."

"I have gained self-understanding and confidence that I'am right in a lot of things. I've gained determination and excellent knowledge of problems and how to deal with them."

"I've learned a lot about the different resource people. I've learned how to utilize role play and how to conduct group discussions. I've learned how to communicate with people."

"I've learned about the free lunch program which will be most helpful to me in my projects at home. I've learned of the different situations that exist in other schools and other states."

"I have gained added motivation to confront problems that I will be facing -- exposure to ideas, principles, and practices that I feel will greatly enhance what I'am trying to do. It showed me a new dimension -- what problems other people face."

"I've learned a lot about community organizing -- ways meetings should be conducted, skills on how to communicate. I've learned that many of our problems result from a lack of communication, the way we've been taught, and the different roles we've been thrown into. I've also learned that Blacks and Whites should try to relate."

"I have learned a lot of things at the session. I've learned how to communicate with other people. I plan to go home and utilize the things I have learned."

"I received a tremendous amount of information from the resource people. I also received a spiritual boost from meeting with people who share similar interests; who are really committed to doing something about their concerns.

Question: What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

"It seemed that the routine was too heavy. Throwing one resource person after another got to be too much - I was getting frustrated. Although I was getting all the facts, I didn't seem to be able to put them into working order in my mind. I believe that if we had had half the resource people, half the communications people, then return to the rest of the resource people and finish with the communications resources, it would have been less frustrating."

"Overall, I can't see anything wrong with the conference. It was near perfect. The program was flexible enough for everyone."

"My perceptions of people broadened having been with them. We handled all hassles like a family, therefore, the Institute showed sincerity, honesty, and the whole structure of the program was well-planned and flexible."

"Everyone was concerned about everyone else and the meetings were carried on sufficiently to get people to participate. Overall, I appreciate the whole program. It not only helped us with school problems, but also taught us the real need to form coalitions with Black and White students."

Conclusion:

It is the general feeling of the group that the program was helpful in that the objectives, for the most part, were met. The program was so well planned that it was easy for the group to adjust to the rate of learning. However, there were minor problems with extra-curricula activities coupled with the intensive pace, resulting in a general physical breakdown. This was later attributed to an oversight of responsibility on the part of the students.

As a family, not a group, it is felt that such programs provide a meaningful learning experience and we firmly recommend that it be continued.

INSTITUTE SCHEDULE

Sunday, August 15, 1971

12:00 noon - 7:00 p.m.	Registration of Participants
	Dinner
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Opening Session: 1) Housekeeping details 2) Review of the Schedule for the Institute 3) Formation of two Seminar Groups 4) Formation of Committees 5) Warm-Up Exercise
	Opening Address, Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Monday, August 16, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I The Case History of the School Desegregation Movement - Julius Chambers
	Session II The Implications of the Segregated Academy Movement for the School Desegregation Movement - Kitty Terjen
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Session I Analysis of the Institution of Public Education - Dr. Carlisle Holler 1) Framework 2) Purpose

2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.		Session II Analysis of the Institution of Public Education - Tom Keating 1) Framework 2) Funding
3:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.		Break
3:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.		Reverse Groups for Session I and II
4:30 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.		Dinner Break/Recreation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.		The National/International, Regional, State and Local Implications of the School Desegregation Movement - Jean Fairfax
9:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.		Wrap-Up Session

Tuesday, August 17

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.		Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.		Session I The Effect and Impact of the Mass Media Upon Attitudinal Development - Paul Delaney Session II Government Programs in Education - ESAP, Title I - Mel Stephens, ESAP and John Pride, Title I
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.		Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon		Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.		Lunch Break/Recreation
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.		The In-School Situation - Panel of Students
4:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.		Dinner Break/Recreation

7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Private Organizations 1) Reaction to the In-School Situation 2) Organizations with regard to activities last year, and, if possible, giving some projections for this year. AFSC- Winifred Green NAACP Legal Defense Fund - Jean Fairfax Children's Foundation - Barbara Splain Atlanta Urban League - Tom Keating
9:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Wrap-Up Session

Wednesday, August 18, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I Resources Indentification and Mobilization and the How-To-Do-It of Newspapers - David Abel, Dean Joseph Hendricks, Pat Watters Session II School Lunch Programs - Barbara Splain
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation - Planned Recreation Program
2:00 p.m. -	Mid-Week Break

Thursday, August 19, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Community Organization Skills and Techniques - Hayes Mizell, Andrew Young, Leon Hall, Andrew Marrisett

12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Speech/Discussion on Community Organization and Nonviolence as a Way of Life - A Strategy and Technique.
7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Dinner

Friday, August 20, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Community Organization Skills and Techniques - Andrew Marrisett, Leon Hall

Saturday, August 21, 1971

9:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Opening Session
10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Field Trip
2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Field Trip Follow-up - Joel Jacobson and Dorothy Cotton

Sunday, August 22, 1971

2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Lecture and Discussion of Eric Erickson's Seven States of Psycho-Social Development - Dr. Grace Scully
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	You and Your Self Image - Dorothy Cotton

Monday, August 23, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Communications Skills - Dr. William Dufford, Moses Rabb, Connie Rowland

12:00 noon - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Communications Follow-Up - William Dufford, Moses Rabb, Connie Rowland
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Training in the Group Conversation Method - Dr. Rachel Dubois and Bernice Coffer
3:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break/Recreation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Students Rights - Laughlin McDonald

Tuesday, August 24, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Morning Session Skills Practice in Relations to the Back Home Situation
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	General Session
3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Reading Period/Survey
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Feedback from Skills Practice and/or Reading Session

Wednesday, August 25, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Wrap-Up Evaluation

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:

PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOUTH IN 1970 - 71

Prepared for the School Desegregation Project

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

by

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Director of Research

January, 1971

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:
PRESPECTIVES ON THE SOUTH IN 1970-71

This brief essay on the history and significance of public school desegregation in the South is aimed primarily at the young people who are most deeply involved in it. It is written at a time when many persons--young and old; conservative and radical; black and white--are dubious about both the prospects and the merits of an integrated society. But this is also a time when the chance for young people to promote equality of opportunity and contribute to the cause of human rights is perhaps greater than ever before.

I

Almost seventeen years have passed since the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in the public schools. The high school juniors and seniors of today were born at about the same time the decision was made. There are today ten-and-a-half million public school pupils in the southern states; more than nine million of them were born after school segregation was declared unconstitutional.

It is a remarkable fact, however, that school desegregation, after all these years, is a new experience for the vast majority of the children of the South. We do not know yet just how many students are attending desegregated schools, but we do know that the number is very high, so high that desegregated schools are now the rule rather than the exception. This change has come about quite recently. Two years ago, during the 1968-69 school year, only one out of five black children attended desegregated schools. In 1965 the figure was one out of twenty; and in 1963, nine years after the Supreme Court decision, it was about one in a hundred. As late as 1962 there were no desegregated public schools to be found anywhere in the states of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

What this means, among other things, is that the real challenge and responsibility of putting into effect the Supreme Court's 1954 decision rests with today's generation of public school students. These young people are to be the real pioneers of widespread public school desegregation. A small number of heroic youth pioneered in the era of tokenism, but it is today's youth who must demonstrate whether the principles established seventeen years ago are workable in society at large.

II

The history of the struggle for desegregated public schools is central to the struggle for human rights. Perhaps

more than any other single issue, school desegregation reveals the real nature of equal opportunity and human dignity.

Before World War II, only a small number of advanced civil rights leaders demanded an immediate end of the segregated public school system. Most of the people who worked for greater human rights skirted the issue of segregation. Instead of attacking it, they tried to broaden rights and opportunities within the Jim Crow system. In the South, they supplied legal aid to intimidated blacks, agitated for an end to police brutality, urged equal pay for equal work, tried to encourage greater and more accurate reporting of black accomplishments, and campaigned against the most blatant abuses of blacks, such as lynching. Some of the 1930's-type civil rights workers believed that the separate societies really could be equal. Others knew better but felt that an attack on segregation would endanger the few gains that had already been made, or were likely to be made in the near future.

World War II and its aftermath brought a change in this situation. Public opinion was altered by many factors, important among them being the war itself. Americans fought abroad against the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority, but they fought with a segregated army, navy, and air force; and, at home, they did little to change their own racist customs and institutions. This contrast was a strong influence in causing human rights advocates to press harder for fundamental changes. Black leaders, in greater numbers and with more force than ever before,

began to argue that no genuine progress could be made until segregation was destroyed. With black militancy rising, white civil rights workers were nudged into more forthright positions.

But a change in public opinion and a more determined civil rights stance were not enough to breach the walls of segregation. Something more direct and more powerful was required. That force was furnished by the legal arm of the N.A.A.C.P.

Since the 1930's, the lawyers of the N.A.A.C.P. had been taking cases to court that involved the old "separate but equal" ruling handed down in 1896. Through a series of brilliantly argued cases, each based on a solid factual foundation, the Association's attorneys forced the Supreme Court to do something it had never done before--to look closely at the real meaning of separate but equal. By 1950 the Court had made it clear that "separate" in practice meant "unequal."

It was against this background that the N.A.A.C.P. took to the Court the series of cases in the early 'fifties that came to be known as Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka. The Association knew that it would have no difficulty proving gross inequality in the physical facilities of the separate school systems, and its brief vividly portrayed the appalling discrimination of southern school boards. However, a decision was made not to limit the argument to mere physical inequality.

Thurgood Marshall, then general counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., was determined to show that the separation of the races (no matter how "equal" the facilities) made equal educational opportunity impossible. His elaborate brief showed that segregation

was unconstitutional, immoral, educationally self-defeating, and psychologically harmful to the children who were its victims. In essence, his argument stated that segregation was the most obvious and oppressive expression of white supremacy. Black children were separated from white children because whites regarded them as inferior human beings. The separate schools stamped on the black children a badge of inferiority that did them irreparable harm.

Finally, Marshall's argument had much broader implications. So long as American society permitted blacks to be treated as less than equal, there was no hope for them to attain a fair chance in areas other than education. Thus, the original argument for the integration of public schools was part of a larger demand for the ultimate destruction of all aspects of racist public policy.

The Supreme Court accepted Marshall's argument. On May 17, 1954, it held that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. The decision was a source of great pride on the part of American blacks. It had been a white man during a white man's war who had issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Now, it was the force of black men that had brought about a reinterpretation of the Constitution, and the black pride in the school desegregation decision was coupled with an awareness that the new movement they had launched was to be part of a larger struggle for freedom.

The adults won the court decision, but the young people had to make it a reality. The young blacks who pioneered the

first stages of the desegregation era showed courage and cool heroism in the face of constant turmoil and danger. One black junior, for example, attended a high school basketball game. He was the only black in the gym (and only one of two blacks in the school). His white schoolmates showered him with insults and shocking abuse. A white friend, an adult who had gone with him, remarked, "I don't know how you can take such treatment." "You don't know how I can take it because you haven't ever had to take it," the student explained. And then he added: "I know that just by sticking it out I'm going to help end the whole system of segregation; and that can make you go through anything." There were many students like this one--those who braved the taunts of nearly insane mobs or were beaten by enraged ruffians; and those who endured daily slights and insults in a lonely and hostile white school.

III

The history of the struggle for public school desegregation since 1954 is too involved and complex to trace here. The essential part of the story, though, is that resistance in the South was so massive and so violent that the enforcement efforts of the federal government seemed feeble by contrast. Ten years were to pass before Congress backed up the Supreme Court with positive legislation. It finally passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that provided for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to establish guidelines for school desegregation.

The pace of desegregation picked up after this, but HEW did not act boldly, and southern schools were permitted to evade genuine compliance by a variety of means, the most common of which were so-called "freedom of choice" plans. Freedom of choice, in fact, meant that desegregation was carefully contained. This subterfuge was finally outlawed by the Supreme Court, when it reversed its own original "all deliberate speed" doctrine and said that full-scale desegregation could no longer be delayed. It was this recent court decision, Holmes v. Alexander (October, 1969), that was primarily responsible for the great increase in desegregation in 1970.

The long and shameful history of evasion has done much to discredit desegregation. Disillusionment also stems from the way in which desegregation has taken place. In too many instances it has reenforced the existing racism, or at least failed to diminish it. In too many instances black people have been made to feel victimized by the very social change that was meant to free them from the degradations of a segregated system.

Examples of this kind of desegregation are all to plentiful. Sadly, they have multiplied alarmingly this year as Senator Walter F. Mondale wrote recently, "Segregated classrooms are replacing segregated schools. Five thousand black teachers have lost their jobs. The black child has been brought across town to the white school, but his athletic trophies have been left behind, and often he or she cannot play in the band or be a cheerleader or run for homecoming queen." What this kind of desegregation cruelly says, essentially, is that blacks should

be grateful to be admitted to white schools and should cheerfully put up with whatever deprivations and insults they may meet.

IV

As the history of the last seventeen years clearly shows, the job of dismantling the old system of segregated schools has been an enormously difficult one. Even more difficult, however, has been the task of creating truly integrated schools--schools in which blacks and whites join together in common enterprises, free of the schackles of racist customs and fears, bound by mutual respect and understanding.

From the beginning of the struggle, the goal has been to achieve integrated schools. Achievement of that goal has been made difficult by the struggle simply to get white and black students enrolled in the same schools. Now, however, the tide is turning in the battle for desegregation: mixed schools, however badly the "mix" has been brought about, are now commonplace. The task of the future--a task in which students themselves may play a major part--is to convert technically desegregated schools into creatively integrated ones.

Schools exist, or at least should exist, to serve students: to strengthen their characters, improve their minds, help them better to fulfill their own potential as human beings. The black and white people who began the fight for integration a generation ago had uppermost in their minds the physical, spiritual, and intellectual welfare of young people. That goal

needs to be reaffirmed and clarified today, and the new pioneers of integration--the South's present generation of young people--share with their elders the responsibility of making certain now that the desegregation of public schools is made to serve the needs of students and that the goals bravely set forth a generation ago are fully realized.

File copy.

THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN:

School Desegregation 1970-1971

THE SOUTH AND HER CHILDREN:

School Desegregation 1970-1971

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

March, 1971

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Introduction 3

The Region in Perspective—Paul M. Gaston 5

Charlotte, North Carolina: "A Little Child Shall Lead Them"—Pat Watters 21

Mobile, Alabama: The Essence of Survival —Robert E. Anderson, Jr. 38

Beaufort, South Carolina: The New Breed and the Old—Betsy Fancher 50

Athens, Georgia: Where Busing Works— Horace N. Barker, Jr. 56

White Flight: The Segregation Academy Movement— Kitty Terjen 69

Black Students Speak: "They're Looking to us as Examples" 80

INTRODUCTION

For a number of years the Southern Regional Council has issued periodic reports on school desegregation. These reports have, properly, analyzed federal governmental policy, court decisions, local administrative responses and the statistical results of those actions.

In the summer of 1970, as we planned this year's report, we sensed that the 1970-71 school year would be the most crucial one since 1954. More importantly, we agreed that now was the time to determine what was happening to education, to the children.

As a measure of our priorities, we assigned six staff members to the study. Each is identified in the report. The work was coordinated by our Research Department; the full report was edited by Robert E. Anderson, Jr. A number of other persons on the staff and outside the agency assisted with the research or read portions of the manuscript. We are grateful to them all for sharing with us the sense of the crucial importance of public education in the region at this time.

The report begins with a general appraisal of school desegregation in the region and concludes with a discussion by four black high school students who explain in concrete, specific terms what their first year of desegregated schooling has meant to them. In between are four community studies and an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement. The four communities each reflect a different facet of the larger story. Three of the cities—Athens, Charlotte, and Mobile—were before the Supreme Court in October, 1970, and it seemed wise to report in detail on the crucial issues arising from their experience.

The report reveals, I believe, that those who say that segregation problems are solved direct attention away from the very real ones that remain, and support away from those trying to solve them. Those who, on the other hand, say all is lost have much the same effect, and encourage further retreat of the federal government and opinion leaders from the national commitment to equal education.

Emerging from this report is one highly significant point. Six sensitive and competent individuals went their own ways, essentially, to produce sections of the total. Some surveyed better situations, some the worst. Each independently concluded that the important and hopeful factor was that the students were there and involved in determining their own destiny.

This is, of course, an unfinished report. And, tragically, it probably cannot be finished for a number of years. Just as we have lost so much precious time and done so much human damage by stupidity, viciousness, and ignorance, so we seem destined to do more. Yet, we must educate our young. We must have faith in them. Perhaps, now, at least we have begun to do both.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

THE REGION IN PERSPECTIVE

By Paul M. Gaston

I: The Numbers Game

The 1970 school year has been widely celebrated as a watershed in the long struggle for the desegregation of southern schools: sixteen years after the Supreme Court declared segregation to be unconstitutional white and black children of the region seemed finally to be going to school together.

Early in the fall, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson announced that all but 76 of the South's some 2,700 schools districts—97% of the total —were desegregated, and that 90.5% of the region's white and black students were attending schools in desegregated districts.[1] President Nixon boasted of the achievement, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, one of his most articulate counselors, fairly glowed with optimism. In a New York *Times* guest column, Moynihan reported that black children attending schools in desegregated districts had soared from 4.3% in 1967 and 6.1% in 1968 to 90% in 1970. It was with good reason, he believed, that the Southern Regional Council, in 1968, had issued a critical report entitled *Lawlessness and Disorder: Fourteen Years of Failure in Southern School Desegregation.*[2] Two years later it was a different world. When he took leave of federal service to return to Harvard, Moynihan appeared to be saying that no such report would ever be required again, for "that great symbol of racial segregation, the dual school system in the South, virtually intact two years ago, has quietly and finally been dismantled."[3]

To most southern veterans of the school desegregation struggle, the Administration appeared to be playing a deceptive game of numbers. To report desegregation progress in terms of *districts* said to be in compliance resulted in high figures but said nothing about the desegregation of *schools.* It obscured the fact that the pattern of segregation within so-called desegregated districts was widespread, and reinforced the fear that

[1] HEW News, October 22, 1970. This news release understated the number of public school students in the South by more than a million. (In this report, as in HEW figures, "South" means the eleven states of the old Confederacy.)

[2] New York *Times,* September 22, 1970. Moynihan pointedly endorsed SRC's 1968 report, which was critical of the enforcement policies of the Johnson Administration, but was silent about its 1969 report—*The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation*—which was critical of the Nixon Administration.

[3] New York *Times,* December 23, 1970.

the Administration's retreat from school desegregation, begun in 1969, was in 1970 going to be frozen into a policy that would condone extensive segregation as a permanent condition in the region.

Not until mid-January—months after the original data had made their impact—did HEW release figures concerning the actual extent of school desegregation. According to these preliminary estimates, which may not be accurate but are the only comprehensive ones available, 38.1% of southern black students are enrolled in schools with a predominantly white student body; 20.4% attend predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attend desegregated schools in which the enrollment is 80% or more black; and 18.4% attend all-black schools.[4]

These figures do in fact reflect a significant increase in school desegregation. It would be fair to say that, for the first time, school desegregation in one degree or another is the rule rather than the exception for the children of the South. This is a far cry, however, from the final dismantling of the dual system; and the mere numbers which the Administration celebrates scarcely justify Secretary Richardson's boast that they "show clearly and dramatically that unprecedented progress has been made in school desegregation since 1968."[5] Senator Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, put the matter more accurately. "We have begun to tear down the outward manifestations of legal segregation," he wrote in December, "but we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a mutual respect."[6]

II: Federal Policy and National Commitment

The destruction of the "outward manifestations of legal segregation," while accelerated this year, has proceeded unevenly and largely within restrictive bounds set by the Administration. Most of the momentum for the move, moreover, came from the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision (October, 1969)—a decision opposed by the Administration. In that case, the Court set aside its own "deliberate speed" doctrine, replacing it with a mandate to desegregate forthwith. The Administration, already deep in its policy of enforcement slowdown, was faced in 1970 with the task of finding a viable means of complying with the Court's decisions without abandoning its cautious and restricted approach.

In March the President announced his policy. On the one hand, he would have the government prosecute deliberate and official acts of segre-

---

[4] HEW News, January 14, 1971. Comparative percentages of the extent of desegregation for 1970 (estimated) and 1968 are as follows:

	1970	*1968*
Blacks as a percentage of school population	27.2%	26.6%
Blacks in majority white schools	38.1	18.4
Blacks in schools 50%-79.9% black	20.4	2.8
Blacks in schools 80%-99.9% black	23.1	10.8
Blacks in all-black schools	18.4	68.0

[5] HEW News, January 14, 1971.

[6] Walter F. Mondale, "Think of These Children," *New Republic*, December 26, 1970, p. 15.

gation. On the other, while recognizing the legitimacy of busing as a means of implementing various assignment plans, he would support the neighborhood school as essential to public education and he would oppose the transportation of students beyond what he called normal geographic school zones to achieve the disestablishment of the dual system.

Officials of HEW and the Justice Department operated within this framework during the summer, exerting pressure on districts still not in compliance, and multidistrict suits were brought in Mississippi and Texas. Meanwhile, Charlotte, North Carolina, and Athens, Georgia, each in different ways, implemented plans that were at odds with the Nixon doctrine. In both places the old dual system was in fact disestablished: through a combination of zoning and pairing, and with the extensive use of free transportation, unitary systems were established in which there were no white schools, no black schools, just schools. Both plans were taken on appeal to the Supreme Court. In Mobile, a plan which was closer to the Nixon ideal—and one which retained segregated schools—was likewise appealed to the Court. All three cases were argued in late October and the Court's decision was expected to resolve at least some of the argument over the extent to which segregated schools are permissible in "unitary" districts.

While the Court studied the cases before it, the Administration continued its attempt to persuade the American public not only that desegregation was operating smoothly and largely without violence, but that the major objectives of the *Brown* decision were on the verge of being realized in the South. Whether white Americans would agree that what Mr. Moynihan once called "benign neglect" should now be prescribed for the racial and school problems of the South, they appeared increasingly receptive to the government's arguments. Obsessed with inflation, unemployment, pollution of the air and water, drug abuse, a baffling and irreverent youth culture—not to mention crime in the streets, revolt on the campus, pornography at the movies, and the war in Vietnam—most white Americans in 1970 seemed eager to believe that school desegregation in the South was one thing that could be written off their list of concerns.

According to a Harris poll conducted at the end of the year, Americans did not consider school desegregation to be among the "top problems" with which Congress should be concerned—despite the fact that the Mondale Committee had by then compiled an impressive amount of evidence underscoring the need for Congressional action. Education ranked eighth in the list of priorities (behind student unrest) and racial problems fell in tenth place.[7] The President reflected this national complacency when he ignored desegregation in his assessment of the state of the union.

Shifting national concerns have combined with other developments to blunt the drive for genuine integration. For one thing, the long-standing alliance between civil rights forces and the federal government, weakened in the last years of the Johnson Administration and shattered in the first year of the Nixon Administration, has shown no signs of coming to life

[7] Harris Survey, Washington *Post*, January 4, 1971.

again. As one veteran civil rights leader remarked at a strategy meeting in the fall, "you used to be able to telephone Washington; at least somebody would listen sympathetically. Now, there's nobody to talk to." Within the government, to make matters worse, officials charged with civil rights enforcement resigned to protest the lack of leadership and commitment from the President, and many of their replacements lack both the experience and the will to pursue desegregation effectively.[8]

Added to the diminished influence of civil rights leaders and the resignation of their friends from HEW and the Justice Department is the crystallization of another development that threatens to give intellectual and moral respectability to the dissipation of the desegregation effort. For sometime now—especially since racial problems have rent the North as well as the South—white Northern liberals, once sympathetic to school desegregation, have begun to have second thoughts. In student radical circles, where the crusade for integration was once a passionate concern, the issue has been shelved along with other *passé* delusions of the liberal establishment. Reinforcing the will to retreat of both groups, many outspoken blacks (primarily Northern) now add to their devastating critique of white-dominated desegregation the cry for black control of community schools as the only realistic alternative to the white man's sham pretensions to equal treatment. Continued failure in the South could scarcely help but strengthen the hand of those whose doubt and disillusionment is already high.

III: The "Unitary" System

It was in this atmosphere of administrative caution and national uncertainty that the new era of the unitary school system spread across the South in 1970. In *Green v. New Kent County, Virginia* (1968), the Supreme Court defined a unitary school system as one "without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools." It is this kind of system that allegedly exists in 97% of the southern school districts.

Granted the vagueness of the definition of a unitary system, one could hardly imagine an interpretation that would accommodate the kinds of situations that abound in the region. Not only do segregated schools exist on a wide scale within many "unitary" districts, but even within desegregated schools methods both ingenious and disingenuous have been used to separate blacks from whites and to place both psychological and physical burdens on black students. Classroom segregation, for example, was discovered in 273 of 467 districts monitored in September for one major study of compliance in the region.[9] The separation was sometimes arranged without apology or justification, but more frquently as the con-

[8] In an attempt to deny the significance of the resignations, then Assistant Attorney General William Ruckelhaus told an audience at Mount Holyoke College that the resignations of nineteen civil rights division lawyers between January and June could be regarded as "normal attrition." Washington *Post*, October 21, 1970.

[9] American Friends Service Committee; Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches; Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; and Washington Research Project, *The Status of School Desegregation in the South, 1970*, p. 31.

sequence of a greatly expanded "ability tracking" system, a method of assignment that has been widely perverted to perpetuate segregation.

The purpose of the *Brown* decision was to prohibit the unconstitutional practice of school segregation and to eliminate the kinds of discrimination that did irreparable harm to Negro students. Under the unitary system presently in operation, desegregation has all to frequently substituted new forms to perpetuate old injustices.

For example, unitary systems have frequently been created by closing down (or downgrading) formerly all-black schools and shifting the black students to the "white" schools. In the process, the blacks are the ones who take the longest bus rides, and when they get to school they find that "unitary" means preservation of the white school, with its traditions and symbols (and often its old school officers), and obliteration of the distinctive features of the black school. Discrimination in school activities further impresses on blacks the attitude that they are pawns in a white man's game.

Compounding the hurt, black students find that the authority figures who once gave them pride and a sense of security—generally their principals, but also many of their teachers and coaches—have been dismissed or demoted, and they face in their new schools a white authority structure rendered even more insidious by the proliferation of "assistant" principals who once were persons of commanding authority. As one black group put it, "Many students merely find themselves in a new world with no Black anchors to hang onto, as they try to adjust. They are faced with new standards, new teachers, new rules, new curriculums."[10] In those cases in which whites are transferred to formerly all-black schools, fumigation teams have sometimes preceded them, acting out an ancient white prejudice, now referred to cynically as "deniggerizing" the old school. These indignities, and others that will be discussed subsequently, proceed from a combination of mindlessness, sometimes well-intentioned, and deeply embedded racism, often only vaguely sensed.

If the federal government anticipated praise for facilitating this kind of "unitary system," and if it felt that its "unprecedented progress" would prevent the appearance of harsh judgments of its performance, it must have been sorely disappointed, for this has been a banner year for critical evaluations.

In a searing report published in December, the Washington Research Project and five associated groups concluded that, overall, "the progress of desegregation is in imminent danger of failure if new and stronger policies are not implemented at the federal level."[11] The Washington *Post* called the report "cheerless" and observed that "one can hardly escape astonishment at the meannesses and cruelties revealed by the study."[12] The Administration's Emergency School Assistance Program, hastily devised to underwrite programs aimed at making desegregation effective,

---

[10]The Educational Resources Center, *Racism and the Desegregating Process: A Mississippi Study* (December, 1970), p. 21.
[11]*Status of School Desegregation*, p. 1.
[12]Washington *Post*, December 26, 1970.

was faulted by the same group. HEW was accused, among other things, of "acquiescence in fraud perpetrated by local school officials."[13]

Two additional studies—one by the National Education Association and one by the Race Relations Information Center—revealed in detail the shocking plight of black teachers and principals. The NEA, focusing on Mississippi and Louisiana, reported "massive displacement of black educators" and quoted with approval the judgment of Rims Barber of the Delta Ministry that

> Black teachers are being emasculated and stripped of their standing before their own communities. Teachers with years of experience are being assigned as teacher aides or assistants to white teachers. New job categories are being created; black Mississippians will explain to you that "Co-principal is short for colored principal."[14]

The RRIC special report surveyed the entire region, concluding that "the apparent effect of desegregation on black teachers across the South this year has been more negative than positive." Rather than helping to expand the professional opportunities of black teachers, school desegregation is contracting them. Hundreds of black teachers "have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning, and the teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks."[15]

IV: Resistance and Oppression

Writing last summer, Paul Rilling, the former southeastern regional civil rights director of HEW, said that "in the last analysis, the results in 1970-71 will depend on the posture of the federal government." Like his superior, Leon Panetta, Mr. Rilling had resigned to protest the weakening of the federal will to enforce desegregation. Further progress was dependent on the federal government, Rilling declared, because "sweeping changes will not come voluntarily in the South in 1970, any more than in other years."[16]

There have been (as will be seen later in this report) many remarkable changes, some instituted voluntarily. Of more than symbolic significance, for example, one thinks of Yolanda King, whose father once struggled to explain to her why he could not take her to Fun Town in Atlanta, now president of the junior class at the predominantly white Henry Grady High School; or, of Virginia Holton, whose father, the Governor of Virginia, could have sent her elsewhere, attending overwhelmingly black John F. Kennedy High School, and becoming a cheerleader.

---

[13] *The Emergency School Assistance Program: An Evaluation*, p. 61. According to another critic, "the $75 million in emergency school funds . . . was intended to be used and was used mostly as a straight payoff for their minimal compliance with the law. President Nixon's personal order was to 'get that money out there' and it was gotten 'out there,' as often as not in flagrant disregard of the nominal requirement that school districts receiving it abandon or correct any and all forms of racial discrimination in the schools." John Osborne, "Call it Desegregation," *New Republic*, January 30, 1971, p. 5.

[14] National Education Association, *Report of Task Force III—School Desegregation: Louisiana and Mississippi* (November, 1970), p. 5.

[15] Robert W. Hooker, *Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States* (Nashville: Race Relations Information Center, December, 1970), p. 1.

[16] *South Today*, July-August, 1970, p. 6.

But the unfortunate truth is that, given ample opportunity by federal enforcement policies, too many southern school leaders not only failed to institute "sweeping changes" but showed instead that they were still able both to frustrate the intent of federal law and damage the welfare of the children in their charge.

The frustration of court orders and HEW-approved plans was widespread. Governor Holton tried to set a good example by sending his daughter to a predominantly black school, but other leaders were defiant. George Wallace advised Mobilians to defy the law by placing their children in schools of their choice; Lester Maddox told Georgians to exercise "freedom-of-choice," whatever the courts might have ordered; and John Bell Williams, Governor of Mississippi, both counseled resistance and dramatized his personal opposition to desegregation by putting his children in private school.

The examples set by these and other unreconstructed leaders were taken to heart by thousands of private citizens and hundreds of public officials; and they found numerous ways of preventing enforcement of the law. In Mobile, for example, more than a thousand children turned up at schools to which they were not assigned. William B. Crane, chairman of the Board of School Commissioners, gave them moral encouragement by describing the court-ordered plan as "asinine." It was made by federal officials, he remarked, "and they can enforce it."[17]

Elsewhere, in less well-publicized incidents, white parents adopted all sorts of strategies to keep their children out of the newly desegregated schools. In some districts parents falsified their addresses to get their children preferred assignments. For example, a Florida school board put nine agents to work to track down parents said by the superintendent to be "lying and cheating to circumvent the court order."[18] In other areas, such as Hartsville, South Carolina, and Birmingham, Alabama, school officials appeared to raise no objection to illegal transfers. U. W. Clemon, a Legal Defense Fund attorney in Birmingham, claimed that "10,000 white students in Jefferson County alone are openly attending classes in schools where they were not assigned in violation of the court's desegregation order."[19]

Added to these evasions of the law and the insidious forms of classroom segregation discussed earlier, the 1970-71 school year has been characterized by a disturbing increase of numerous forms of in-school discrimination. Almost no form of discrimination that one can imagine has been left untried. The most common have been the exclusion of black students from school organizations, the selection of all-white homecoming courts, and the use of symbols and songs ("Rebel" and "Dixie") reminiscent of a racist tradition.

Tensions produced by in-school discrimination have caused most of the confrontations and violence accompanying the expansion of desegrega-

[17]New York *Times*, September 10, 1970; Washington *Post*, September 10, 1970.
[18]Miami *Herald*, September 18, 1970.
[19]New York *Times*, September 14, 1970; Los Angeles *Times*, October 8, 1970.

tion. The "Dixie" issue, which has wracked schools in all parts of the region, is an instructive example.

At Butler High School, in Huntsville, Alabama, black students (who numbered 302 of the total enrollment of 2,581) objected to the playing of "Dixie" at football games, the use of "Rebels" as the team name, and the display of the Confederate battle flag as the school flag. At a pre-game pep rally in the fall, black students walked out when "Dixie" was played and the Confederate flag waved; some returned later and tore down the flag. In the days that followed, black students—joined by high school and college students from the area—staged a march, 113 black Butler High students were suspended, students engaged police in a fight, mace was used to suppress the protestors, eight black students were arrested, and at one point a planeload of riot equipment was flown in from Chicago to be available to the police.

During the controversy the school superintendent agreed to consider the banning of "Dixie" as well as the display of the Confederate flag. White parents resented the move, insisted that no consideration be given the request of the black students, and in the midst of one mass meeting they all joined in a chorus of "Dixie." When the next football game was played few black student spectators showed up, and several black team members stayed away. The band held back until the fourth quarter when it responded to shouts of "we want Dixie," playing the tune while Confederate banners waved.[20]

"Victory celebrations" of this sort say much about the problems of racial adjustment in the desegregated schools, and failure to see them for what they are accounts for much of the anguish that schools, and their students, have experienced. In South Carolina, for example, the Columbia superintendent noted that the band leaders themselves had decided not to use Dixie. "Of course, to me," he said in an interview, "Dixie is a very beautiful tune. . . . But there is other beautiful music that can be substituted for it. We feel that inconsequential things like that should be avoided if there is any danger of causing conflict."[21]

The belief that quarrels over such issues as "Dixie" are essentially "inconsequential" is apparently held by many white schoolmen, not to mention those farther removed from the scene. Dr. Cyril B. Busbee, State Superintendent of Education in South Carolina, illustrated this attitude in a recent speech before the state's high school principals. Dwelling largely on disciplinary complications brought about by the change to a unitary system, he said that a "school with inadequate discipline cannot conduct a productive program," and then deplored "unwarranted and unnecessary bickering over issues that were essentially trivial . . . such matters as school colors and mascots."[22]

In what used to be ordinary times, when student bodies were more-or-less homogeneous, agitation over such matters as school songs and colors

[20]Birmingham *News*, October 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 1970.
[21]Columbia (S. C.), *The State*, August 30, 1970.
[22]Columbia (S. C.) *The State*, January 9, 1971.

no doubt could be regarded as "inconsequential" and "trivial." The point, of course, is that these are not ordinary times and student bodies are not homogeneous. To most black students, the strains of "Dixie" are laden with contempt for their dignity. Whites who insist on retaining the song are seen as insensitive and naive, at best; implacable enemies, at worst.

V: Violence and Intimidation

Much of the violence that has taken place this fall stems from the wounds to black sensitivity inflicted by schoolmen either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the racism in their institutions. Consider, for example, the case of Earle, Arkansas.

Earle is a small farming community of 3,000, some twenty miles from Memphis, in the Mississippi Delta. Approximately 60% of the population is black. The mayor, alderman, police chief, and school board members are all white. Earle's schools were desegregated at the beginning of the fall term. According to a special report prepared by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations:

> The mascot of the black school was dropped in favor of the mascot symbol of the white school. The principals of the formerly all black schools became assistant principals of the elementary school and the combined junior-senior high school. The black basketball coach became an assistant coach, although he was the senior coach in the district, and was deprived of his duties of teaching science. White cheerleaders had already been chosen by the students at Earle High, and no effort was made to add any blacks to their number.

Over the summer black leaders who anticipated many of these conditions asked for changes. When school opened, their worst fears were confirmed. In the elementary school:

> No white children were in a class in which they were in a minority; testimony indicated that in the whole system, with the exception of a remedial reading class, no black teachers taught any white children; all of the new teachers hired since last May have been white; rolls were called on a segregated basis—whites first, then blacks; classes were largely segregated except for some elective courses.

According to the report, School Superintendent Sam Bratten explained in Federal Court that ability testing accounted for classroom segregation, but then admitted "that exceptions were made to assign white students to all-white classes whether or not their ability scores justified it." He then explained that "in his judgment and that of the School Board, 'the parents would prefer the present arrangement.' A further question revealed that he was referring to white parents."

The black students in Earle protested against these conditions. Some three hundred walked out of class and began a march to the superintendent's office, where they intended to register their complaints in person. They never reached the office. They were told to disperse by the county sheriff; they obeyed his order. That night some thirty of the marchers, some as young as thirteen, were arrested for violating an anti-picketing ordinance passed during the summer. Arrested on a Monday night, they

were taken to the county jail, twenty miles distant in Marion, where they were held until Thursday when they were tried and convicted.

The abuse of the black students of Earle, and the swift crushing of their protest, exacerbated more general community racial tensions and sparked an adult march that resulted in beatings and more arrests. Federal court hearings led to an order for slight modifications of in-school discrimination practices, but many of the black students never returned to school. According to a count in November, some 390 of them were attending the newly organized "Soul Institute," an all-black "private academy," reported to be "beset by lack of funds, teachers, and materials."[23]

The confrontation at Earle is part of a story that has chapters in all parts of the South. A few examples can only suggest the kinds of abuse, violence, and intimidation that have been visited upon black students—the price they have paid for the "unitary" school districts in too many parts of the region.

—Black students in Coffeeville, Mississippi, began a boycott of their school when term opened. Nearly 1,100 students stayed out protesting a court-approved plan of segregation-by-sex. Student picketers were arrested, but District Judge William Keady subsequently ordered that the segregation-by-sex plan he had earlier approved be abandoned at the end of the semester. "It is now clear," he wrote, that "there is a strong unmistakable feeling in the black community in Coffeeville that this court put a stamp on a plan which calls for racial discrimination."[24]

—In East Tallahatchie, Mississippi, 125 black students were arrested on charges of trespassing and disturbing the peace. Protesting against the elimination of some school activities, a busing system that placed a greater burden on them than on white students, and against other actions of the school board, they were incarcerated in the maximum security camp at Parchman penitentiary because the county jail could not accommodate them.[25]

—In Bogalusa, Louisiana, 600 students released pent-up racial tension in a two-hour fight after a football game. School was subsequently closed while blacks picketed with signs reading "Integration on the Outside, Segregation on the Inside." [26]

—In Jacksonville, Florida, forty black students picketed in protest against being transferred from an accredited all-black school, which was closed, to the unaccredited Robert E. Lee High School. Some objected to attending a school named after a "white racist." The superintendent informed them that their former school was being closed under court order.[27]

—A demonstration of black students at South Iredell High School, in

---

[23]Arkansas Council on Human Relations, *Earle Report*, November 24, 1970.

[24]Jackson *Daily News*, September 30, October 11, 1970. Several hundred black students remained out of school throughout the first semester.

[25]Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times*, October 21, 22, 1970; Jackson *Daily News*, October 22, 1970.

[26]New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, September 15, 18, 1970; New York *Times*, September 15, 1970.

[27]Miami *Herald*, September 9, 1970.

North Carolina, protesting the absence of black students from the 15-girl homecoming court, led to 120 suspensions ("School Suspends Rebellious Blacks"), 22 arrests, and cancellation of the homecoming festivities.[28] In the neighboring county, at South Rowan High School, the decision of school authorities to ban "Dixie" as the fight song for the "Rebels" led to a walkout and protest by white students, supported by their parents. No whites were arrested and the ban on "Dixie" was lifted, at least for the time being.[29]

The repression and violence that have spread with school desegregation this year—of which these few examples are barely suggestive—are symptomatic of a malaise of frightening potential. As one SRC school desegregation field worker observed in late February, "the handwriting is on the wall." Student patience with administrative blundering and rigidity is wearing increasingly thin, and there has been no diminution of racial confrontations. Indeed, each week brings news of situations that should stand as warnings of the dangers that lie ahead.

At this critical juncture, responsible authorities must be awakened to the need for imaginative and constructive leadership. Unless there is a swift and substantial redirection of school policies, the frustrations and bitterness that have been building up throughout the year will almost surely erupt in the spring. Elections for next year's class officers, tensions caused by school proms, a more crowded social schedule, the warm weather, and the realization that a year is passing without fundamental problems being resolved—all of these are likely to result in protests and a round of repressive measures unmatched by what has happened already.

VI: Change and Hope

Studies of school desegregation have recorded and lamented the meanness and intransigence of the South and have faulted federal policy ever since the *Brown* decision, almost seventeen years ago. Events in the present year require continuation of that unhappy tradition; and the growing national feeling that the battle is no longer of much importance adds to its urgency. On the other hand, the changes that have taken place in the schools—some of them quite extraordinary—must be acknowledged, and the issues and challenges that lie ahead defined.

At one level, the kind of change that the South is witnessing can be measured by the grudging adjustment of whites who now accept desegregation as an inevitable fact of life. In Perry County, Mississippi, for example, a white construction worker was waiting nervously for his daughter at the end of her first day in the newly desegregated school. "If anything happens to my girl," he remarked, "if she's insulted by a nigra, I'll come over here and knock hell out of Adcox." Mr. Adcox, the principal, was pleased by the news: "That's great; that's progress," he observed. "Last year, the same man said he would shoot me if we desegregated the

[28]Raleigh *News & Observer,* September 29, 30, 1970; Charlotte *Observer,* September 29, 30; October 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 1970.

[29]Raleigh *News and Observer,* September 24, 25, 26; October 23, 1970; Charlotte *Observer,* September 24, 25, 26, 28, 29; October 1, 7, 1970.

school."[30]

Acceptance of the inevitable is variously manifested. It may appear in the pomposity of the bitter newspaper editor who scores HEW bureaucrats and rails at the extending tentacles of what he calls the "federal octopus," but takes a kind of perverse pride in boasting that the "success with which schools are being desegregated . . . is due to the determination of most Southerners, black and white, to comply with the law—regardless of how distasteful or unwise they might regard it."[31] Sometimes it is reflected in the way youngsters influence their parents, as in the case of the white high school student who told his parents he preferred the formerly all-black Booker T. Washington High School to the segregated academy they wanted him to attend. "We don't have any bad feelings about it," the mother confessed. "We're all resigned to it now."[32] And in other instances it will be revealed by the decision of a small town mayor, such as Lamar Munroe of Quincy, Florida, to spurn the white flight movement and send his daughter to the newly desegregated junior high school where blacks outnumber whites four-to-one.[33]

In some communities the ominous transfer of whites to the segregation academies has either slowed down or been reversed. In Port Allen, Louisiana, for example, a boycott begun last year cut white enrollment from 2,300 to 400. In September the number was up to 1,100, and the private schools in the area had dropped from seven to two. Similar results have been reported for nearby Evangeline and St. Landry parishes.[34]

In Indianola, Mississippi, desegregation in January 1970 emptied the public schools of their 991 white students. In September, some 200 of them returned, responding to the urgings of many white community leaders as well as to the financial pinch of private education. Pleading for support of those who would join the 2,500 blacks, a young coed from the town wrote that for the returning whites "going to public school here in Indianola requires a particular kind of bravery: the courage to live a life contrary to the established life style of their peer group."[35]

It is true that the segregation academy movement has expanded this year, with enrollment in private segregated schools up from 400,000 last spring to somewhere between 450,000 and 500,000 this year. Slightly more than 5% of the region's white students attend private segregated schools. Apart from the pernicious anti-democratic spirit encouraged by it, the movement is dangerous primarily because it threatens to create virtually all-black public school systems—poorly supported by public funds—in isolated and easily forgotten areas. Prince Edward County, Virginia, where the academy movement began, has never recovered from the white flight, and the danger lies in the multiplication, entrenchment, and acceptance of more Prince Edwards.

On the other hand, instances of white return to the public schools, such

[30]Washington *Post,* August 25, 1970.
[31]Columbia (S. C.) *The State,* August 29, 1970.
[32]Columbia (S. C.) *The State,* September 1, 1970.
[33]Atlanta *Journal and Constitution,* October 18, 1970.
[34]Washington *Post,* December 26, 1970.
[35]Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat-Times,* September 6, 1970.

as those cited above, add force to the argument that the movement will not be a pervasive one, even in majority black areas. Perhaps more important, these examples fit into the larger pattern of the growing acceptance of desegregation as the norm for southern education generally. According to a recent Harris poll, Southerners are almost evenly divided on the question of whether the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision, requiring desegregation without further delay, should be approved.[36]

At still another level, the change in the South can be seen in the slow and uneven remaking of southern power structures, and in the increased importance of the black vote and of black elected officials, including school board members. Seen in regional perspective, black influence on school boards is slight, but there already are examples of the differences that representation can make. In Wabbaseka, Arkansas, for example, black students launched a school boycott in the fall, protesting—among other things—the downgrading and dismissal of black personnel. Negotiations were at a standstill. The shift in power on the school board from white to black in December made it possible to deal directly with the issues.[37]

Grudging acceptance by the white majority and increasing black political power have helped to stiffen the will and enlarge the influence of hundreds of citizens groups working, with varying degrees of understanding, to make desegregation the agent of positive change. In Durham, North Carolina, a civic group called Women In Action To Prevent Violence And Its Causes worked feverishly through the summer to prepare the community to accept a new desegregation plan. After the first three weeks of school, the Legal Defense Fund attorney who had guided the suit against the city praised the successful implementation of the plan.[38] Civic groups like the one in Durham have been a part of school desegregation history since the days of "massive resistance" in the late 'fifties. In 1970, however, they appeared to have greater opportunities than ever before.

Likewise, the potential for good will that has always existed in the South has had a greater freedom to become a reality: as the fact of desegregation becomes more firmly established, the fetters that bound otherwise friendly and decent people have been loosened. Far too few have been emancipated from their fears and suspicions, but there are those who have responded positively and who stand as examples of what must happen in the region. More black and white parents than ever before—in PTA meetings, at athletic events, and in other school and community activities—exchange views frankly, come to know each other as people rather than as stereotypes, and forge a bond out of their common concern for the welfare and education of their children.

---

[36]According to the poll, 42% approve; 43% disapprove; and 15% are unsure. Washington *Post*, December 29, 1970. According to a Gallup poll taken last spring, only one white parent in six offered objection to sending his child to a school in which Negroes are enrolled; six out of ten objected in 1963. On the other hand, 69% objected to sending their children to schools where Negroes are in the majority, a decline from 86% who objected in 1963. New York *Times*, May 3, 1970.

[37]Little Rock *Arkansas Gazette*, December 17, 1970.

[38]Raleigh *News & Observer*, September 20, 1970.

VII: The Students and the Future

In some ways the most important development in school desegregation this year is the significant role students are assuming, and for that reason widespread awareness of the contributions they are capable of making in the future is badly needed. Until very recently, school desegregation was largely a matter for adults—adults who fought court battles, waged political contests, and quarreled over school assignment plans. For the most part, students responded, working out their own private adjustments to new situations. Now, however, there is a difference. Not only are most students in desegregated schools—a fact which in itself alters the situation—but the very newness of the experience permits them to bring a freshness to their situations that sets them apart from adults. This change has occurred, moreover, at a time when youth all over the country are increasingly aware of themselves as a force in their own right, capable of making their own decisions. The fortuitous coincidence of these two developments may yet turn out to be the most hopeful aspect of future school desegregation history.

To give encouragement and provide resources for constructive student activities, the Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project, launched early in the fall, began to work with college students in the region, promoting discussions between them and high school students. Pilot projects in Mississippi and Georgia along with numerous conferences of high school students have convincingly demonstrated the sharp awareness of young people, and have underscored their sense that adults have too frequently failed to understand the real meaning and the real challenge of desegregation.

It is, of course, a commonplace to say that the younger generation may solve the problems that have defeated their elders; and younger generations have a long history of turning out to be quite as blind and bigoted as their predecessors. Mindful of this caveat, though, it is nonetheless difficult to suppress optimism over some of the insights youth are bringing to the desegregation issue and to delay any longer stressing the urgent need for significant programs to support their efforts. It hardly needs to be added that imaginative and socially conscious students are in the minority, any more than it is necessary to labor the point that instances of true integration are too few. The point, of course, is that one learns from examples of wisdom and humanity (perhaps more than from recitations of mindlessness and maliciousness); and that in such examples one can see the way the future must and may be shaped.

When classes began last fall at John F. Kennedy High School in Richmond, Virginia, the enrollment was 90% black. Gregory Thomas, heading a welcoming committee of black students, turned to one of the nervous new white students. "We want to make you feel at home here," he said. "This is your school, too."[39] At another school in Richmond a youngster remarked that "the majority of whites that attend seem to accept the fact

[39]New York *Times*, September 1, 1970.

that the integrated system will educate us in more than one way."[40]

Both of these students were part of a pattern understood by a black principal in Charlotte who told an SRC reporter that "children are coming up in a brand new world." In Beaufort, South Carolina, an SRC reporter concluded that "despite the struggles, bitterness and concern of an older generation, integration has produced a new breed of student who is fighting for a flexible and innovative school system. . . ." A white high school student in Columbia, South Carolina, in a report for the School Desegregation Project, writes that black and white parents alike filled their children with apprehension during the summer before desegregation. "These attitudes of the older generation created a negative situation before the students even met," he observes, but even so he discovered that 54% of the white students and 64% of the black students in his school favored the change to complete desegregation.

In his recent study of the crisis in American education, Charles Silberman writes that schools fail to serve the real needs of students "less because of maliciousness than because of mindlessness." Like Procrustes, "stretching his guests or cutting off their limbs to make them fit the standard-sized bed his inn provided," he writes, "educators and scholars, frequently with the best of intentions, have operated on the assumption that children should be cut out or stretched or otherwise 'adjusted' to fit the schools, rather than adjusting the schools to fit the children. And most of us have tended to accept this without question."[41]

More than anything else, students today appear to be challenging the Procrustean habit of mind that determines the character of their schools. Black students who demonstrate against "Dixie" refuse to be squeezed into the bed of rebel patriotism; white students who upbraid their parents for imposing on them the racial shibboleths of another generation have outgrown the confining dimensions of the bed of white supremacy. Black and white students alike, in increasing numbers, are seeing the wisdom in the remark of a black student who told an SRC reporter in Athens that "Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes."

Short of open and warm interracial friendship—which for most students is still something for the future—the region needs imaginative programs that will promote greater communication and mutual respect. It also desperately needs to remove the sources of tension that produce violence and repression. These objectives can only be realized by rejecting the rigidity of the Procrustean mold; by recognizing that new situations demand new solutions. Among several examples, the story of Southern Nash Senior High School, in Stanhope, North Carolina, can serve as an instructive case study.

In the midst of what many once called "Klan Country," Southern Nash was desegregated in 1969 with a white-black ratio of 60-40. Most of the

---

[40]Richmond *News Leader*, September 1, 1970.

[41]Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 81.

students came from poor families, and few were without racial prejudices of one sort or another. With poor leadership, a nasty situation could easily have developed. It didn't. The principal appointed two teachers—-one black, one white—to serve as co-sponsors of the Student Cooperative Association, the student council. Sensitive and imaginative men, they saw immediately the need to scrap the old system. "Total integration had given Southern Nash a completely new situation," one of them has written, "so we felt the need to devise a wholly new student council." Although they later confessed to several anxious moments, the faculty sponsors put most of the responsibility of creating, and then running, the new student government on the students themselves.

At the outset the students saw that the principle of "majority rule"—however admirable it might be in theory—would work disaster in the early stages of desegregation. They got unanimous support for the principle of equality of representation and succeeded in creating a system that earned the pride and support of the students. Crises over such issues as the election of homecoming courts, the choice of cheerleaders, and the election of student delegates to a state conference were resolved smoothly, with final votes on critical questions of principle often unanimous.

In time the test came for majority voting. The occasion was the election of five delegates to a state conference. The choice was to be made by the student assembly. Louis Low, the white faculty co-sponsor, describes what happened:

> The assembly, which consisted of 23 whites and 17 blacks, did not want to establish any racial quotas for choosing its five delegates to the convention. I wondered if the whites would finally vote down the blacks!
>
> Looking over to Pulley [Herbert Pulley, the black co-sponsor of the student association], I saw that he shared my concern. Pulley . . . suggested to me that we remain silent and let the assembly proceed. The bridge must inevitably be crossed when the students would vote without any racial quotas and choose simply on the basis of merit.
>
> We crossed our fingers while the assembly voted. The ballots were counted—three whites and two blacks were elected. Pulley and I breathed a sigh of relief.

Looking back on the experiences of the first year, Low confessed that "we did not achieve perfect racial harmony. . . . But, on the other hand, we did attain an acceptance of integration and a willingness to work together for common interests." Most of the credit, he felt, was due the students.

The foundations laid in that first year were built on in the 1970-71 session. The appraisal half way through the year was an encouraging one: "We still have a long way to go at Southern Nash, but I think we have clearly demonstrated that in the proper environment with proper spirit, integration—'Southern style'—will certainly work."[42]

---

[42]Louis Gregory Low, "Integration 'Southern Style,'" Raleigh *News & Observer*, January 3, 1971.

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA:

"A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM"

By Pat Watters

I: See the bus.

Charlotte, North Carolina, allowed itself in 1970 to become a symbol and perhaps a scapegoat in the national hysteria over "busing" as a means of achieving school desegregation. With a federal court order for immediate, extensive cross-city busing extant in Charlotte, the President of the United States himself lambasted busing to achieve "racial balance." Robert Finch, then-Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, specifically denounced the Charlotte court order and one in Los Angeles, calling them "totally unrealistic." The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education had fought busing through the courts, and had acceded to the court order reluctantly. State and local politicians heaped abuse on busing; spurious actions were taken in the legislature and state courts to block busing; 68 members of the Congress, not all from the South, involved themselves as "friends of the court" against busing; the United States Department of Justice questioned the Charlotte busing order in friend-of-the-court briefs that defended the "familiar and traditional" concept of neighborhood schools; thousands of white Charlotte citizens attended rallies, wrote letters and signed petitions against "forced busing"; some picketed the home of the author of the court order, District Judge James B. McMillan; others telephoned him anonymously threatening to kill him.

There seemed little doubt that the furor and hysteria over busing contributed to—if not directly caused—the emotional climate which produced in February, 1971, the burning of the offices of the law firm which had pushed the school and other desegregation cases. Authorities said the fire was deliberately set (it was early morning, on February 4) at the former residence housing the law firm—a block from Charlotte's main business district. Julius Chambers, head of the law firm, said he assumed the fire was in reaction to "unpopular cases" of the law firm, integration cases. Fire in a similar pattern was set at his father's garage and service station in nearby Mt. Gilead, N. C., in August, 1970, when the busing furor was at a peak, and after it was rebuilt, set again in January, 1971. Here, as through the tragic history of southern racial struggle, was expression of the ultimate savagery and lawlessness that underlies the most subtle and sophisticated racism, the political exploitation of the race issue by prestigious leaders and average citizens' susceptibility to such manipulation.

The emotional climate created by adults had to be taken into account also in assessing a series of disorders that broke out among the young people in Charlotte high schools and junior high schools in late February. Evident, too, was the effect on such southern young people of having spent most of their school years in racial isolation or, at best, tokenly desegregated situations.

Resentment by black students at one high school over disciplinary action taken in an interracial incident spread tension to most schools, even elementary ones, and resulted in interracial fighting or confrontations at five other high schools and four junior high schools. Even there a minority of students was involved in actual fighting; seventy was cited as the highest number in any school.

Many students of both races tried to restore order, reduce tensions. Parents of both races quickly volunteered to patrol halls and otherwise calm things down. The students met together in the schools and some churches to discuss what had happened and what might be done.

Then spontaneously, first at one high school, subsequently at three others, the students engaged in what were called "love-in rallies"—simply coming together on their own to talk together, sing, cheer, and express mutual respect and friendship.

Whites tended to blame black students for the trouble. Blacks saw this as but one more indication of what was wrong in the first place, a failure to look at the real causes of grievance. The school administration responded to some of the specific grievances of black students. But what was wrong went deeper, involving attitudes and environmental tone.

Obviously the example of violence had long been set in the interracial context by whites in Charlotte. Those who deplored the violence of students needed to examine how such things as clamor against the court order encourages violence, and how failure to really implement the order jeopardizes the young of both races. They might not only become involved in more violence, but might feel themselves justified in what in the end can only be a ruinous process.

At the root of most of the problems in the schools was a schizophrenia of educational authority: a school board whose majority had opposed the court order, and a school administration which is regarded as having genuinely tried to implement it. This split had been evident from the beginning of the furor of white adults against busing.

Rallies, petitions, and, for a time, talk of a boycott against busing were coordinated by a "Concerned Parents Association" (CPA) which sprang up under the leadership of middle-class whites not previously prominent in civic affairs or politics. Its work was remarkably well-organized; in the spring, three of its standard-bearers were elected to six-year terms on the school board, giving it a six-to-three conservative majority. One of those elected reportedly had not voted since 1952. Leaders and members contended they were not against integration, were not racists—were merely against an inordinate amount of . . . busing.

All of the hullaballoo, continuing from February 5, 1970, when the

court order was issued, until schools were opened in September, with the court order intact, and sporadically since then, was essentially over a part of the order which called for the busing of elementary school children in and out of the black section of Charlotte. (Unlike most southern cities where black people are segregated in scattered sections, Charlotte has segregated virtually all of its black citizens in one section, northwest of downtown—in what amounts to a small-city ghetto.) Integration of the more centralized high schools and junior high schools inside the city and all schools in the county was to be achieved largely through zoning, with some busing involved. It was the "pairing" of 34 elementary schools (27 others were to be desegregated by zoning) to integrate 15,301 white children with 7,077 black ones (22,378 pupils out of a total school enrollment of more than 82,000) that so upset so many people.

See the grown-up. Why is he so upset? Doesn't he look silly?

Before the busing court order, according to briefs in the case, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system already bused 23,600 pupils on trips whose average was one hour and fourteen minutes one-way. In an interim report filed in the district court in November, 1970, the school board said 43,597 pupils were being bused, and cited *round-trip* time for four schools of more than one hour, the longest round-trip being two hours. The brief of Negro plaintiffs in the case, filed in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, pointed out that 54.9 per cent of North Carolina school children were riding buses daily in the 1969-1970 school year (highest amount of busing in any state). It cited previous cases in the state where school systems defended busing of Negro students to maintain segregation, one involving an 80-mile round-trip each day from Burnsville to Asheville, and another where some Negro students were bused 25 miles to a boarding school outside the county where they were required to remain all week, busing home on the weekends.

In this context, the local and national sentimentalizing of "neighborhood schools" settles into proper perspective—at best, a clutching to privilege not shared by all and not, as the Negroes' brief pointed out, a venerable tradition at all but rather a recent institution of the big cities, and, at worst, a code-phrase for maintaining the status quo of segregation.

The total of busing in Charlotte under the criticized court order was less than the state average. That which was most criticized, of elementary school children, involved ten pairs or groupings of the 34 elementary schools—with 10,303 white children going as ever to their neighborhood schools in grades one through four and 4,876 black children busing across town to join them—and 2,201 black children going to their neighborhood schools in grades five and six, with 4,998 white children busing in from the suburbs to join them. The plan for this and other regrouping of Charlotte school children beyond the program promulgated by the school board (and ruled inadequate by Judge McMillan) was drawn up by Dr. John A. Finger, Jr., of Rhode Island College. The effect, but not the purpose, of all the court-ordered desegregation in Charlotte was to obtain roughly an 80-20 ratio of white and black pupils in each school. The

main purpose was to dismantle permanently Charlotte's segregated school system and to replace it with a desegregated system in accordance with Supreme Court rulings demanding unitary systems without black schools or white schools, just schools. Since rearrangements were necessary, a ratio analogous to the ratio of white and black population was possible—but integration as required by the Supreme Court rather than "racial balance" was the purpose of the plan and the court order.

Yet white Charlotte protested what leaders had led them to believe was an unnecessary disruption of "neighborhood schools" for the sake of achieving a "racial balance" beyond the compulsion of the law—all of it to be accomplished by the awful imposition on their children of "busing."

What of these children? They seemed, in Charlotte's generally excellent schoolhouses, remote, not really the subjects of such talk, remote even from the solemn statistics of the court case, and not somehow of the same nation as American adults and their chief official, so set against busing. At one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, a number of the white children talked of their daily bus rides to and fro. The complaints were of having to get up earlier, of inadequate heating, of breakdowns sometimes, of noise and of rowdiness sometimes.

"The only thing wrong is that long bus ride," said one boy. "But I'm getting used to it."

"The heater's in front," said another. "I'm in the back. We need some better buses."

"I don't like the bus," said a boy. "I get headaches and all. But I like this school. So I don't mind riding the bus."

A girl said, "The bus is pretty good. Two boys had a fight. One boy's head knocked the window out. But it's pretty good. You sit with whom you want." Another girl said some boys would tie a girl's hair to the seat rail without her knowing it.

A boy: "If you talk too loud, the bus driver puts you with a girl." Another: "We had assigned seats yesterday. The girls didn't like it—they like to sit with their boy friends." A girl: "Our bus driver is a matchmaker and a singer." Another: "The bus is one of the best parts of school. We can talk about things. We keep it down to a steady roar."

A boy: "The bus rides are fun. You get to meet people in other grades."

A Negro boy of the same school said: "We have to stay in school until after the buses leave. We didn't like it at first. But then we understood it was so that we wouldn't get hit by one of the buses leaving."

Was William Poe, chairman of the school board, talking about these children when he said in an interview that Charlotte was "enduring patiently" all the "inconvenience" of desegregation, hoping that the Supreme Court would get rid of "the worst features"? He said the worst was the long-distance busing of elementary school children. He said his own three children were on three different schedules; they couldn't have breakfast together. (One of three CPA school board members reportedly placed his two children in a private school.) Mr. Poe also said of the busing: "People are not going to put up with it permanently. It's not understandable

to them. It's expensive, time consuming . . . It interferes with family life and church programs."

A long-time observer of Charlotte race relations said of such talk: "It wasn't the busing that was bothering most of them. They just didn't want to send their little white children into black schools, black neighborhoods."

Perhaps Mr. Poe was speaking of the children of the first four grades who boarded the big orange bus for their afternoon trip home to the ghetto from a high-income white suburban school, place of modern architecture, happy, pastel-painted halls and classrooms. They clamored on—noisy, full of energy at the end of the school day, a fine confusion in the finding of seats, changing of seats, getting settled. The driver got aboard, a matron of the neighborhood, who said she undertook the job because her own two children were being bused and she felt people should do all they could to make it all right for the children. The motor started and the bus began to pull away, and the children waved out the window to white friends starting their walk home. There was talk, laughter—much laughter, some shouting, some getting up even while the bus was moving to swap seats. (Money is not available for monitors; the driver said she has not yet mastered the skill of watching the children and the road at the same time.) A studious looking boy dropped his fine cardboard clock with movable hands on the floor. Another boy got up to pick it up and return it to him before anyone could step on it.

A white girl who rides the bus got off, stopped in front of the bus until an approaching car stopped for her, then walked safely to her yard. She turned, grinning, and waved goodbye. (The driver said the black children at first always made room near the door for the few whites who ride the bus. But soon this politeness disappeared, and frequently jostling over seats occurred. She told also of how at first one of the Negro boys always escorted the girl who got off first across the street because she had some difficulty seeing with her bifocals. Once he kept her from moving in front of a car. Her mother called to thank him for saving her life. The girl has since, said the driver, become "women's lib" and gets herself independently across the street.)

The talking, occasional shouting, the laughter keeps up—a din. A boy has a trick box—cardboard optical illusion toy. Boys and girls in relays come back to see him work it, patiently doing it over and over. A boy and girl have a mock fight—somehow gentle. Laurie who is in the third grade and Terry Ann who is in the second sit side-by-side, quiet and ladylike. Laurie has a pony tail, Terry Ann a tight braid and two pony tails. Terry Ann says she didn't ride the bus last year. She liked the school she went to last year better than the one she goes to now. Why? "Because you could stop and buy ice cream on the way home."

At the first stop, five children get off—and as people in the rear yell for the driver to wait, another comes bustling up the aisle to get off, too. At the second stop, the driver sternly admonishes everyone for all the noise—and two boys for fighting as the bus was moving.

Terry Ann points to her church out the window, and tells about how such a big crowd came Sunday night. A boy points to his dog who is kept in a neighbor's yard because it has a fence. Terry Ann tells about her two cats—Kitty and Blue Eyes. The bus is quickly unloading at intervals, stops on nearly every corner. The driver, it turns out, has extended the official stops to accommodate special situations, so that this child won't have to walk so far, that one won't have to cross a street. She knows each of the 58 children of her bus by name, takes care that none gets left behind, worries in a motherly way over their problems. She is not of that small band of southern whites who have involved themselves in race relations. She speaks of her passengers as "Negras."

Terry Ann and Laurie get off at the last stop. Now it is quiet on the bus. The trip—among the longest of the elementary school ones—has taken thirty-five minutes.

II: Some further notes on busing.

The Charlotte school system is not using enough buses for the amount of pupil transportation it has been doing. Consequently, the same bus is used to carry black pupils to their paired schools and white ones to theirs. One school starts at 7:30 (the previously all-white one) and the other at 8:30, with staggered closing hours of 2:30 and 3:30. (Schools were open only an hour and a half for one day the first week.) Black children, who do the most of the busing, have to catch buses the earliest. Tacitly, the arrangement reflects official fear that white parents would not have stood for an arrangement the other way around or fairly balanced, that they might have carried out rather than talked about a boycott. In 1969-70, the system used 278 buses. In 1970-71, it used 500. Some are old ones obtained from the state. Not all are in good repair. The county commission controls appropriations for such equipment. Partly in anticipation of a final order from the Supreme Court regarding the busing, the commission has been doling out the extra money a month at a time. In January, the school board voted against using available federal funds to afford not merely the inadequate transportation currently in use, but an adequate supply of buses and personnel. Much of the criticism of busing has centered on the exorbitant extra cost. Judge McMillan pointed out in court orders and an interview that additional cost for transporting children adequately to implement desegregation would be less than one per cent of the multi-million dollar school budget.

Miss Bernice McMurray, principal of Rama Road Elementary School, one of the paired formerly all-white schools in a high-income white suburb, said the biggest problem has been transportation and the money to pay for it. "You never know if they're going to be on time." When a driver calls in sick, the principal must find a substitute. If this, or the not infrequent breakdowns, causes a delay "two busloads of children wait in the cold." Worried parents have to be reassured, phone call after phone call, when the buses are late in the afternoon. "If we didn't have so much trouble getting the children here and back, this would be one of the best

experiences ever for all the children," she said.

Dr. William Self, superintendent of schools, was in charge of the hurriedly-organized transportation system whose handicapped accommodation of the court order has been an impressive achievement. Generally respected by integrationists and segregationists alike for competence and integrity, Dr. Self was asked in an interview whether he thought the desegregation could be kept going. "I don't know," he said slowly, shaking his head. "The most important question is whether a large amount of money will be committed that has not been committed so far." Most of this would be for transportation, he said.

III: The legal question.

In 1965, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County combined their school systems and adopted what amounted to a zoning and freedom-of-choice method of desegregation—which was given federal court approval. In September, 1968, Negro parents asked the federal district court to compel the school board to eliminate all discrimination in the school system as the Supreme Court had ruled that year school boards had an obligation to do. After extensive hearings, Judge McMillan ruled on April 9, 1969, that schools were unconstitutionally segregrated, that freedom-of-choice had not worked, that the black population of Charlotte was concentrated in one area because of discriminatory laws and government action rather than natural causes, that the school board had located and controlled the size and population of schools so as to maintain segregation, and that transportation by bus was a legitimate tool for desegregating schools. He ordered the school board to draw up plans to eliminate segregation of pupils and faculty.

A plan submitted by the school board in June was ruled inadequate in every respect. Another, calling for transportation of 4,245 black children, submitted in July, was accepted "only with great reluctance" by Judge McMillan as a temporary one-year arrangement, with the reservation that one-way busing would not thereafter be acceptable. He ordered that a new plan be submitted by November for 1970-71. In the meantime, the court found that only 1,315 instead of 4,245 children were bused in the fall of 1969. When the board filed a new plan altering attendance lines of only a few schools, Judge McMillan rejected it out of hand. He had previously held that the Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes County* precluded further delay, and now, noting the board's acknowledged refusal to produce a plan which would comply with Supreme Court decisions, he appointed Dr. Finger to prepare a plan.

In February, 1970, the board presented its fourth plan, and Judge McMillan accepted parts of it for junior and senior high schools, adding parts of the Finger plan where required for full integration, and ordered implementation of the Finger plan for elementary schools. (Here, finally, after so many opportunities for the board to find anything better that would be in compliance, was the notorious busing plan.)

Judge McMillan, again citing the Supreme Court dictum to desegregate

now, litigate later, ordered the plan for elementary schools implemented by April, and the one for junior and senior high schools by May. The school board appealed and asked delay until September. Judge McMillan, however, ordered a delay until September himself after the Supreme Court indicated a new inclination to tolerate that. The delay came on the day after President Nixon's policy statement on schools which denounced busing.

Gov. Bob Scott (Democrat) had urged President Nixon to have the Justice Department intervene against Judge McMillan's order, and many Charlotte whites sent a form telegram to the President: "Faced with forced busing. Request intervention as per campaign promise." The Justice Department did so intervene, with Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general in charge of civil rights, writing in a friend-of-the-court memorandum to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals that "courts might carefully consider whether, for the purpose of achieving a precise, system-wide racial balance, a plan would require a school board involved to make unreasonable increments in transportation expenditures, the number of students bused, distances traveled and the like." And: "Thus we think that the question facing this court is whether, in view of the District Court's supplemental findings, the circumstances of the case and the alternatives reasonably available, the court below (McMillan) invoked a remedy so extreme as to constitute an abuse of discretion." (It was the second time the Nixon Justice Department had sided against equal school opportunity; the first was when it sought delay of 30 Mississippi cases in August, 1969, at which point the Supreme Court issued its order to desegregate at once.) Abuse of discretion is a reason for overruling a district judge in such a case—but the harshness of tone in the Leonard memorandum almost makes one believe it was written out of pique.

(A friend-of-the-court brief to the Supreme Court by Solicitor General Erwin S. Griswold was more balanced. Though it seemed to argue for desegregation and against busing even though the latter might be the only way to achieve the former, it did grant a district judge his leeway in such a ruling as McMillan's—in this instance so long as he did not base the ruling on a belief the Constitution required a racial balance.)

The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in May upheld the plan for junior and senior high schools and, in effect, rejected that for elementary ones—ordering a new plan based on HEW assistance. It declared itself favorably impressed with the Justice Department brief, and stated that not every school in a unitary system must be integrated, and urged a standard of "reasonableness" for attaining integration. The Supreme Court in June reinstated Judge McMillan's order for elementary schools but remanded the case to his court for further proceedings pending its own hearings in the Charlotte and other cases in October. Judge McMillan, when neither the board of education, the plaintiffs, nor he liked the plans developed by HEW for elementary schools, ordered the original Finger plan back in force for them—and so it was when schools opened in September.

The Charlotte case, through this history and in arguments when the Supreme Court held its historic October hearings, raised important questions which the court in its discretion could or could not have considered: (1) the whole question of busing and neighborhood schools—whether limitations are to be put on busing even if it is the only way to achieve a unitary school system; (2) whether desegregation of all all-black schools is indeed a necessary criterion for establishing a unitary system; (3) whether previous rulings requiring desegregation of all all-black schools in small-town systems apply to complex urban situations.

Beyond this, regardless of the Supreme Court's eventual ruling, the Charlotte case is one of several which seem to raise an ultimate question about school integration in America's democracy. A strong part of the original case was the evidence presented and ruling by Judge McMillan that government action was responsible for the location of black people in one isolated part of Charlotte. Involved in this were city zoning regulations, city planning, urban renewal, public housing locations, street and public highway locations—in effect, actions by all levels of government, state, local and national, as well as private discrimination. Judge McMillan ruled: "There is so much state action [state as defined as subject to the Fourteenth Amendment] embedded in and shaping these events that the resulting segregation is not innocent or 'de facto' and the resulting schools are not unitary or desegregated." If this might be said of Charlotte, North Carolina, of what city in the United States might it not? Were such evidence considered nationally, President Nixon's disingenious vow to fight "de jure" segregation might turn out to mean the opposite of what he seemed to intend. The Supreme Court might limit its ruling to the particulars of the Charlotte case and the discretion of Judge McMillan's particular rulings and actions. But if the original Supreme Court outlawing of school discrimination is ever to be followed to its logical end, if all of white America is ever to face its essential hypocrisy in the matter, America will have to deal with the broad question raised by Charlotte and its mini-ghetto and the government action that created it.

IV: Judge McMillan.

He was generally considered as one of the establishment lawyers before his appointment to the federal bench in 1968. He speaks freely and honestly in his rulings of his own emotional bias against busing before he faced the facts of Charlotte's deliberate segregation of schools, and the consequences. (How it came about and what it did to children were the two things that most struck him in the long process of hearings in the case, he said in one press interview.) The evidence of consequences was presented in terms of relative scores of black children and white on standard achievement tests. Sixth graders in all-black schools scored at about fourth grade level; children in integrated and all-white schools scored considerably higher.

"I lived here 24 years without knowing what was going on," he said in an interview. "I really didn't know."

He is 54, the son of a North Carolina farm family (he was bused 26 miles a day to his segregated high school), a graduate of the University of North Carolina and Harvard Law School, a Navy veteran, past president of the state bar association, a Democrat, a past leader in court reform. He has sandy hair, fair skin, a farmer's plain face with a stubborn mouth. His voice, enunciation is dry, ironic. He has carried a pistol for self-protection at heights of emotional reaction to his rulings. A colleague, representative of the level of sophistication from which professional criticism of him has come, said local lawyers thought he was just one of them—but then found out after he got on the bench that all along he "belonged to the American Civil Liberties Union and other left-wing activities like that." In a press interview when asked about his friendships with conservative colleagues, Judge McMillan said: "Just because I drink with a man is no sign I think like him."

Dick Phillips, dean of the University of North Carolina Law School, "defended" him (with a southern dry humor equal to his own) against some of the charges that have been made since the ruling:

> It's not fair to call him a liberal and not fair to say he picked it up at Harvard. He's enlightened in the sense of the most progressive people in the state. His character and ideas had been determined long before he went to Harvard. He came up during the Depression and was raised by a good mother. He went to church and he went to Chapel Hill.

Asked in an interview how it came to be he, of all the South's district court judges, who finally confronted face-on the compelling question of busing, he spoke of a penchant for consistency, an inability to retreat from the simple logic of the law of the case. In his final "busing order" for the 1970-71 school year, issued on August 3, 1970, he addressed himself to the idea of "reasonableness" (without mentioning its having been raised by the Circuit Court) and summed up more eloquently his grasp of the meaning of law for the South and America:

> Reasonable remedies should always be sought. Practical rather than burdensome methods are properly required. On facts reported above, the methods required by this order are reasonable. However, if a constitutional right is being denied, this court believes that it is the constitutional right that should prevail against the cry of unreasonableness . . . If, as this court and the Circuit Court have held, the rights of children are being denied, the cost and inconvenience of restoring those rights is no reason under the Constitution for continuing to deny them.

V: A further legal note.

The Charlotte case was prepared and fought by the legal firm of Chambers, Stein, Ferguson and Lanning, one of the growing number of integrated law firms in southern cities with a special interest in racial and social justice. The issues confronted, the alertness to relevant recent Supreme Court rulings, the ability to fit the law to the whole context

of Charlotte's racial and social problems (a current suit seeks affirmative government action for open housing) by such law firms is part of a new chapter in the long southern history of struggle through the courts for racial justice—in which the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., as in Charlotte, continues to be a source of strength.

VI: Notes, political and otherwise.

Spokesmen who claimed the Concerned Parents Association was not essentially racist or segregationist were probably by their lights telling the truth—even though the organization likely did have the support of hard-line segregationists and such people as have practiced sporadic terrorism, telephone threats, home bombings, over the years of Charlotte's racial struggles. By all accounts, many of the "better" whites voted for the CPA candidates for the school board. Whether many now regret this or have come to a degree of acceptance of busing after seeing it work is a matter of conjecture; some think so, others not. Most observers agree the organization will remain effective in politics where integration is an issue, but will not otherwise amount to a cohesive force. But local and state politics suffered erosion from the furor over busing. Two-way re-enforcement was evident: the people influenced the leaders who in turn further inflamed the people. Governor Scott for a time seemed to take a hands-off position on busing, but as public sentiment grew hotter in Charlotte, he became an avid anti-busing spokesman. This is familiar enough in southern racial demagogic politics; what made it different this time in Charlotte and other parts of the South was that the highest official in the country seemed to be involved in the process.

The effect of Nixon southern-strategy politics on Charlotte was part of a general pattern: Just as the campaign-promised weakening of HEW seemed to offer surcease from compliance with school integration law, the courts became more demanding than HEW had ever been. The administration, caught in a dilemma, ended up pleasing no one. Its rhetoric displeased integrationists; its inability to stop overnight the direction of the courts displeased those against busing and/or integration. The brand of politicians directing the frustrated strategy must have been sorely tempted to try to put more than ordinary pressure on the judiciary.

Mr. Poe told why people like himself were so upset by the demands of the judiciary and why they were so disappointed over the administration's inability to do anything about the demands. In the telling, there is insight into how so much of the white populace of Charlotte, surely no worse than most white Southerners in racial attitudes, indeed reputed in the past to be a little better, could become so vociferous in what essentially amounted to a law-resistant position. Mr. Poe said he journeyed to Washington twice to see Mr. Leonard and once to see Mr. Griswold, and each time all he wanted to tell them was that Charlotte was not some rural, recalcitrant, racist place, but had tried all along to obey the integration law. It therefore deserved more time to work out its problems.

Perry Morgan, editor of the Charlotte *News,* whose anti-busing stand

has been so strong that he has emerged as a sort of central figure in the situation, said much the same thing as Mr. Poe in an interview. He said if tne court really wanted integration it would have given a city like Charlotte with a good past record of compliance time to evolve a long-range building program to put schools where they could be integrated without so much busing.

Meanwhile, Charlotte was waiting for the Supreme Court to rule on its case. The waiting has been a crucial part of what has happened so far. Many of the children, especially in the upper grades, have not identified themselves with the school they attend, have not become involved in activities or even studies deeply, feeling the arrangement to be temporary. Some observers said most white parents have accepted the busing so far only because they believe the Supreme Court will throw it out. Dire predictions are made on both sides of what might happen when the court rules. Blacks, in some views, would be disillusioned with the nation by an adverse ruling to the point of severe alienation, if not violence. Some whites, including Mr. Poe and Mr. Morgan, predict massive withdrawal of white support of public schools should the ruling uphold busing. Mr. Morgan spoke of a resulting "integration of the impoverished."

Both the boycott effort at the beginning of the year and an attempt to stir separatist sentiment in the black community failed. No more than 2,000 white children were withdrawn to segregationist private schools. One observer cited as the reason for this, North Carolina's tradition of plain people dependent on and believing in public education. The state has no aristocracy of graduates of select private schools, as some southern ones do. This meant, in his view, that whites would rant and rail if the present plan were upheld, but eventually would accept it. There are at least a few small hints so far in Charlotte that they might even come to like it.

It is easy, of course, to point out how many years since 1954 Charlotte has had to do whatever was necessary to comply with the law. But the truth is that in the faulty manner in which school (and other) integration law has been enforced, in the essential hypocrisy of America's past approach to the obligations of this law, including the hypocrisy of blinding itself to the "de jure" nature of most "de facto" segregation, Charlotte has been technically in compliance. The plaint of men like Mr. Poe and Mr. Morgan was basically the familiar one of Southerners over a decade of gradualism: I've been for all that's gone before, but now they've gone too far. In this context, the CPA claim that it is not segregationist and the less sophisticated versions of Mr. Poe's position vocalized by the CPA school board members are easier to understand and somehow less sinister.

The people caught in the anti-bus hysteria, many of them, seem in this view more mistaken than racist. Better local and state leadership might have at least given them a more accurate, realistic view of their position *vis-a-vis* the law. (The city's other paper, The Charlotte *Observer,* has generally supported the court order, but less vigorously after reported loss of circulation over the stand.) National leadership has since 1954 been more deeply at fault. Something is indeed wrong with a nation which could

allow leaders in a place like Charlotte to convince themselves or kid themselves into thinking that, even as they continued the process of building a ghetto and a system of segregated schools, they were in compliance with law against segregation.

The setting fire to the Chambers firm's law offices might be expected to shock some white Charlotte leaders and people into seeing what at base all along they have stood for. But such terrorism in the past obviously did not provide immunity against the busing hysteria. In the spring of 1965, Mr. Chambers' automobile was dynamited in New Bern, N. C., while he was attending a civil rights rally. Three Ku Klux Klansmen were arrested, and given suspended sentences. On November 22, 1965 (the second anniversary of the assassination of President John Kennedy), bombs were exploded in the predawn hours at the homes of four black Charlotte leaders—Mr. Chambers, City Councilman Fred Alexander, his brother, Kelly Alexander, state president of the NAACP, and Dr. Reginald Hawkins, dentist and militant civil rights leader. Damage was considerable at all four homes; fortunately none of the occupants, including sleeping women and children, was injured. The case has never been solved.

On the surface, Charlotte does not seem the kind of place of raw racist hatred that would engender such terrorism. Whites in the past prided themselves on their peaceful acquiesence in token desegregation, made it a subject of Chamber of Commerce boosterism. Thoughtful black people, viewing the past and the recent furor over busing, say simply that racism is just more subtle, more sophisticated. The terrorism shows that the meaning of racism, raw or subtle, is the same, just as the effect—as on children in the previously segregated Charlotte schools—is the same.

VII: See the schools.

It is in the light of so much of Charlotte's adult response to school desegregation, and the failure of so much adult leadership, from the President on down, that the disturbances among the young people in the schools in February must be judged. It was possible shortly before they occurred to assess major problems within the schools and conclude that desegregation was succeeding, despite adults. Their occurrence suggests the importance of paying immediate attention to the problems within the schools and the deeper need to understand what these problems mean to the young people involved. In interviews with school officials, teachers, parents and young people, the following emerged as main problems during the six months leading up to the February disturbances:

Discriminatory attitudes, actions on the part of some officials and teachers, some children (this a minority balanced by another minority making every effort to help integration work); internal segregation in the schools, the very most of this resulting from grouping of children within classes on the basis of performance levels; some indications of suspensions and expulsions too heavily among blacks giving rise to the suspicion among some blacks that it is to cut down the amount of integration; roughhousing, interracial fighting (how much of it normal, how much racial is proble-

matical); disruptions from bomb threats, busing delays and monitoring by parents, mostly white ones of the black-area schools; narcotics (again, with no ascertainable racial significance). One high school teacher said discouragedly that sometimes a day could be counted good or bad on the basis of whether there was a bomb threat, or whether police had come in looking for a student about some offense outside the school. The latter problem would seem an interracial class concern and a problem of the whole community made visible to the whole community by desegregation. A more serious concern was the same teacher's feeling that parents opposed to busing were watching every move of teachers, in effect repressing their freedom of expression and choice of materials.

Grievances articulated by black students during and after the disturbances reflect the same problems—calls for black administrative officials and counselers in schools where there are none, for more active human relations committees in the schools to foster communication between the races and between students and school officials. There had been resentment among black students that Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday was not properly observed. Students of both races who are bused resented club activities and the like being held after school because it is difficult for them to attend. Students who had changed schools felt a sense of loss of school traditions, spirit; this particularly affected black high schoolers because all high schools had become predominantly white.

Another issue, evident in January, suggests how the struggle to achieve desegregation has brought to light attitudes long abiding in public education which tend to attach more importance to things than to children, and which ignore the legitimate wishes of the children. This issue had nothing to do with race; indeed, a black student at one of the high schools where no trouble occurred said white and black students were united in a stand about it. The issue was lunch time—complaint of a lack of enough time to get through cafeteria lines and eat leisurely. In some instances, this had led to jostling for places in line.

Other issues suggested a deeper layer of problems. Black students felt that expulsions and police actions (some 15 or 20 cases) went too heavily against blacks in the aftermath of the disturbances. Julius Chambers said an investigation was underway to determine whether this should be raised in federal court. He was critical of a four-hour school board meeting, televised locally, at which principals told what had happened at each school. He said it seemed to be trying and convicting black students. One principal used the pronunciation, "Negra." A white, senstive to race relations, could view the same meeting and consider the performance of the prinicipals generally constructive. In this way, the struggle for integration continued as an educational process for black and white Southerners, showing them, among other things, wide gulfs in perception as a part of the legacy of segregation.

The most hopeful instance of such education were the rallies that occurred at the high schools. Dr. Laird Lewis, principal of Myers Park High School, described his own feelings watching two thousand young

people joining hands in a circle, singing, some of them crying. "It was like the old-time religion. There were white and black, rich and poor, expressing mutual respect and love for one another." He said there was at least for the time less self-segregation in the cafeteria and student lounge, and less fear and distrust among students.

Dr. Self suggested at the four-hour school board meeting that additional staff be hired to comprise teams, one white and one black, of human-relations workers in each high school. Their job would be to build on student communication already established to develop future programs. (During previous months, the school administration had employed such things as a rumor-control center and closed-television instructions in human relations for principals and teachers.) Negro Alderman Fred Alexander had earlier proposed a new procedure for police in handling school disturbances. He said a white and black team of officers should make an initial investigation and be empowered to decide whether more officers were needed. (The intrusion of many police and many parents on the disturbance scenes had been as disruptive as the fighting, some observers said.)

Principal Lewis and Alderman Alexander both, in differing ways, directed themselves to the problems underlying the specific causes of student discontent. Dr. Lewis spoke of a general atmosphere of frustration and tension. "You can't change everything with just a quick move," he said, expressing confidence, though, that desegregation would work. He spoke of frustrations for both races, of adult distrust, unrest.

Mr. Alexander addressed himself to the split in the attitude of the school board majority and the school administration. Somebody, he said, had to tell the school board people were not going to put up with what it was doing. He said the attitude of the school board was against desegregation, against the federal court intervention, and on the side of "anybody else against desegregation." Thus principals and teachers not wanting to cooperate with desegregation did not feel they had to follow administration procedures. And those trying to make desegregation work are "scared of the school board," he said.

Beyond busing hysteria and schoolhouse fist-fights, the impressive thing about Charlotte is that things have worked as well as they have against so many impediments. Given anything like the support and the resources they deserve, the young people and those operating the schools do seem capable of moving beyond the mere physical placing of bodies in a unitary school system. The problems, both on the surface and at deeper levels, are not insurmountable. Given half a chance, Charlotte could achieve real integration, and that would mean real education.

VIII: See the children.

In ultimate terms of real education, the important thing to have seen in Charlotte was the resilience of the young people. The "love-in" rallies that followed the disturbances in February were a magnificent display of the will of a majority of them to work things out for themselves, to

escape past patterns of destructiveness, to deal creatively with a situation made unnecessarily difficult by those past patterns. It was this in the Charlotte young people (and their counterparts across the South) that dedicated educators could encourage, and build upon. Surely parents saw the beauty of spirit flickering there; surely they would be proud of their children, and encourage the good in them.

The rallies were a dramatic, spontaneous expression of something that had been there all along, that adults, parents, teachers, school officials alike, needed to listen to and learn from. A black student at one of the high schools where a rally occurred, Calvin Miller, described how it felt afterward. "Things are a whole lot better. People are talking to each other now, mixing in together — everyone is really cooperating now, really talking to each other."

Here, student-created, was the basis for building within the schools customs and programs that would remove the barriers of racial concern from the main purpose of education. And here was the basis for the cooperative reconstruction of education—to listen to the students, consider their interests, utilize their creativity. Charlotte had the opportunity in its desegregated schools to accomplish such real reconstruction of education, so badly needed across the South and the nation. There were as many impediments, as many signs of failure present as ones of hope—but everywhere, given a chance, the potential of the young was evident.

In the white suburban school, a second grade is having a play period out in the pretty lobby. Happy music is coming from a record player, and different groups are doing different things, some jumping rope, some dancing, some playing catch, some using an indoor bowling set. The black teacher moves easily among the black and white youngsters, seeming to enjoy all their noise and exuberance. At the end, she organizes them for a group game. Part of the class forms a circle; each in the other part stands behind the child he wants as a partner. Race is obviously transcended. Some partnerships are black and white, some white and white, some black and black.

It is not so in an eighth grade algebra class. The students drift in before class, seat themselves randomly. Most whites are on one side of the room; the whites who are on the other are separated by a row of chairs from the five black students in the class.

At the Oak Lawn Elementary School, one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, it is felt that the teacher has a responsibility to guide children away from such grouping which grows as much out of cultural experience, familiarity, as race. This school is considered one of the most successful in taking advantage of the new educational opportunities in Charlotte. The philosophy of the black principal, Mrs. Gwendolyn D. Cunningham, pervades classrooms and hallways, is reflected in the openness of black and white faces of the children. The philosophy seems to be one of loving children and encouraging the best in them. She moves about the school, energetic, enthusiastic, calling out to children, seemingly knowing

each by name, stopping to talk with any who wants to. A white boy approaches her, says he has decided not to seek a transfer to another teacher after all. He had complained the teacher picked on him. Mrs. Cunningham had suggested to him that he would take his real problem with him. What was that? Himself. He had thought it over and agreed, he said, and would try to work out that problem without changing teachers. Was the teacher black? Mrs. Cunningham chuckled—no, no.

Child after child said he liked the school because children were considered important and were allowed to work out their own problems. A white teacher, transferred into this new situation after being in the same white school for thirty years, said: "They're just children. Only two parents were at our Christmas party. I wish they could have all been there. They would have seen for themselves how well the children are getting along."

A black teacher, experienced more than most in integrated education, told of a thing that happened in one of her classes. A black pupil, large for his age, tending to be a bully, had showed from the beginning hostility to white children. She had talked with him, with his mother about it. His mother felt much the same way. But finally all three agreed that given the situation, the thing to do was to try to get along in it. When the boy was absent one day, white and black children came to the teacher about him. In the spirit of the school, it is not considered tattling to talk about another child's problem. The problem they came with was that the boy had been taking pencils and the like from everybody. They showed in his desk a plastic bag stuffed full of such contraband—a fantastic amount. She confronted him the next morning, gently, sympathetically. He finally admitted all were not his. What should he do? Give them back, he said. How would he do it? He would handle it. As is the custom in the class, if a child has something to say, the teacher announces it—and she did for him that morning. He got up and manfully, with no excuses, said he had things that weren't his. He said that pupils should come up in groups to claim what was theirs. The teacher said it was all done with dignity, that no child giggled or nudged another, and that not a few had tears in their eyes, as did she. When it was over, she asked how many understood now what an act of courage was. All said they did, that the boy had performed one. Did he feel better, she asked. He said he did. In a class discussion some time later, he said the reason he liked that school was because if you made a mistake, you could correct it, that people instead of hitting you for it, helped you correct it.

Many of the children there come from homes where opposition to busing was most strenuous. Slowly, some of these parents have come to share what most of the white children feel—that it is a better school. One father who had at the beginning of the year told his child's teacher he resented the situation bitterly finally came to a PTA meeting. He told the teacher he had been convinced by his child that he had been wrong. His reason might prevail in Charlotte, in schools becoming real schools across the South, might eventually in all of America: "It is," he said, "like in the Bible. A little child shall lead them."

MOBILE, ALABAMA:

THE ESSENCE OF SURVIVAL

By Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

In the spring when the azaleas and dogwoods bloom and you drive along Government Street beneath Spanish moss clinging from ancient oaks, it probably is harder for the visitor to think of Mobile, Alabama, in terms other than the cliche its Chamber of Commerce likes to paint—a burgeoning, industrial port city of the new South, mindful of the best in its past, but making progress on all fronts, including race relations. But in January this year, the wind from the Gulf driving a cold, steady rain, the smell of the city's paper mills rancid in the air, outer charms were under cover, realities easier to read. Focus on the question of public school desegregation in this the 17th year since the Brown decision, the eighth since the first Negro high school students began to attend classes with whites in Mobile's prestigious Murphy High School and what you find, sometimes stated boldly, sometimes implicitly, sometimes hidden in expressions of good intentions is an air of deep misgiving that Mobile is capable of dealing with the education crisis to which white leadership has brought the city.

In a small, neatly-furnished low-rent apartment in the city's black ghetto, a mother of five put into a single sentence the impression most thoughtful blacks have of the city's school desegregation policies: "They are trying to make us mad enough to pull our children out of the white schools." It was a statement reminiscent of the words of 17 year-old Tyrone Thomas who last year told the Southern Regional Council how his white principal called him "nigger", how the frustrations of in-school discrimination were leading many black youths toward separatist-oriented thinking, really against their deeper instincts, their sense of the need for integrated education.[1]

In another part of town, on the second floor of a weather-worn office building, a middle-aged black man leaned forward away from the cold at the window. "Desegregation, civil rights were things you didn't talk about to the white power structure in this town," he said. "Men like me. We are educated. We have lived all our lives here and we know how the Negro high school kids feel. We have seen and lived through things a lot worse than they have. The only difference in us and them is that we are older and educated. But we know what's in their hearts."

But whites do not know—or if they do are too frightened to get involved, too indifferent or too hostile to blacks to care what they think, or, knowing, feel that the enormity of the situation is beyond their capacities to af-

[1] *Voices From the South,* by Betsy Fancher, Southern Regional Council, August, 1970.

fect change. Downtown in the newly-renovated offices of the Mobile County Department of Education, Dr. Harold Collins, superintendent of schools since September, 1970, seemed an exception as he outlined his plans for education in 1971 and his hopes for Mobile. He spoke of increased library services and in-service training for black and white teachers in the coming summer. "I'm very optimistic," he said.

There was no optimism, however, in the words of black civil rights leader David Jacobs who heads the American Friends Service Committee's Mobile Education Project. Jacobs is an unreasonable militant in the eyes of most Mobile whites. In person he is a gentle, tough-minded native of the city with far greater rapport among the average black parent than whites care to admit.

"It will take some kind of tragedy, like a hurricane, maybe, for people here to wake up, to grow, to understand."

Jacobs' strategy now is to work with black parents and students, assisting them in grass roots organizing to improve education. His pessimism with Mobile's white leadership is not self-induced, a conditioned black response that automatically equates all white actions with duplicity. It is a pessimism, rather, that is born of long and sad experience, from seeing meaningful integration time and again delayed, blocked, and from close involvement in desegregation efforts.

The Background of Delay

The Mobile school desegregation case is long and complex, having gone before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals thirteen times since 1963. To trace the entire thread of the lengthy litigation would make a formidable tome. What was at issue between the plantiffs and the school board, however, prior to 1968, can be reduced essentially to the fact that the freedom-of-choice court-order plan under which the Mobile district operated between 1963 and 1968 had produced only minimal desegregation. As late as 1967, for example, only 638 Negroes attended schools with whites. Since March, 1968, however, when the Fifth Circuit ordered the city to adopt a plan of assigning students by zone rather than freedom-of-choice, the issue of neighborhood schools has emerged as a shibboleth for white parents opposed to various zoning arrangements drawn by a pouting, reluctant school board and a more aggressive team of HEW Title IV education experts brought into the case in 1968 on orders from the Fifth Circuit to District Judge Daniel Thomas.

In 1968 only a few weeks before schools were scheduled to open under a zoning plan that would have put 2,400 Negro students into previously white schools and 1,200 white students into formerly Negro schools, Judge Thomas, after an extensive hearing, determined that the zoning plan would pose too great administrative problems and granted the school board another year under freedom-of-choice. A militant white reaction against the plan had brought into being an organization known as STAND (Stand Together and Never Divide) which professed to oppose the plan solely because it violated the neighborhood school concept—but the vir-

ulence of its pronouncements, and the conservative background of its leaders, brought many blacks in Mobile to believe that the organization was, in truth, simply a more sophisticated version of the White Citizens Council, rallying now for freedom-of-choice as it had in the past rallied for pure segregation.

The district court's ruling in favor of free choice was appealed by the Negro plantiffs and in June, 1969, the judgment was overturned by the Fifth Circuit which noted that the District Court had failed to follow its zoning mandate of 1968. The appeals court directed that a new plan be devised and ordered the District Court to request the U. S. Office of Education to collaborate with the Mobile Board of School Commissioners in preparation of such a plan. Local school officials and the HEW team clashed over the federal agency's proposals which called for cross-town busing of 2,000 Negro students, and in district court Judge Thomas rejected the plan, again allowing for limited freedom-of-choice. Negro plantiffs in late August, 1969, again appealed to the Fifth Circuit. Further litigation, further appeals had by the fall of 1970 set this stage: a zoning plan under which the system was to operate called for some 10,000 students to attend schools which were not in their immediate neighborhoods; six all-white schools with enrollments of 7,000 students and six all-black schools with enrollments of 5,000 still existed. Theoretically some 60,000 students were to be in desegregated schools.

The Non-Bused and the Non-Conforming

Events since schools opened last fall, however, have convinced black parents that the school board has craftily, in full awareness of what it was about, set out to make integration unbearable. The case for such a conspiracy theory is persuasive. William Crane, chairman of the school board, has described the court order under which Mobile schools are operating as "asinine." At best the Board's approach, according to most knowledgeable civil rights observers in the city, has been one of washing its hands of any responsibility to see the court's mandate implemented. A source who fears repercussions if he is identified said that he had heard a high education official in the city declare that Mobile was going "to prove to the federal bureaucrats that integration won't work."

Although many students under the zoning plan now attend schools as much as two and a half miles from their homes, many have no means to do so other than walking. The school board says it will bus only those students who were eligible to be bused last year. The system presently owns 252 buses and claims that to give bus transportation to every child who needs it this school year it would have to add 100 more buses at an estimated cost of $1,000,000. That much money, school officials say, is not available. Critics note, however, that $2,000,000 *was* available for renovating the present education building the past year. They also point out that under federal Emergency School Fund regulations it would have been possible to have gotten some money for school buses, a fact that they suspect was deliberately ignored by school administrators.

Some of the difficulties of black teachers in the current school year were described in hearings before the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission last October and also in unauthorized interviews with an SRC representative in January, 1971. (Unauthorized because teachers and principals in the Mobile County school system are forbidden these days to discuss school problems with outsiders, without permission.) Under the court order, faculty composition in each school had to be on the ratio of 60 per cent white; 40 per cent Negro, roughly paralleling the population proportions of Mobile County. This meant that large numbers of teachers of both races had to be transferred. Before school opened black principals who were to remain principals in the new school year (most in predominantly black schools) were told that they could retain 20% of their key faculty members under the new desegregation plan. As it turned out none were able to retain nearly so many and there is suspicion within the black community that the real reason the principals were asked to name their key personnel was "to finger the best people" so they could be transferred to predominantly white schools. Whether the charge is true or not, most of the county's more experienced teachers, white and black, now teach in predominantly white schools, a fact attested to by numerous teachers in testimony before the civil rights advisory committee. Moreover, the teachers said, they had almost no advance notice that they were to be transferred. Testimony was also given telling of the transfer and demotion of black principals and coaches. Numerous fights involving black and white youths have occurred in Mobile schools this year with the most frequent solution being the disciplining and even arrest of black students and subsequent suspension.

By far the most controversial decision of school authorities involves so-called "non-conforming students". These are white students who, under the court's zoning plan, were assigned to schools with more blacks than whites and which, for the most part, were located in black residential areas. These students have simply refused to go to the schools they were assigned and instead attend classes in schools with predominantly white enrollments.[2] Estimates of the number of such students vary. At the beginning of the school term when white parents accompanied their children to school—insisting on the right of freedom-of-choice (which Gov. George Wallace publicly assured them was theirs)[3]—the official number, according to Dr. Collins, was as high as 1,000, but he puts it around 15

[2]A memorandum on the subject from school board attorneys to school officials although advising them to discourage non-conformers and pointing out that the students could not be issued textbooks, allowed to participate in school activities, take tests or receive grades, also stated that the students "cannot knowingly be officially enrolled or registered at the improper school." The modifying word "knowingly" has been the key to the problem of enforcement. Civil rights leaders say school officials have been at pains not to be "knowingly" aware of illegal transfers.

[3]Speaking to a Labor Day crowd of 4,000 people in suburban Pritchard, Wallace said: "I recommend that you good people exercise your freedom-of-choice when you send your children to school Wednesday." New York *Times*, September 8, 1970. "If I were you on school day, I'd exercise my freedom-of-choice," Wallace said . . . The roar of the crowd turned to laughter when he added, "In the peaceful way you always do things." Charlotte *Observer*, September 9, 1970.

today. Black leaders think the number legally is vastly higher because they have discovered that many students now are falsifying their addresses, a few parents even transferring guardianships to grandparents or friends who live in zones where predominantly white schools are located. Dr. Collins' response to this charge is that he has no resources to check on the addresses of all the county's 70,000 students. "We are in the business of education," he says. Under a district court decision of last year non-conformers are not supposed to receive grades or be allowed to participate in school activities, a fact which Dr. Collins believes has discouraged non-conformers. Blacks protest that no disciplinary action was ever taken against any of the non-conformers, just as the state education department announced it would refuse to prosecute parents who kept their children out of school altogether at the beginning of the school year, in violation of the state's compulsory school attendance law. Official figures for enrollments prior to school opening last year do not coincide with unofficial figures given to SRC from a few selected high schools. Murphy High School, for instance, which was the scene of a widely publicized student fight in September was supposed to have had 1456 black students and 1114 white students. The figure today is roughly 400 whites and 1800 blacks. At Toulminville High School there were supposed to have been 247 whites, 401 blacks. There were 18 whites enrolled in January, 1971. Such figures are not comprehensive, of course, but the arithmetic from these two schools alone show nearly 1,000 white students not attending schools to which they were assigned at the beginning of the year. Figures from other schools doubtless would add to the number. What is happening to such students? Many are now apparently officially enrolled at predominantly white Davidson High School which was *supposed* to have had 2350 whites to 70 blacks. These figures meant that at the beginning of the year the school was 477 over capacity. In October, 1970, its enrollment was 980 over capacity. Dr. Collins' estimate of only 15 non-conformers now may technically be correct, but there are obviously many hundreds of other white students who have managed to become legally enrolled in schools of their choice. Dr. Collins did not say so, but it is generally accepted by Mobile blacks that the reasons the transfers have been accepted is to placate white parents.

"Education is Problem-Solving"

Altogether Mobile County's school enrollment is 4,000 less than it was last year. Some are drop-outs, some are students who are attending public schools in other counties, living with relatives or friends, some have defected to private schools. A total of three new private academies, are known to have been chartered during the past year. The First Independent Methodist Church was instrumental in their founding. Three years ago the church began its own private academy in the church building itself housing children from kindergarten through the tenth grade. It has approximately 200 students. Wesleyan Academy located in Citronelle, Alabama, 45 miles from Mobile city limits was begun in 1970 with an

estimated enrollment of 300, handling grades one through eleven. The school provides busing for students at the rate of $1.00 per day. Another new private school—Chickasaw Academy—accommodates grades seven through 12. Officials estimate that the school has at least 25 students per class. None of the new academies is integrated.

Dr. Collins seems dedicated to the principle of public education. He does not believe private schools have a chance to educate more than a small fraction of students anywhere. He sees himself as an administrator with many problems, (most of which, as a matter of fact, he inherited) all of which he thinks can be solved with time and patience. "Education is problem solving," he says. This is the theme of some 100 speeches he has made before PTA and civic groups since taking over the administrative reins of Mobile County's public schools last year.[4] Though viewed without enthusiasm among more activist black leaders, he is regarded by some blacks as a sincere man trying to act fairly. He says that he wants to get on with the job of education, starting with people "where they are." He spoke with some pride of the fact that all of the city's schools now have full-time libraries, staffed full-time, but he spoke with great disappointment about the apparent fate of Mobile's application for funds under the federal government's Emergency School Aid program which to date has received no final action. In December, HEW officials wrote Dr. Collins that the proposal was being held up pending further information on such matters as student transfers and teacher discrimination. Dr. Collins called the application a "very fine proposal" which would be used for new instructional materials, the employment of 150 teacher aides, 80 per cent of whom would be assigned to the schools experiencing the most integration. The aides would have been used for "clerical and routine management duties, thereby releasing teachers for more student contact." In addition, it was proposed that they be used in liaison roles to parents and to the community at large. The proposal also called for orientation training for the aides and the teachers to which the aides would be assigned. Dr. Collins expressed resentment that the proposal was opposed by "highly militant groups" in Mobile which he felt were responsible for the funds being delayed. A spokesman for the American Friends Service Committee who has opposed the federal grant said the chief reason it has done so is because Mobile has not been in compliance with the court order on such obvious matters as student transfers. HEW, at this point, seems to agree.

There was at least one other proposal in the application which caused some concern among civil rights advocates—a request for funds to change plumbing facilities. Dr. Collins explained this on the ground that under the new zoning plan there would be younger, smaller students attending schools formerly attended by older, larger students and vice

[4]Dr. Collins' predecessor, Dr. Cranford Burns, who resigned prior to the opening of schools in 1970, was a source of discontent among civil rights leaders who saw him as an obstructionist in earlier desegregation efforts. His resignation, however, was unrelated to civil rights controversy.

versa. Implicit in the proposal, however, was an old white southern phobia about bathroom facilities that had been used by Negroes, and whether intended or not the proposal was taken by some as a racial slur. Such a response illustrates a major difficulty of administering public education in Mobile. In the present climate proposals that might elsewhere be interpreted as educationally sound become sinister and suspect. To fire an incompetent black teacher solely on the basis of his incompetence would be difficult for Mobile school administrators to justify, precisely because other black teachers, not incompetent, have been discriminated against solely on the basis of race. To discipline a black youth bent on violence for the sake of violence might become a *cause celebre* because other black youths whose only crime is the color of their skin have been presumed guilty until proven innocent and treated accordingly. In brief, Mobile's raw racism has come home to haunt whatever attempts it might now want to make toward quality education for all and for simple justice. Sadly, the evidence indicates that the city does not want to make many such attempts.

Mobile's Credibility Gap

Throughout the year there have been frequent fights between white and black youths resulting in student suspensions and dismissals, mostly of blacks. Dr. Collins said he hoped to deal with the education of such students through a proposal that, subject to school board approval, would open a school that is now closed for use by students "with disciplinary problems." No diploma would be awarded and the students would be "encouraged to seek employment of their own liking," according to the memorandum outlining the program—which he willingly shared with an SRC representative in January. The program called for no more than 150 students to be in the school at one time, in classes of 15 each. Such a proposal, has obvious discriminatory potential. For who is to define students with "special disciplinary problems"? The mother of one black student likely to be so identified recently told of her son's experiences with the education department's disciplinary committee. Following an altercation between whites and blacks in one school, her son had been identified by a white girl as being involved. He denied it. The next day the mother kept the youth at home, but while she was away buying groceries, the police came and took her son away to jail. She could not raise bond. He stayed in jail two weeks. When his hearing came he was easily acquitted in an appearance before a county judge, when the witness said he was *not* involved. But he had to appear before the school board's disciplinary committee, which after questioning the youth at some length, concluded that he could not be re-admitted to school in the current term. His mother asked them why and they said it was because his grades were so low that he was not likely to graduate.

At Murphy High School it also seemed likely that numbers of black youths might be identified as having problems sufficient to warrant their being transferred to the disciplinary school. In a conversation with the white principal it was evident that the violence at the school last September

which resulted in a threatened walk-out by white teachers and which brought city police patrolmen into the school for a period of two weeks will not be soon forgotten.

"It was caused by Negro kids coming in and trying to take over. They were insolent and are still insolent to the teachers," the principal stated.

He seemed a worried man, still, taking little joy in his work. Walking along a dimly-lighted corridor he discovered that an electric switch was out of repair. "They've torn it up," he said. There was no exchange of words between him and a group of black students standing near the entrance to the school's machine shops. The students stood quiet, sullen. "We don't have many promising shop students," he remarked later.

But all seemed orderly now, it was pointed out. It was lunch-time. Students stood outside. There were no fights. "No," he said, "not right now." One could not help but feel a certain sympathy for the man, untrained as he apparently was in dealing with blacks at any educational level, a career teacher, middle-aged, a former physical education instructor, handling such a job as he had in such a school as Murphy, in such a city as Mobile. And one could feel the same sympathy for the students for the same reasons.

The whole scene at Murphy put into perspective a major problem of integration that is not Mobile's alone. Under the court order, Mobile students, black and white, have been uprooted from schools and environments, familiar places, familiar teachers, friends. This in itself is traumatic to young people for whom group identity is all important. Under the most ideal circumstances such changes would produce tensions and frustrations and thus the credibility of school administrators would seem absolutely essential to any reasonable approach to relieving the situation. Such credibility is lacking in Mobile because of actions in the past and in the present school year to avoid school desegregation at any cost. It is also lacking because of the students' experience in a white-dominated society where blacks historically have been systematically discriminated against. It is this awareness, this past knowledge combined with the uprootings from old environments, the harsh realities of the new and the current of separatist thinking from some black leaders that have brought large numbers of Mobile Negro students to feel they would be better off in all-black schools. "How can you have integration," a black student asked a Southern Regional Council representative, "when the white man is on the top of the pole? He controls everything, he's the head of everything, and he owns the power structure and we're at the bottom of the pole. We aren't equal in the white man's eyesight."

A militant black organization in Mobile called STEP (Steps Toward Educational Progress) feels that black students would not only be better off in all-black schools but also in all-black school districts controlled by an all-black school board. In the present school crisis STEP and another black civil rights organization NOW (Neighborhood Organized Workers) have emerged as vocal spokesmen for Negro aspirations in the city. NOW, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, organized

in 1965, has been active in a number of other civil rights issues, including protest demonstrations against the city's employment practices during the Junior Miss Pageant of 1969. STEP, of more recent vintage, has gained attention largely because of its proposal regarding separate school districts. Some controversy surrounds the origins of the group which was founded by Roy Innis, director of CORE. Innis reportedly conferred with federal officials prior to launching the organization in Mobile. The organization's decentralization proposal, articulated in a public speech last summer, drew the approval of white segregationists in Mobile and has appealed to many black students who feel that the proposal, whether practical or not, does speak to the real problem of education and integration of Mobile blacks, spotlighting as it does the present lack of power blacks have to affect decisions of the school board.

Yet integration has not been without educational benefits for black students though they have come indirectly and in ways that Mobile could not look to with pride. At schools formerly attended solely by Negroes but now having sizable white enrollments, the new school year brought better textbooks and new classroom equipment.

"A truck pulled up to my school one day," a black principal who now heads a school with a large percentage of whites recently said, "with aids and equipment I didn't even know were coming."

Observers of schools with low white enrollments say that no such windfall has come to the still-predominantly black schools. Improvement of facilities at a school with increased white enrollment was reported in one case soon after the election of a white PTA president. Beneficial to Negro students or not, incidents such as these increase black resentments, illustrating as they do the school board's apparent indifference to the education of black students.

The Stifling of White Leadership

The root causes of Mobile's education problems lie in the weakness of the city's white leadership. White moderates are mostly underground and have been so for many years. Prior to the initial desegregation of Mobile schools in 1963 an all-white organization known as ABLE (Alabamians Back Local Education), made up largely of middle-class housewives, came into being for the purpose of continued uninterrupted free public schools. By the nature of its goal the organization inevitably served as a counter force to Citizens Council agitation against the impending school integration and for this reason came under heavy criticism from many right-wing elements in the city, including the American Legion. Gov. George Wallace publicly denounced the group as having "total integration" as its design. Local state representatives called on the state legislature to investigate the group. Although the investigation never materialized and such criticism had little immediate effect on ABLE, white moderate leadership in the city was dampened by the extreme reaction to what was really a modest effort on the part of a few whites simply to keep the schools functioning and open. Many observers believe that the experience of ABLE is still

felt among whites of good will who might now be in position to influence school board decisions, but fear repercussions.

With the exception of a statement by the Chamber of Commerce asking for good will in a time of crisis last year, and supporting public education business leadership in Mobile has not taken a visible role in recent developments. Yet one white leader who asked not to be identified by name or occupation talked of his behind-the-scenes efforts to involve powerful black and white leaders in trying to solve some of the problems between black and white students. He spoke of confidential telephone calls and gingerly-stated overtures—a strategy recalling that of cautious white moderates in other localities a decade or more ago. Mobile whites aren't ready for more, he said, and gravely warned that to reveal more details of his efforts would be to jeopardize all attempts at meaningful biracial cooperation in the city. What he seemed not to realize was that a large and growing segment of Mobile blacks are no longer interested in biracial cooperative efforts that have to be so clandestinely arranged. When this was pointed out to him, he shook his head. "It just can't be too late for such efforts," he said, "It just can't be."

There is some precedent in the city for businessmen's reluctance at being too openly identified with efforts at racial cooperation. A former Mobile businessman, for instance, recalls that after a *Wall Street Journal* article appeared several years ago telling of the city's attempts to bring about an accommodation with civil rights complaints, business leaders who were identified, and some who weren't, were hounded by segregationist groups to the extent that an economic boycott on the business of one such leader resulted in severe financial losses. "They were scared after that," he said, "too scared to do anything at all."

Contributing to the dearth of white leadership has been the consistently negative posture on civil rights matters followed by the city's two daily newspapers. Neither paper could bring themselves editorially to condemn the Birmingham church bombing of 1963. In 1964 they carried a series of stories on the then-pending civil rights bill which most observers think was designed to increase local opposition to the bill. The Citizens Council, in fact, distributed copies of the articles not only in Alabama but throughout the country. During the mid-1960s the papers carried a daily column by a John Birch Society lecturer and sometimes cited the extreme right-wing publication *Human Events* as if it were an objective, reliable news magazine. Comments from two editorials prior to the opening of schools in September, 1970, illustrate the papers' position today.

> —When Earl Warren vacated the chief justiceship, he left the Supreme Court with its work cut out for it in dealing with the confusion and contradiction produced for public education during his tenure.
>
> —When the 1970-71 school year begins, parents throughout the Mobile County school system should protect the communitywide tradition of having a citizenship fully and steadfastly mindful of the value of law and order.

Aside from the papers' editorial position, civil rights advocates say the papers emphasize and blow out of proportion all racial incidents in newly integrated schools in order to inflame white reaction as much as possible.

In other stories and editorials the newspapers have blamed low morale of teachers and students on the numerous federal court rulings which are made to seem high-handed and capricious. There is little editorial criticism, however, of Judge Daniel Thomas who, by any accounting, is most responsible for the delays in bringing about an end to dual schools in Mobile. To demonstrating white students in the fall of 1970 he was a figure worthy of hanging in effigy for his ruling—made only after earlier decisions in favor of freedom-of-choice had been overturned—taking them out of their neighborhood schools. To almost everyone else, however, it is obvious that he has yielded to pressure from white segregationists. His own sympathies, as a matter of fact, are no judicial secret. He has publicly stated before an unprecedented gathering of indignant white parents in his court last summer that he disagrees with desegregation laws. "For nine years," he said, "I have fought this thing and tried to slow it down." Such an admission made in a time of strife and turmoil by the arbiter of justice in a city increasingly polarized would seem to have served no purpose other than to absolve Judge Thomas from the ill-will of white Mobilians.

The Essence of Survival

The United States Supreme Court now has the Mobile case under consideration. Its ruling, hopefully, will clarify any remaining doubts as to the legal demands of school desegregation in that city. But it might not. The high court could return the case to Judge Thomas for futher hearings on the evidence, on matters of fact. The whole process of litigation could thus be stretched out for many more months. In the meanwhile, Mobile waits. Desegregation has come and no one is really satisfied with it. The violent encounters between black and white students—the most recent occurring on February 12, 1971, at Vigor High School in Pritchard—have greatly raised the anxieties of parents of both races.[5] In such incidents there is a dilemma for all committed to the principle of integrated education. And it may well be that in the handling of these matters the success or failure of integration depends. Solid efforts by white and black parents working together in some kind of human relations context would seem to be essential. Emotions stirred by Governor Wallace, the local news media and actions of the school board and the presiding judge, however, have so widened the gap of racial understanding in Mobile that efforts at racial reconciliation today seem almost Quixotic.

But despite the fights and the traumas, the negative expressions of white and black students toward the experience of integration, most Mobile

[5]The incident at Vigor High began as a fight between two teen-age girls, one black and one white. It quickly escalated. One hundred policemen were called to the scene. Mace was sprayed on students. Eleven blacks and five whites were arrested. A black girl was charged with assault and battery; the others with disorderly conduct. Classes were suspended indefinitely at the school.

students are not juvenile delinquents bent on trouble. They are young people in the formative stages of their lives; their present attitudes are not inflexible. The experience of integrated education has been harder for them by the willful acts of adults who never wanted integration to work in the first place. If there is hope for the future in Mobile it is that the students will somehow, still, make it work. It seems a slender hope for all it is, finally, is the simplest essence of survival after all else has been shattered through the years of delay, manipulation of people, of injustice and cowardice. In brief, it is the ability to adapt, to accept reality, to grow. It is a certainty, too, that the students can not do any worse at building a community than their parents. Given encouragement, given support, they may do far better.

BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA:

THE NEW BREED and the OLD

By Betsy Fancher

When Austa French, a member of that band of bright, liberated yankee school marms, Harvard graduates and Unitarian preachers who made up the Port Royal Experiment, arrived in Beaufort, S. C., in 1862, she wrote that, "there steals over you the feeling that you are passing under a great cloud of accumulated wrongs, in which you seem mysteriously implicated, the vague feeling that you yourself have done something awful, somewhere in the dim past. . . Slavery is written upon the shore, the trees, the sky, the air. . . The enormous black hawks, with their screams, seem to be its very spirit. No wonder they caw, caw, over this land—mean vultures, waiting for blood."

The "Gideonites", as they called themselves, had come to minister to the Port Royal slaves, abandoned by their masters after the Confederate Fort Walker was overrun in a massive Federal amphibious invasion. Their mission, according to the New York National Freedman's Relief Association, was to teach the Negroes (then labeled "contrabands") "civilization and Christianity . . . order, industry, economy and self-reliance; and to elevate them in the scale of humanity by inspiring them with self respect."

The Port Royal slaves were the first in the South to be freed, the first to be educated, and they produced one of the first legitimate war heroes, Robert Smalls, who captured a Confederate gun-boat after the firing on Fort Sumter, delivered many of the Port Royal slaves to federally-held Beaufort, rallied the Sea Island blacks to join the Union troops and went on to become a National Guard general and a politician who forged enlightened legislation in fields ranging from economics to education.

The End of Freedom-of-Choice

The specter of slavery still haunts Beaufort and the barrier islands. The education of blacks, launched with such high hopes by Yankee school marms like Laura Towne, whose little hay loft school has grown into the Penn Community Center, is still a burning issue. In the spring of 1970 a

federal hearing examiner, acting on HEW complaints that freedom-of-choice had not resulted in substantial school desegregation, recommended that federal funds to Beaufort County be withheld. The school board, waiving its right of appeal, agreed to HEW recommendations for the school year 1970-71 which called for a 50-50 black-to-white faculty ratio and a geographic zoning plan for students.[1] But in January, 1971, an HEW investigative team reported that the district was not in compliance on faculty integration percentages, pointing out that blacks represented 79 per cent of the faculty at St. Helena Junior High; 70 per cent at St. Helena Elementary; 73 per cent at Michael E. Riley and 29 per cent at formerly all-white Beaufort Junior High. As a result of HEW's recommendation, Beaufort presently is in danger of losing between one and two million dollars in federal school aid. The chances, however, of funds actually being terminated are remote for HEW has seldom used this method of enforcement in the past year and a half.

Both blacks and whites, interviewed by the Southern Regional Council last summer, were apprehensive about what might happen when schools opened in the fall. Some were predicting an outbreak of violence or at least a school boycott by blacks, angered at the reduction of Robert Smalls High to the status of a junior high school, and the demotion of black principal Jacob Richardson. Black parents were also embittered at the renovation of the school to accommodate white students which they felt was proof positive of the school board's previous indifference to the education of blacks. Moreover, the school board introduced double sessions at previously all-white Beaufort High to accommodate the sudden influx of blacks many of whom had to be bused as much as fifty miles from the outlying islands past their old schools, schools whose songs, trophies, cheers and traditions were a part of their heritage. Other sources of discontent among blacks included earlier defeats of bond issues designed to finance a new high school at Beaufort and delays in submitting another such issue to the voters during the present school year. Many white parents, meanwhile, apparently have made other school arrangements for their children. White enrollment in Beaufort's public schools declined from 4,490 in 1969-70 to 4,210 in 1970-71. (Whites who have enrolled their children in segregated Beaufort Academy seem to belie the fear of busing heard from other quarters this year. Many of their children are transported as much as 100 miles a day to the unaccredited private academy some of whose faculty members do not meet South Carolina's teaching requirements.)

The Pat Conroy Incident

One single event in the current school year illustrates much about both the quality of education blacks have received in the past and the educa-

[1]Beaufort presented a thorny problem. The charming historic town with its columned mansions, patterned gardens and Revolutionary arsenal is ringed by a half dozen islands, ranging from all-black Daufuskie to all-white Fripp Island. The school board's plan required extensive busing and combined children with backgrounds as diverse as the Gullah communities on St. Helena's Island to children who had come of age on Hilton Head Island, a planned community which boasts the largest concentration of "Who's Who" listees in the country.

tional atmosphere in which Beaufort teachers and students must function today. This was the firing of Pat Conroy, a popular white teacher at Daufuskie's tiny two-room elementary school, who was discharged for alleged insubordination. Twenty-five year old Conroy started his second year on Daufuskie in September. The school board, overlooking the miracle his innovative teaching methods had worked in raising the grade levels of his black students, criticized his transportation costs to the island. The little boat he navigated, often through hazardous waters, was expensive to maintain, they said. On September 21, Conroy took a week's leave from the classroom to serve as a consultant to the Desegregation Center at the University of South Carolina turning over his lesson plans to a VISTA worker he had enlisted as a substitute teacher. He was fired on his return and the Beaufort County school board turned a deaf ear to the labored and eloquent petition by the mothers of Daufuskie, pleading for Conroy to be reinstated. He was, they said, the only good teacher their children had ever had. After Conroy's unsuccessful suit to be reinstated, Beaufort blacks were convinced that school officials, headed by Superintendent Walter Trammell, had no regard for the quality of education their children were receiving. Second-rate facilities and a second-rate education, long accepted in mute despair, suddenly became a heated issue to them.

In firing Conroy Dr. Trammell explained to the news media that as a young teacher he was an idealist and innovator much like the Daufuskie teacher.

Dr. Trammell took the school superintendent's post at Beaufort in 1968 after an impressive 30 years in public education. He gave up a promising career in the textile industry to go into public schools "to dedicate my life to helping the children of South Carolina."

Discussing education he disarms the interviewer with a shrewd, appraising glance over half-glasses and the inarguable logic of his doctrine of a "democratic education," a doctrine which some staffers will tell you is belied by "his iron fist." "The reason I took action with Mr. Conroy was that he was not in the school room teaching. It was that he ignored school policies, deliberately disregarded the written procedures."

The written procedures he spoke of he developed as an undergraduate student at Columbia and still keeps carefully bound in a manila envelope on his desk.

George Trask, the lawyer who represented Conroy in his unsuccessful suit to be rehired, says, "This is definitely the case of creative individual who has run afoul of the system and the system is not flexible enough to accommodate him."

"You Learn a Lot on the Bus"

A visitor to Robert Smalls Junior High School will find black and white students mingling on the playground, engaged in talk, tossing a ball, laughing together. Black students Brenda and Cynthia Holmes, Jo Ann Grinkley, Deborah Jones and Stanley Hayes, eager, open and confident, talk freely about integration. Their white colleagues? "Nice kids, most of them." Busing? "We ride with the white kids and talk a lot and some

of the buses have radios and we listen to music. It's fun. You learn a lot on the bus." Incidents of violence? Sure, a few scuffles after football games, but these are old school rivalries. And the school itself—the temporary buildings and the reeking dump heap beside the play ground? "It does smell bad on damp days," grants one student, "but they're covering it over with sand and things are getting better." The conversation is cut short by two assistant principals who explain firmly and with obvious anxiety the tedious process terminating at the desk of school superintendent Walter Trammell by which visitors are allowed to speak to students in Beaufort's schools.

The impact of black students on formerly all-white Beaufort High can best be documented in the mimeographed pages of the *Daily Planet,* an unofficial newspaper published by a dedicated group of black and white students. The initial issue, published Wednesday, October 28, contained an interview with Sumner Pingree, chairman of the Republican party in Beaufort County; a plan for reorganization of student government which would put the "do-nothing" student council under an activist steering committee; and an interview with Pat Conroy. "Education seems like a type of prison for kids," Conroy says. "And until this changes, I think teachers have the right and duty to criticize the administration or even themselves." A black student editorializes on Conroy's dismissal and the "calcified backbone of our present school system." Quotes from Spiro T. Agnew are countered by quotes from Senator Edmund S. Muskie, one of the *Planet's* heroes.

The *Planet* has grown steadily bigger, better, braver and more controversial indicating a creative ferment of ideas and opinion at the school which one black student described last summer as "scarcely human." The Christmas issue featured a thoughtful study of high school women. "Compulsory attendance," charges the author, means that students are subjected to the system's way of training people in capitalism—a system based on competition, status consciousness, conformity and unquestioning obedience to authority. For women students there is added oppression—"not only are they unequal because they are students, but they soon learn to know their unequal place as women, both academically and socially." The poetry is uneven, but often moving—"Tears of a thousand orphans; Victims of Vietnam. . . . Despair of a mother, without food, shelter or hope . . . young people in rebellion, marijuana, hash, dope." There is an inside view of ROTC, a diatribe against alcohol, some remarkably literate book and music reviews, an article in defense of dissent, another condemning legalized abortion and a half dozen letters from readers, hotly protesting prejudice against both black and white. "The black man is not begging, sister; he is demanding his rights," says one, and another, "We're not going to bend over backwards for blacks just because their skin is black. I feel like they're just like anybody else, NOT SOMETHING SPECIAL." Among the memorable quotes, there is one from Tricia Nixon: "It is amazing what (Agnew) has done to help the (news)

media—helping it to reform itself. You can't underestimate the power of fear."

The reader notices in the later editions of the paper little concern for integration as an issue. The problems that are still being hotly debated by Beaufort High parents—busing, double sessions, racial balance, HEW guidelines and the possibility of violence are seldom discussed in the *Planet*.

A Frozen System

There have been incidents, most of them unreported. A black student at Beaufort Junior High was arrested for using obscene language; a student at St. Helena's was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon and exonerated after he explained he'd just returned from a hunting trip. And there was a near riot after a rock festival at Robert Smalls which now has 1,200 students, 650 white, 550 Negro. But the most urgent concern of students, black and white, is quality education, also an intense preoccupation of their parents. At the heart of the matter is the definition of what education actually is. A *Planet* contributor, M. R. Kelly, puts it this way: "All the while, the elders are not realizing that if they would bend their sturdy old oak mentality in some sort of movement towards helping instead of hindering youth's progress, they would not be remembered badly. It all has to do with goals and objectivity. The youth wants to formulate change as their work. The elders wish a frozen system."

It is the inflexibility of this system which Beaufort youngsters are questioning with growing intensity. Meanwhile their parents are wrestling with other problems. Beaufort Academy (a private school) is expanding; a new and reportedly more farsighted and liberal head master has been hired and teacher requirements have been made more stringent. An off-duty policeman has been hired to stand guard over the Academy bus which is parked on one of Beaufort's picturesque streets, a bitter symbol of racism to Beaufort blacks. Mrs. Agnes Sherman, one of two Negro members of the school board, points out that the children are bused 50 to 100 miles to the school from resorts like Sea Pines and Fripp Island. "The Academy exists on a tight budget—it simply can not offer quality education," she says.

A recent meeting with Mrs. Sherman; John Gadsden, Director of Penn Community Center; Andrew Mariesett, field representative of the American Friends Service Committee; and lawyer Charles Washington revealed a growing disillusionment with integration. Under HEW it is administered "white style," they complained. "The ultimate decision is always made by the whites." They are skeptical of the proposed bond issue which would finance the new area schools, noting that there was already talk of a cut-back, of floating a smaller bond issue.

Washington says, not without bitterness: "The process of getting a unitary school system has destroyed black pride and identification. Our children are being forced to identify with white concepts." He cited the dress codes at Beaufort High as "just another weapon to control behavior."

John Gadsden claims that although schools are integrated, they still have white dominated administration. An example: Beaufort High, whose assistant principals are black and whose reigning principal is white.

Washington feels that integration is jeopardizing the sense of black identity established in the past ten years. "Black students have a gut feeling about this. The whites don't realize that most of Beaufort's history is black history." He feels that the whites, ranging from the freedom-of-choice advocates to the HEW administrators, have "gone about integration in the most cruel way. They've created a potential powder keg. As black identity and pride grows, violence could erupt in Beaufort schools. The system is too static. Inevitably it will crack and fall to pieces," says Mr. Washington.

He may be right. The atmosphere that pervades Beaufort today reminded one globe-trotting writer-photographer of the up-tight silence that pervades East Germany. The *Planet* reflects a growing discontent, but not with integration. While their parents continue to fight the battles of racism, integration and separatism, many young people, black and white, appear to have come to terms with integration. Says one poem in the *Planet:* "Love and peace, the teens new creed, is really true you see/there should be love and peace for people like you and me."

The students instead are questioning the whole system of education which *Fortune* editor Charles Silberman and others have criticized as joyless, oppressive to the questioning mind, destructive to spontaneity and "a sense of self." And with education, they are questioning every area of American life—the military, women's rights, politics, the arts, pollution, poverty, the competitive ideal. South Carolina already has a 50 per cent drop-out rate, many of them students who, having rejected the educational system, are dropping out of the mainstream of American life. In Beaufort, the rhetoric of violence, racism and separatism can be heard both in the drawing rooms of the affluent and the shanties of the poor. But these are the adults speaking. To many of their sons and daughters it is an antiquated and tedious refrain. For integration is producing a new breed of students in Beaufort, youngsters who are fighting for a flexible and innovative school system to meet the urgent challenges of a nation both torn by dissent and united by the powerful dynamics of an emerging and infinitely promising American ideal.

ATHENS, GEORGIA:

WHERE BUSING WORKS

By Horace N. Barker, Jr.

In October, 1970, when Clarke County, Georgia, was well into its second year of system-wide desegregation, lawyers for the school board appeared before the U. S. Supreme Court. Their mission was unique: to plead not for neighborhood schools, but to defend the school board's plan involving a generous amount of busing, against charges of "unconstitutionality" from a group of Athens parents and to plead for a reversal of a Georgia State Supreme Court decision which had supported the citizens' legal challenge.

Clarke County has completely desegregated its public schools in less than two years. The primary impetus for this sweeping transformation came from civil rights officials in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) who had threatened in the summer of 1969 to terminate over $300,000 in Federal funds if the county refused to comply with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Like hundreds of other southern school districts, adoption of a freedom-of-choice plan was the only step towards desegregation which the county had taken since 1954. By September, 1968, this plan had placed only 10 per cent of the county's black students in schools having majority white student populations. Several all black schools remained.

In October, 1968, HEW advised the Clarke County Board of Education that much greater student and faculty desegregation would be necessary for the 1969-70 school year. After months of study and negotiations, the board submitted a "Neighborhood Plan" to HEW on May 1, 1969. This plan would have increased the number of black students in predominantly white schools, but still would have left four elementary schools, a junior high, and a high school with all-black or nearly all-black student bodies. HEW said this plan failed to meet the requirements of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Greater desegregation was feasible, said HEW, and therefore, greater desegregation was required.

(This exceptionally strong stand by HEW, requiring desegregation of every school in the district, occurred in the early days of the Nixon Administration, six months before the resignations of Leon Panetta, former director of the Office for Civil Rights at HEW, and Paul Rilling, former director of HEW's regional Office for Civil Rights in Atlanta. Soon after these departures, HEW scrapped the administrative standards which Panetta and Rilling felt were required by Title VI and the Constitution. The agency then began to describe entire school systems as "desegregated"

even though some schools within the districts continued to have the same predominantly white or black student enrollments as in the "old separate but equal" days.)

Realizing that loss of Federal monies was intolerable, the school board submitted another plan to HEW on July 30, 1969. A week later HEW gave its approval.

The plan which was implemented in September, 1969, established a 20 to 40 per cent black student population in 11 of the 13 elementary schools. In the other two schools the black population was about 50 per cent. The plan meant busing approximately 200 more students than had been bused in 1968-69. Desegregation of the white and black high schools was set for September, 1970.

According to Clarke County Superintendent of Schools, Charles P. McDaniel, neither he nor the school board was happy about the increased busing. "But there was no other way we could comply with the law," he said. "For a half century we have been busing black students past white schools and vice versa to maintain segregation. Now we're busing to eliminate segregation."

When the plan was challenged[1] and, at last, brought before the Supreme Court, school board attorney Eugene Epting says he rather enjoyed his appearance. "Most school boards are up there complaining that they've been forced to do too much. But we went up there asking the Court to overturn the Georgia court and let us continue what we had already done."[2]

However strong may have been the initial reluctance of the Athens' school board to adopt a plan which would actually desegregate every school in the system, school officials now want to keep the plan. Don Hight, principal of Clarke County's high school, said a return to a neighborhood plan would be ". . . a serious setback for students and parents. Our schools could adapt themselves to the old ways, but it wouldn't be nearly as good."

No Place to Run

Superintendent McDaniel feels that the current plan is essential to the operation of a thoroughly desegregated system. "If you want desegregated schools, a neighborhood school plan simply wouldn't work here in Clarke County. It would mean we would have all-black and all-white schools . . . It would mean that parents would be moving around to get their kids in a predominantly white zone." McDaniel said the present system has helped to stabilize the community. "There's no place for anyone to run now."

---

[1]The Athens suit raised two questions for the Supreme Court: (1) Whether the plan violated the constitutional rights (equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment) of students required to attend schools other than the school nearest their homes, and (2) Whether Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits a school district from operating a school attendance plan which involves the assignment of students to achieve a racial balance.

[2]Mr. Epting's personal feelings about desegregation are not necessarily represented by the plan he defended in Washington.

An Athens real estate agent affirms McDaniel's observation. "With a consolidated school system, it really doesn't make any difference which attendance zone people live in. They can be much less concerned about having to locate in the 'proper' zone."

McDaniel says the plan has helped to maintain the number of students in the public schools. He claims the county lost only about 100 students out of 11,500 to private schools in September, 1970, and less than 35 in September, 1969.[3] "With our plan there was no reason for parents to worry about sending their children to a 'bad' school. Now, everybody faces the same situation." He added, "The vast majority of the people have accepted what we had to do. All of them are not yet convinced it will work. We need some time to show them that it can and is working."

What would happen if the Supreme Court were to declare the plan unconstitutional? McDaniel said there would be some public pressure to revise the plan and go back to neighborhood schools. "An adverse decision would present unnecessary difficulties which we would rather avoid."

A black member of the school board, was less discreet: "We'll be in a hell of a fix if we lose it. Before you know it things would be just like they were before all this got started. It would be a bad situation. . . ."

The geography of Clarke County lends itself to a county-wide busing system. With only 125 square miles of rolling, woody, clay land it is the smallest of Georgia's 159 counties. Schools are situated in this area so that the longest one-way bus ride for any student under the present plan is five miles and normally requires a maximum of 35-40 minutes. The majority of students ride for about 25 minutes or less.

Over 51,000 of the county's 65,000 residents live in the "Classic City" of Athens[4], including 20,000 students at the University of Georgia. About 80 per cent of the county's total population and about 70 per cent of the elementary and high school age children are white. The county and city consolidated their school systems in 1956. Until January, 1968, the school board consisted of nine appointed members. At that time, the number was expanded to eleven, permitting the appointment of two black members.

Parents Response

Many, probably a majority, of the white adults who live in Clarke County still would prefer to send their children to neighborhood, segregated schools. The most frequently-voiced complaints of all parents concern irregular

[3]There are three private schools in Clarke County. St. Joseph's, a Catholic parochial school founded over 20 years ago, has an enrollment of 218 elementary students, including 12 blacks. The Athens Academy is a college preparatory school with 325 students, all white, enrolled in kindergarden through grade 12. The Academy opened in September, 1967. The third school is Athens Christian Academy. Opened in August, 1970, it enrolls 130 white students from six counties in grades one through eight. Having complied with the Nixon administration's politically soothing paper policy of simply declaring "non-discriminatory admission practices," the latter school was declared tax-exempt by the Internal Revenue Service in January, 1971.

[4]So named by its own residents because of the presence of many Greek Revival ante-bellum homes built on large, four-acre lots and because of the university's location on a high hill overlooking much of the city.

bus schedules, poorly-trained drivers, early morning departure times, lack of discipline within schools, and in some cases, overcrowded classrooms. But whatever may be the deficiencies in implementing the current plan, there have been no major disruptions or acts of violence to support segregationists' claims that, "It would never work."

Contributing to the success and support of desegregated education has been a sizable group of white parents, including members of the University faculty, who believe that the present educational system is best for their children and their community. Although sharing many of the complaints about imperfections in the current operation of the schools, this group of adults believes that the sacrifices made during this transitional period will be more than justified by the public benefits derived from providing every child with an equal educational opportunity through integrated education.

Typical are the comments of Howard Schretter, a school board member and 14-year resident of Athens with three children in the public schools: "Let's face it, the present generation of children are up against it, especially the most gifted children. Desegregation means that the teacher must spend more time with those that are behind in reading and other skills. . . . But I think it's more important to have a child learn something about human relations, to be exposed to a variety of people than to learn a little bit more than anybody else . . . . "

Schretter also said he wouldn't hesitate to send his children to private schools if they were subjected to bodily harm at public school. "If a kid's life is in danger, then integration is not worth it. But we're in no danger of reaching that point here. In fact, considering the mess we've made of things in the past, I'd have to say things are going pretty well now . . . "

One white, liberal middle-class parent said that, much to his chagrin, his son in the fourth grade had begun to develop a negative attitude toward his black classmates from the ghetto, describing them as "nuisances" and "troublemakers." The father hoped for a change in his son's attitude before the end of the school year.

Another white parent said that his son and his son's white friends in a junior high school thought their black classmates were "sort of exotic." "I've noticed a tendency for some of the kids to admire and sometimes imitate the black kids. My son is even picking up a ghetto dialect . . . . He seems to be getting along fine."

A parent with a son in one of the two consolidated sixth grade schools said his son's education has not been damaged. "The . . . school is very good this year. But that's because of the principal and because it has some of the best teachers. It has nothing to do with integration one way or another . . . . " He also said that his son catches the bus at 7:00 every morning—when the bus is on time. He has driven his son to school two or three times because the bus failed to arrive.

Sending their children to school with blacks has come hard to many white parents. A professor at the University described the reaction of some whites confronted with desegregation on a personal level for the first

time when they took their first graders to school on opening day and met their child's new black teacher:

"Some of the parents were really shook-up. I remember that one mother in particular was terribly upset. She almost cried as she introduced herself and the child to the teacher . . . But she left her son in the room . . . didn't take him out. For people who've been taught all their life to be prejudiced, that took a lot of courage . . . .

"I know some people who use the word 'nigger' with all its derogatory overtones, but who've made a real effort to see that their children get along in the integrated schools. I suppose that gives some basis for being optimistic about the future . . . . The change in attitudes here over the last seven years has been incredible."

A special concern of black parents this year is an unusually large number of black students who have been suspended from school for one to three days. Many members of the black community see this as a disturbing indication of the considerable progress that needs to be made in interracial teacher-pupil relationships.

For example, one mother who has seen all of her ten children attend Clarke County schools said that many white teachers still fail to understand the language, feelings, and problems of young black children. She said it does most of the students ". . . . no good at all to send them home. That just encourages them to go ahead and drop out." She feels the school board is obligated to provide much more training for teachers in an ongoing intergroup relations program and to add well-qualified counselors to help students with personal as well as academic problems.

Several students and parents mentioned a need for an improved and expanded vocational training program. Superintendent McDaniel and other school officials indicated a willingness to invest more resources in this area as well as in areas of intergroup relations. But whether these kinds of problems will actually receive a higher priority in the future is an open question.

A group of about 78 parents, many from the comfortable neighborhood of University Heights initiated the court challenge to the desegregation plan. They charged the school board with unfair treatment since their neighborhood was the only area of the city from which white students were to be bused to a formerly black school. They also complained about the poor condition of the school.

The school board responded by improving many formerly black schools with paved driveways, fresh paint, new blackboards. The board also modified the school attendance plan so that students from areas other than University Heights were to be bused to the school in 1970-71. (All schools now have a 20 to 40 per cent black student population.)

With these changes University Heights parents withdrew their support of the court challenge to the '69-70 plan. But other Athens parents, whites and blacks, carried the case through the courts and succeeded in getting the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia to declare the plan unconstitu-

tional. The school board appealed this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court which heard arguments in October, 1970.

One of the groups most inconvenienced by the present desegregation plan consists of the approximately 100 black children who live in Rock Springs Homes, a large public housing complex. Black parents from the area who were involved in the suit complained that children in grades one through five had to walk almost one and half miles to school, crossing heavily traveled streets. This is so because bus transportation is provided only for students who live more than a mile and a half from school. School officials concede that the restricted transportation is sometimes an imposition, but they point out that many white children are also required to walk the same distance as the black children from Rock Springs. To ease the safety concerns of parents, the school board has provided guards at the crossings but the matter remains one of concern to many black parents.

Merger and Dissension

The most serious disruption of education in Clarke County came last spring as school officials made plans for the September, 1970, merger of the all-black Burney-Harris High School (486 students) and the nearly all-white Athens High School (1529 students). As has been true in many other southern communities, some black and a few white high school students found it necessary to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with desegregation plans drawn up by school officials, most of whom were white. Marches, mass meetings, and other activities concerning the consolidation of the two schools occurred during April and May. Over 350 arrests were made. There was some minor vandalism and charges of police brutality, but no serious injuries were incurred.

During the demonstrations a predominantly black group of students presented a list of grievances to the school board. The grievances did not question the basic plan which made Burney-Harris serve all of the county's 10th grade students and Athens High serve 11th and 12th grade students. Rather, the demonstrating students were concerned with how the plan would be implemented.

The school board met with a student negotiating committee and formulated written, itemized responses to each issue raised by the students. Student leaders involved in the protest were satisfied with only one or two of the board's responses. Many of the board's answers were too general and evasive, according to the leaders.

The list of demands *per se* ceased to be an issue, however, after the board issued its written response and after the 1969-70 school year was completed. But some high school students feel that many of the issues are still not satisfactorily resolved. For example, the students wanted a black studies program implemented on a broad basis from elementary through secondary school. This year a black studies course, taught by a black teacher, is offered as a regular elective course at the high school. But some of the students in the course, while saying it was a "pretty good one,"

complained about a shortage of books. No special black studies programs have been included in the curriculum for elementary and junior high grades.

Another student concern last spring was the selection of colors for the new school. The problem appeared solved when one color was selected from Burney-Harris High and one from Athens High to form the new colors for "Clarke Central High." (This is the new name given to the secondary school system which includes the "Burney-Harris campus" and the "Athens campus.") However, the new football uniforms displayed the old Athens High color quite prominently but gave very little visibility to the old Burney-Harris color. (One Athens minister said this was typical of the "blundering, stupid, unnecessary mistakes of the white community which create bad feelings and makes our problem more difficult to solve.")

A third issue concerned the place of the Burney-Harris teaching and administrative staff in the new system. For example, the former principal at Burney-Harris High was made director of the Clarke County adult education program. (The principal at Clarke Central is white, while the assistant and building principals at the Athens and Burney-Harris campuses are evenly divided between whites and blacks.)

The most serious controversy in the merger of the two high school faculties involved football coaches. The black head coach at Burney-Harris was demoted to an assistant coach while the Athens head coach returned to his position. During the football season this situation produced considerable resentment of the part of the black football players who felt that the white coach was incapable of treating them fairly. Dissension among the black players could not be easily dismissed or overlooked by white school officials since several of the athletes not only were student leaders, but also the team's best players. (Two of them won football scholarships to the University of Georgia.)

One Monday, late last October, after the integrated Clarke Central team had lost its only game of the season, a group of black players refused to practice. They claimed that the head coach had unfairly blamed them for losing the game. The coaches and protesting students had a meeting, however, and the walkout ended the next day.

Some observers in Athens believe that the absence of more incidents like this during the season indicated a special effort on the part of coaches and players to establish mutual respect. But many of the black football players still strongly feel the need for a change in the attitude of the coaching staff.

One of them put it like this: "The head coach is wrong, he's wrong from his heart . . . . If there's anyway possible for him to straighten out, then things will work out, I believe. If they keep him, and he don't change, there won't be many black students playing ball . . . because they know what we went through. And besides, there may be trouble . . . ."

In contrast to the dissension which plagues the football team, other areas of the school's athletic program are much more satisfactory to all concerned. The basketball team is co-coached by the former Burney-Harris head coach and a coach from the former Athens High. Players said this

arrangement was working out well. As of the first week in February the team was undefeated and ranked among the top ten teams in the state.

The baseball team will have a black head coach.

Policies For Transition

The city of Athens and its schools have been free of major demonstrations since last May. The newly-named Clarke Central High School opened in September, 1970, without any disruptive incidents. Principal Hight said that many parents thought that the black and white students would never get along together. "Some parents believed the school would be blown off the map. It hasn't been. This doesn't mean we've done everything right. We've made some mistakes. But we have kept things together."

School officials have made some policy decisions that have resolved problems which continue to plague schools in other southern communities. For example, the dress code in effect this year in Clarke County schools permits considerable personal freedom in selecting the length of one's hair and the style of one's clothing. In roaming the halls and campus one sees many white students decked out in hippie-style outfits and black students with the most outstanding kinds of Afros and matching attire.

The playing of "Dixie", which has terrorized band directors and high school principals at other schools, is no problem at Clarke Central because the band stopped playing it a year before the schools were consolidated. Superintendent McDaniel says he likes it and considers it a fine song, "But," he explained, "we would prefer not to use it if it's going to offend some of our students and to cause dissension. We believe that helping students to get a good education is more important than stubborn adherence to tradition just for stubborness' sake."

One long-haired student, a member of the high school band who takes a great deal of pride in what he terms the progressive attitude of band members ("We've never had any problems admitting blacks"), said that band members themselves decided 'Dixie' wasn't worth playing if it got people all up tight." He found continued use of the song by the University of Georgia band rather juvenile. "They still play it at all the games. I wish they would grow up and realize they're living in the 20th century. They should set an example for us, not the other way around."

With the assistance of faculty members from the Department of Education at the University of Georgia, the high school is training some 17 students to work in biracial teams to lead "sensitivity sessions" on the dynamics of black-white relations with selected groups of junior high students. Initial meetings with student groups met mixed results. However, most students on the teams thought the meetings were worthwhile, but that the number of students involved was too small. What was needed, they felt, were many more school-sponsored opportunities for students to talk frankly and openly with each other about racial problems.

One student-initiated effort at promoting better understanding among students and between students and school administrators was the formation this year of a new club called "Union for Student Equality" (U-S-E).

The organization was started by a group of 10th grade students at the Burney-Harris building for the purposes of protecting the rights of students, acting as a mediator between students and faculty, and bringing students together on a social basis. USE has sponsored some community events, such as a Christmas party for Headstart children. It is trying to enlarge its membership and to secure financial assistance from HEW under the emergency school desegregation programs.

One of the more ominous new policies at the high school is the deployment of a half dozen security guards. They are all young men, uniformed, armed with a can of Mace for "self-defense". School officials claim they are there to guard against outside bullies and troublemakers. If this were the only reason they were there, one might expect to find them stationed only at the building entrances. But they in fact are found throughout the building.

Walter Allen, the black assistant principal at the high school, said that he at first had serious reservations about hiring the guards, primarily because of the potentially bad image they might have for black students. "I remember all too well," he said, "what, historically, policemen have done to me and most other black people. But now since they've been here for a while, they seem to be working out."

Student opinion of the guards is far from unanimous. Many students said they "didn't mind the guards being there", but thought they were unnecessary. Some black students said they got along well with the guards "except for one or two who try too much to assert their authority . . . ." Other students said the guards were needed to prevent incidents of extortion and bullying in the halls. Still other students expressed strong resentment of the guard's presence and felt they contributed to a repressive and tense atmosphere. However, barring a flagrant discourtesy or indiscretion by the guards, it appeared unlikely that their presence would precipitate a major incident.

The number of school-sponsored social activities at Clarke Central has been reduced considerably. The traditional fall homecoming dance was cancelled and only one other social event—a Christmas dance—has been attempted. The latter dance flopped partly because students considered ticket prices too high and partly because black students disliked the band.

School officials are proceeding cautiously in the area of social activities apparently to avoid a major incident of violence which would provoke an outcry from the white community. But many students expressed an interest in a greatly expanded social calendar. Students generally seemed much less apprehensive about the potential for trouble than did school officials and parents. One white student leader said school administrators could take necessary precautions against violence and could do much more to encourage antagonistic white and black students to cooperate in seeing that social functions were kept peaceful.

A black member of the student council offered this advice:

The thing that would help our school now more than anything

else would be for the administration to stop worrying about the black and the white and to start worrying about students . . . Treat everbody as students because that's what they are, really . . . and the situation would work out, *but they just don't believe it.* [emphasis supplied]

Interviewed for this report during the first week in February, high school officials readily agreed that an expanded social program was highly desirable. Principal Hight said, "It is now imperative that the school sponsor more social activities. Students are growing tired of administrators using 'integration' as a crutch for not doing anything. Everyone is much more accustomed to integration now and there's no reason why we can't hold generally all of the activities that the schools sponsored before they merged."

Student Reflections

Given the encouragement and opportunity, a vast majority of black and white students probably could do much more to relieve resentment and mistrust. The following experience of one black high school senior suggests the possibilities:

> We were in this class together, another black guy and I, and we got into a discussion with white kids about the demonstrations of last spring.
>
> Some of the white kids thought we did it because we were violent, and didn't like them and didn't like anything about them.
>
> But we explained why we demonstrated. It wasn't for any reason of violence, not to cause violence. But that's the way it turned out . . . we had to demonstrate anyway.
>
> We explained [to the white students] how we really thought about things. We sort of made them see the light, to see how we really felt. It wasn't that we didn't like them, but it was a cause we were fighting for.
>
> Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes.

The black seniors also articulated a determination to secure on a permanent basis the fundamental rights, respect, and civilities due them as American citizens.

One student, reflecting on part of the meaning of his heritage said:

> I think some of the older white folks think that stuff [white domination] is still going to happen. But, I don't believe it's going to come about anymore . . . because I'd rather be dead than do what my foreparents did . . . .
>
> When some whites come up to me now and, you know, try to holler at me and say do this, do that, demanding like, I want to retaliate . . . because I've heard many times before what my grandmother went through, and I just don't want to go through that. It's heartbreaking to know what she had to go through.

Another student:

> My mother and father, they tried to put me down, told me I was going to get in trouble because I talk a whole lot, speak my mind . . . but I say what I think because I don't mind. I told them that Martin Luther King said, 'If you don't have a cause worth dying for, you're not a man' and that's what I tell them . . .
>
> That's what they [white people] want Negroes to do anyway. Sit back and don't say anything. That's what happened to our parents. They were afraid to speak up . . . .

A third student, referring to the demotion of black teachers and principals when desegregation occurs:

> The Negro, he's been taking it for so long . . . he's tired, he's not going to take it anymore.

The Future in Athens

A biracial committee, consisting of students and faculty from the former Athens and Burney-Harris high schools, was set up three months before the April, 1970, protests to devise a mutually satisfactory way of implementing the desegregation plan. But one student, a member of the committee, reported,

> Students at Athens High wanted to be on it mainly because it was a big deal, a prestige thing, but they weren't really interested in communicating with the black students or in understanding how they really felt about having to give up their school . . . . Students' feelings should have had top priority, but they didn't.

Another observer who was involved in these early meetings also blamed black students from Burney-Harris for not taking advantage of this initial opportunity to express their opinions. "They gave us no indication of how they really felt or what they really wanted. Some of them didn't even attend some of the meetings because of basketball games . . . "

Rev. Frank Hutchison, however, white minister of the Athens United Presbyterian Church, sees the events of last spring as a logical consequence of a culmination of bigotry and ignorance on the part of much of the white community: "A lot of white people either didn't know or didn't care about the feelings of the black people, adults and students, who had strong emotional ties to their high school . . . ."

Many school and city officials in Athens do not deny that what happened last spring has made the white community more *attentive* to voices from the black community. The crucial issue, however, is whether the white community will be more *responsive* to the needs of the black community.

In the aftermath of the demonstrations several leaders in the black community spoke out against the failure of the "old Athens establishment" and the city administration to show any kind of genuine concern for the poor and problems of poverty. "The black people have not been heard," said Mrs. John T. (Jessie) Barnet. "There's a terrible lack of communications. The city seems blind to proverty."[5] When asked in

[5]Athens *Banner Herald,* May 31, 1970.

January, 1971, if the situation had improved, Mrs. Barnet replied, "Maybe it's a little bit better, but we'll just have to wait and see what happens. . . . "

Mrs. Miriam Moore is a black woman who has been quite skeptical of the concern of many white Athenians for the black community. (She calls herself a "pure-blooded Athenian" because she was born in the house where she still lives.) But Mrs. Moore sees some progress in Athens, particularly as reflected in the greater interest city officials have shown in the Athens Model City program.

Another reason for a slightly more optimistic outlook, Mrs. Moore said, is the election of 26-year-old Edward Turner to the Athens city council. He is the first black man to serve since the days of Reconstruction.[6] Turner sees a major benefit of his election as giving the black community an official voice for communicating with city officials. He said he has little indication that the city will make significant improvements in programs affecting the black community. "There's not much hope in one vote out of nine, but at least the black community will have a voice that they've never had before."

Turner emphasized that the problems in Athens involve " . . . not just improving the educational system, but raising immediately the socio-economic status of most of the students' parents. Athens needs a lot more decent job and housing opportunities for its black residents."[7]

One outgrowth of the demonstrations last spring was the establishment of the *United Free Press,* a mimeographed monthly newspaper published by a group of black and white citizens in an effort to fill a communications gap between the black and white communities. Founders of the paper say it was established " . . . due in large part to the apparent unwillingness of local newspapers and radio stations to report certain kinds of news, especially news which reflects discontent with the manner in which the public business of Athens is conducted."[8]

The paper has received a warm welcome in the black community and among students. Many black residents said the paper serves a very useful function in discussing events that the " . . . two establishment Athens dailies wouldn't touch." Continued publication of the *United Free Press* should make social injustices in Clarke County more difficult to ignore.[9]

One cannot responsibly predict that the school system will be free of major disturbances during the remainder of this school year. In Athens as in many other American communities, meaningful communication

---

[6]Turner was elected from Athens' First Ward where 800 whites and 1175 blacks are registered. He defeated the white incumbent 645-571 in a runoff election after receiving the highest vote in a 3-man primary race.

[7]Only 8 per cent of the black labor force in Clarke County hold jobs classified officially as "white collar" positions, compared with 58.1 per cent of the white work force in these positions. 53.1 per cent of the county's blacks work in "service" jobs, compared with only 7.2 per cent of the white work force.

[8]*United Free Press* June 1, 1970, p. 1.

[9]In its second issue, (June 7, 1970) the *Free Press* noted "some improvement" in the "establishment" papers' coverage of events concerning the black community. Such improvements included a special eight-page feature section on "Black Athens: Triumph and Tragedy," wherein some black leaders were given an opportunity to express their ideas in public.

between white and black residents was breeched by a history of enforced patterns of racial segregation and discrimination. The legacy of that history continues to be a considerable amount of resentment, frustration, and mutual suspicion. But, through the physical desegregation of their educational system, the people of both races in Clarke County have created new significant possibilities for ending the destructive legacy and correcting past injustices.

Having taken this initial step towards giving all students, for the first time, an equal educational opportunity, school officials may find more time and resources to invest in expanding and revising the total educational program. The situation is now at the point where students and school officials can begin to confront problems more sophisticated and complex than simply placing black and white students in the same classrooms and buildings. The remaining problems, particularly at the high school and junior high schools, require a more energetic attack on feelings of mistrust, resentment, and social isolation. The present challenge is to create good-will, espirit d' corps, a situation where everyone feels that they are welcomed and "a part of the team."

Clarke County has the potential for operating one of the highest quality integrated school systems in the country. During the last decade its citizens consistently supported increased local spending for education.[10] Yet, only a small percentage of the county's available financial resources have been tapped. For example, local school revenue for 1967-68 represented only 2.2 per cent of the county's effective buying income of *$131.8 million. Less than one per cent* of the total property value of the county is being spent annually for school purposes. The people of Clarke County as a whole clearly have the ability to provide the additional financial support which will be necessary to maintain and improve their public education program.

Hopefully, there are enough people in the county who have achieved sufficient freedom from their personal prejudices and who have enough pride, determination, and patience to complete the social transformation they have initiated. Hopefully, enough people appreciate the progress that has been made and recognize the much greater progress that needs to be made so that Clarke County residents may provide, sooner than the people in many other communities, an opportunity for their children to learn to live together, acknowledging and developing the differences and similarities of their respective southern cultures.

---

[10]Total current expenditures for 1968-69 were approximately 90 per cent greater than expenditures for 1964-65.

WHITE FLIGHT:

THE SEGREGATION ACADEMY MOVEMENT

By Kitty Terjen

The rapidly developing segregation academy movement in the South is an anomaly in the history of private education. Unlike parochial schools and the better private preparatory schools founded earlier in the century, the segregation academy tends to be academically inferior—accredited neither by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools nor by the states in which they operate. Although this year there is evidence that many private academies are moving from make-shift quarters into new prefab buildings, the caliber of teachers (many of whom came out of retirement to teach) remains sub-standard and the curriculum offerings, at best, are pale imitations of what is offered in the public schools.

Many of these new schools, with their underlying philosophy of "Never!", are a warping influence on the children who attend. Even aside from the implications of removing children to a segregated situation in a democratic country, it is important to note that many of these schools are motivated by an extreme right-wing philosophy which, in the name of "patriotism" and "quality education," is a perversion of the nation's ideals.

Private School Enrollment

For the 1970-71 school year, the Southern Regional Council estimates that 450,000 to 500,000 students attend private segregated schools in the 11-state South. Many of these are older private schools, not founded for the purposes of segregation but still without Negro students; others are the new segregation academies.

The Council estimated in October, 1969, that 300,000 students were enrolled in segregated private schools. After the Supreme Court's decision in October, 1969, to integrate schools "at once," the Council revised its figures upward to 400,000 students, based primarily on reports of the virtual abandonment by whites of the public schools in some areas of Mississippi and Louisiana. Since that time some whites have returned to the public schools and many of the older private schools have begun to integrate. The estimate of 450,000 to 500,000 students enrolled, therefore, represents an attempt to reflect these subtle shifts but tends to conceal the dramatic growth of the newer segregation academies. There is ample evidence that existing academies are adding grades and increasing enrollments and that a great many new academies were opened for the first time this fall.

Sources of information about the number of newer schools are fragmentary and in many cases uncertain. SRC estimates are based on the latest state records available, as well as HEW estimates and news stories.

State departments of education do not keep up with the phenomenal growth and do not usually separate the various categories of private schools. HEW estimates have proved inaccurately low. Despite SRC recommendations last year for better public records on the private school movement, up-to-date and accurate information is still not available.

State-By-State

Following is a brief state-by-state report on private school activity in the South last year:

—Alabama: The latest figures available from the state department of education are for the year 1968-69, when 39, 214 pupils reportedly were enrolled in 191 private schools of all types (including post-secondary) in the state. The only up-to-date figures available on this state are those provided by Allen Cleveland (an Auburn University graduate student), who made a survey of the non-sectarian private schools in the state last spring. He found, by interviewing school superintendents, that as of April, 1970, there were 83 non-sectarian private schools in operation in the state and that 43 would open in September, 1970. After his survey was made, Cleveland discovered an additional 20 schools which planned to open in the fall of 1970, bringing the total of new schools this year to about 65.

"I anticipated in April that 20,500 pupils would attend private schools in September. My guess now is that it is closer to 35,000," Mr. Cleveland said in January. He added that his survey did not include private schools set up in churches to avoid segregation and he indicated there were a large number of schools so situated in Alabama.

The survey, which Mr. Cleveland conducted as part of his Ph.D. dissertation at Auburn University, indicates that private school enrollment in the state has more than doubled since 1964. In addition, his study concludes that in many instances the newer the school, the lower its enrollment and tuition the more likely it is to be lacking certain elements which constitute "quality education."

—Arkansas: The department of education was having trouble keeping up with the growth of private education as a whole in the state so it quit keeping statistics in 1968. However, the *Arkansas Gazette* reported that enrollment in segregation academies—not counting older private schools and parochial schools—rose from 405 in 1969 to 2,348 in 1970. The number of such schools tripled during the year.

—Florida: This state has traditionally had a greater percentage of its school-age population enrolled in private schools than have other states in the South, but it was not believed until last year that there was any significant enrollment in segregation academies. Newspaper reports in the last year, however, reveal that there is an academy movement in that state and it is growing. During 1969-70 there were 396 private schools of all types in Florida with a total enrollment of 109,478 students. The state department has made a conservative estimate of five per cent growth this year.

—Georgia: No official statistics are kept, but an unofficial state department survey, which is incomplete, suggests that this year there are 224 private schools in the state, 144 more than there were in 1967. Enrollment this year is estimated to be 50,078 students, an increase of almost 40,000 since 1967.

—Louisiana: According to the state department of education, 165,000 students are enrolled in private schools this year, 12,380 more than the previous year and 15,152 more than 1964. The growth in Louisiana is exceptionally large but it does not show up clearly in the figures because of a concurrent drop in parochial school enrollment which is part of a national trend due to rising costs and shrinking financial support of Catholic schools. (Louisiana has a larger Catholic population than any other Southern state.)

—Mississippi: The most dramatic and most publicized growth of the academy movement has occurred in this state. This year, according to state figures, 62,676 pupils are enrolled, an increase of 43,278 students since 1964. State figures on the number of private schools are contradictory. This year the state reports 197 private schools in operation, although last year it reported 256 such schools. Newspapers document a continued growth from 1969, so an estimate of 275-300 schools would probably be accurate for the current school year.

—North Carolina: This is one of the few Southern states which attempts to keep full and current records on the private schools within its boundaries. It even has a paid coordinator of non-public schools. North Carolina has witnessed a steadily increasing private school enrollment, from 18,721 students in 1964 to 36,470 students in 1970-71, an increase of approximately 18,000. Eighty-one private schools have been created in the state since 1964, 31 in the last year.

—South Carolina: The department of education estimates that 35,000 students are enrolled in private schools this year, 9,000 more than last year and approximately 17,000 more than in 1964. The number of private schools also has risen sharply, from a reported 78 in 1964 (there were 48 in 1954) to 139 in 1969-70. The membership in the segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association has risen to 60 member schools this year, compared with 31 in mid-1969. Officials of that organization say there are many more operating in the state which are too inferior in quality to be members.

—Tennessee: The state does not keep private school statistics (except for those few—37 in 1969-70—which voluntarily request state approval) and public school enrollment figures show no significant decrease this year. Observers at the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville feel the segregation academy movement in Tennessee has been limited.

—Texas: The state department of education did not respond to SRC inquiries in time for inclusion in this report. HEW estimates that this year 57,000 are enrolled in private schools, a drop of almost 4,000 from the previous year. This drop probably reflects declining parochial school

enrollment, which is large in this state, and growth of segregated private education, if any, is not reflected.

—Virginia: The Old Dominion, a pioneer in the academy movement (Prince Edward Academy in Farmville has provided a model for other states), reports 56,304 Virginia residents enrolled in private schools this year, an increase of 5,847 from the previous year. The busing issue in Richmond and Norfolk has contributed to this increase.

IRS and the Academies

The signal event in the life of the new "segregation academy" movement during the past year, aside from its continued spread, was the Internal Revenue Service's decision on July 10 that it "can no longer legally justify allowing tax-exempt status to private schools which practice racial discrimination nor can it treat gifts to such schools as charitable deductions for income tax purposes." At first glance this new policy seemed a victory for civil rights advocates who had long argued for an end to indirect public subsidy, through the tax system, of private segregated schools organized deliberately to avoid public school desegregation. However, as the first favorable rulings were announced under the new policy, it became painfully clear that the IRS, in accepting "good faith" statements by the schools themselves as to whether they discriminate, was defeating its own stated policy.

According to Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Randolph Thrower (who since then has resigned from his position) the IRS is issuing favorable rulings "based on representations of fact made to us in writing by responsible officers of the school setting forth its admission policy and the publication of this to the public." He continued, in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity in August: "Our whole basis of tax administration in this country . . . is based on trust. We assume a voluntary compliance . . . ."

To assume "voluntary compliance" on the part of Southern segregationists is to ignore realities that by now should be second nature to any federal official involved in civil rights enforcement. In the South, a simple statement by a private school that it is open to all regardless of race obviously will not be sufficient.

As of December 30, 1970, six months after announcement of the new policy, the IRS had not initiated revocation of the tax-exempt status of any of the estimated 17,000 to 18,000 private schools in the nation which already had tax-exempt status outstanding. (In Mississippi, the exemptions of 30 such schools were suspended, but this was under court order in the case of *Green vs. Kennedy and Thrower.*) Nor has the Southern Regional Council been able to ascertain that any of the 136 private school applications pending with the IRS as of July 10, 1970, have received unfavorable rulings.

Information and the Public

In an interview in December, Stuart Patt, an IRS spokesman, declined to say whether IRS had made even one unfavorable ruling outside the

Mississippi cases. "We don't make announcements on that," he said. "As long as schools are not exempt, they are taxpayers entitled to the same privileges under the law as all taxpayers . . . . We are prohibited by law from disclosing the affairs of a taxpayer."

This interpretation was rejected by the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia when it ordered the IRS to make public the names of the 30 schools under its jurisdiction whose tax exemptions were suspended. Many believe that all such IRS rulings, favorable or unfavorable, are matters of public record.

The subject of private schools at the IRS is "so sensitive that we've been cautioned to follow correct procedures," Mrs. June Norris, acting chief of the rulings section, Exempt Organizations Branch, told a researcher who inquired about such information for this report. This "sensitivity" has led to equivocation by some members of the IRS bureaucracy. For example Mr. Patt declined to supply an SRC researcher the list of *136* schools whose applications for tax exemption IRS Commissioner Thrower said were pending July 10, 1970. "Until they receive the exemptions, we can't disclose anything about them," Patt said. However, the IRS did supply the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity a list of *137* private schools with applications pending as of August 7, 1970, and the list was published in the record of the hearings which are available to the public.

To further confuse matters, the IRS, after announcing in Washington the names of the first seven schools which received favorable rulings, began with the eighth favorable ruling to make announcements only at the district-office level. There are 58 districts. Furthermore, rulings on the 17,000 to 18,000 private schools with exemptions outstanding will be made at the district level, according to Terry Gastell of the IRS Public Information Office in Washington. He said he did not think the names of schools approved or disapproved on review would be available in Washington. "We will probably have some statistics," he said.

The IRS, then, is giving no assurances at this time that information regarding any of its rulings, favorable or unfavorable, will be made available to the public generally. Without such information a meaningful evaluation of the effects of the new IRS policy on private school tax exemption will be all but impossible.

Favorable Rulings

As of December 2, 1970, a total of 58 private schools had been granted advance assurance of tax exemption by the IRS. The Southern Regional Council was able to obtain a copy of this list from the IRS in Washington. Of those schools granted favorable rulings, nine were in Mississippi and under jurisdiction of the federal court in the *Green* case. (Eight of these schools are awaiting decision by the court on an appeal by the plaintiffs, who contend that the schools, despite their declaration that they have a non-discriminatory admissions policy, are "part of a system of private schools operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative to white

students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." The ninth school, the Saints Academy in Lexington, is integrated and its exemption was not challenged by the plaintiffs.)

Of the 49 private schools outside Mississippi which have been granted tax exemption, one school, the Pinewood Christian Academy in Claxton, Ga., does not appear on the list of 137 private schools with applications pending August 7 (as listed in the committee hearings). Nor were the names of the first seven schools which received IRS approval on July 19 on the list supplied to the Equal Educational Opportunity Committee by the IRS. It is very difficult, therefore, to determine whether the IRS is presently issuing rulings only on those schools whose applications were pending at the time of the policy change or whether the IRS is adding, and approving, private schools. Furthermore, current IRS policy makes it impossible to determine which schools with applications pending, if any, have received unfavorable rulings.

Violations

Shortly after the first six IRS exemptions were announced, Mrs. Ruby Martin of the Washington Research Project testified before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity that at least three of the six private schools granted exemption fit "the classic pattern of the segregation academy." At later hearings before this committee, the IRS commissioner said: "We have not at this time made an effort to determine the motivation for the formation of the seven schools about which you specifically requested." Adding that decisions were "prospective" and that the IRS was giving all schools ample opportunity to "conform," Thrower refused to be convinced that a school which was organized to avoid public school desegregation and which remained segregated should be judged on those grounds. "I am not willing," he said, "to make the assumption that assurances given us in writing by the leaders of any institution will represent a farce and a fraud. If any are, we want that called to our attention."

Sen. Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, called to Thrower's attention the following evidence provided by Robert Valder of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.:

> . . . . The information contained below was obtained by Mr. Ernest Johnson, a black resident of Alabama . . . .
>
> Mr. Johnson went to Newnan, Ga., at my request to obtain certain information about Heritage School on July 31 and August 1, 1970. Mr. Johnson first talked to two black residents of Newnan who wish to remain anonymous. One of the residents told Mr. Johnson that the Newnan City Council, in a meeting during the summer of 1969, had discussed methods of 'keeping the niggers out of' the Heritage School. One method discussed during that meeting was to charge excessively high tuition.
>
> In order to get the most complete information possible, I had asked Mr. Johnson to attempt to obtain an application form for

this school. Accordingly, Mr. Johnson decided to ask a black parent to go to the office of this school and say that she was thinking about enrolling one of her children in the school. She refused because she said she had seen an article in the local paper during the summer of 1969 which stated that this school was for 'whites only.' Mr. Johnson went to the local newspaper office in an attempt to locate that article, but was told that newspapers were not retained in that office for that length of time. Mr. Johnson then went to the school's office and talked to Mr. George H. Keller Jr. who is headmaster.

Mr. Johnson told Mr. Keller that he was thinking about enrolling his child in this school and would like to obtain an application form and any other relevant information. Mr. Keller told Mr. Johnson that at the present time no Negroes had applied to enroll their children in the school but that Mr. Johnson could make such an application if he had $750.00 'in your ass pocket.' Mr. Keller did give Mr. Johnson an application form and information about tuition costs. Mr. Johnson said Mr. Keller's general demeanor towards him was 'nasty and hostile.'

Mr. Keller also told Mr. Johnson that if his children were enrolled they would have to be 'clean and decent.'

Enclosed is a copy of the application form for this school. It should be noted that references are required; obviously such a requirement would act as a deterrent should any black person have the desire to attempt to enroll his child in this school . . . .

Enclosed are Xeroxed copies of clippings from the Newnan *Times-Herald*. The clipping dated July 9, 1970, does not state that this school is open to blacks. One of the clippings dated July 16, 1970, does make such an indication. The implication being that suddenly this school became open to black students . . . .

Commissioner Thrower rejected the deeply distrubing allegations in Mr. Johnson's report. He preferred to believe that the Heritage officials were acting in good faith. To the knowledge of SRC, the IRS has not yet investigated the Legal Defense Fund's complaints against the Heritage School.

While Thrower testified that he would welcome information from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson later said that the burden of monitoring private schools will be on private citizens. He said Southerners who feel the private schools are discriminating can complain to the IRS or file suit.

Enforcement

The Southern Regional Council recently discovered that five of the six private schools in South Carolina which have been granted tax exemption as of December 2 are members of the segregationist South Carolina Independent School Association. The sixth school, the Union Academy, received advice at its inception from Dr. T. E. Wannamaker, a hero of the white Citizens Councils and a founder of the South Carolina associa-

tion, which has been closely aligned with the Citizens Councils organization. The Union Academy, according to one of its board members, intends to join the association in the near future.

One of the first schools to be granted exemption by the IRS under its policy is the Gaffney Day School. As early as 1966 this school was listed as a member of the South Carolina association and it is on record with the IRS as having "applied for membership in the South Carolina Independent School Association and this will be the accrediting agency." When the Gaffney School first appeared on the membership roster of the South Carolina association, Dr. Wannamaker, then president of the group, told the Columbia *State* and *Record* (July 10, 1966): "We're here because we have convictions—and we're going to stay. It's not token integration we're concerned about, but the effects mass integration will have on our schools in the future . . . . The immediate concern is this heavy ratio, the future concern is amalgamation of the races which takes three generations." In the past Dr. Wannamaker has indicated he believes in the inherent inferiority of Negroes and on one occasion he told the Washington *Post:* "I'm an old-time conservative. I believe it's heredity first and environment second. Many (Negroes) are little more than field hands."

The South Carolina Independent School Association's close relationship with the white Citizens Councils often has been kept in the background. As early as February, 1966, an article by Dr. Wannamaker entitled "Private Schools—Developments in South Carolina," appeared in *The Citizen,* the monthly publication of the Citizens Council, and his picture was on the cover. In June, 1969, William J. Simmons, administrator of the Citizens Council, told a New York *Times* reporter that "there are about 24 (private schools) in South Carolina, where the council-sponsored school system is called the Independent School Association . . . ." Later that year Mr. Simmons attended the annual convention of the South Carolina association at Hilton Head as an "observer." The Columbia *State* on December 15, 1969, reported: "The soft-spoken, easy-talking Mississippian said forthrightly that he isn't much impressed by some private school-men who emphasize the need for quality education. He said, matter-of-factly, the root is school integration."

The five schools in South Carolina which have been granted favorable rulings by the IRS, despite their membership in an association which has linked arms with the white Citizens Councils and which in earlier days espoused segregation openly but which now couches its beliefs in terms of "quality education", are:

> The Gaffney School, Gaffney; Holly Hill Academy, Holly Hill; Thomas Heyward Academy, Ridgeland; Coastal Academy; Myrtle Beach; Thomas Hart Academy, Hartsville.

(The sixth school, Union Academy, which received a favorable ruling from the IRS, plans to join the South Carolina association in the near future.)

Because of the new IRS policy, all these schools now have publicly espoused a non-discriminatory admissions policy and published it in a local newspaper (to satisfy an IRS requirement), something not all members of the South Carolina association are sure they are willing to do, even hypocritically. Hillyer Rudisill III, a ranking official in the South Carolina association, recently said he is wary of publishing a statement on non-discrimination in the local newspaper and then claiming that no qualified Negro has applied. Even that would be "capitulation" to the federal government, in his view. "If you said there were no qualified Negro applicants, some Yankee psychologist would come down and say the tests are culturally biased," he said.

Sentiments like these suggest the real spirit of the segregation academy movement. Commissioner Thrower, however, did not consider them relevant. It is his judgment that the IRS exemption rulings should be based only on officially published statements. This policy ignores the cynicism of the statements and the fact that they are designed to placate the IRS. "This policy," Thrower told the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, "makes available to all children, without regard to race, private education in the country which has the benefit of tax exemption. What we are assuring is availability, not attendance." Paper assurances, of course, do not insure availability and the IRS, in a recent attempt to recoup some of its credibility on the subject, told Atlanta *Journal* education editor Junie Brown that the July 10 ruling does not apply to such areas as "testing, grade requirements, high tuition and other technicalities to try to keep Negro students out while still proclaiming an open-door policy." Nor, obviously, does the IRS consider, as it hands out favorable rulings, the social and economic pressures of the white community—not to mention outright violence—which might face Negroes attempting to enroll their children in a private school in the South.

The Green Case

The ugly reality of the situation seems to have entirely escaped the Internal Revenue Service, but it has not escaped the plaintiffs in the *Green* case, who argued in December before the U. S. District Court in the District of Columbia that "the name of the game is paper compliance" to obtain tax-exempt status. The specific issue now before the court involves the eight schools in Mississippi which were granted favorable tax rulings by the IRS last fall. All eight have officially declared that they will accept applications from black pupils, but in none are blacks actually enrolled. One reason for this, an IRS lawyer argued, was that "none have applied."

The *Green* case is significant because it has ordered the IRS to "first affirmatively determine . . . that a school . . . is not a part of a system of private schools operated on a racially segregated basis as an alternative to white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." The judges, according to the Washington *Post,* "have made it clear that they were not entirely satisfied with IRS action to date." If the court requires the IRS

to go beyond paper compliance in Mississippi, it will surely be forced to do so in the rest of the country. ("Or else Jim Eastland would scream," noted Frank Parker, who is lawyer for the plaintiffs.) If so, then surely most of the 57 favorable rulings issued as of December 2, 1970, would have to be rescinded.

Schools With Favorable Rulings Outstanding

According to IRS sources, a review of the estimated 17,000 to 18,000 private schools in the country with favorable tax rulings outstanding is still in process. "We really don't know very much about the admissions policy of these schools," IRS Spokesman Stuart Patt said. "We have sent out a questionnaire form to all schools we could possibly pick off our lists." Patt said the due date for return of these questionnaires was December 30, 1970. "Until the examinations branch has all of these questionnaires back and goes through them, we won't be able to undertake a full-scale examination in this area," he said. He added that no tax exemptions for private schools approved in previous years had been revoked as of December 30, 1970.

Unless the court intervenes, the IRS will probably continue its farcical acceptance of the written word. There is no evidence that the IRS has yet conducted field examinations or considered the racial constituency of the student body (an earlier criterion announced by the IRS, but later dropped from the record) of a private school seeking tax exemption. All evidence points toward satisfaction with the present policy.

Despite the IRS's new policy on private schools, the government is continuing its indirect subsidy of segregated private schools by granting favorable rulings to schools which hypocritically announce an open-door policy. Its announced position is that if a school's tax-exempt status is revoked, gifts or contributions made to it before the revocation will not be affected. A school already might have received its major capital gifts before adverse action is taken in Washington. Thus, on the strength of bad judgments by IRS in the initial phase, some schools that are not eligible for an exemption will have received the benefit of one at the most crucial stage of their development. While approximately 85 per cent of the private schools' operating costs can be met by tuition and other fees, funds for capital improvements are almost totally dependent upon contributions.

As a letter to the editor of the New York *Times* (August 2, 1970) suggests: "By such action these schools would be able to assure their contributors that the deductibility of their contributions would not be in question. After the buildings have been completed and the buses have been bought out of tax deductible contributions, the effect of a revocation is not harsh since the daily operating costs may be satisfied through tuition payments.

"If the administration is sincere in its aim to prevent the formation of tax-exempt segregated schools, it should ask the IRS to point out that a deliberate misrepresentation in a tax exemption application constitutes a

crime, with a maximum penalty of a fine of $5,000 and three years imprisonment."

Effect on Public Education

While the proportion of students enrolled in all private schools in the South is still below the national average, the growth of private school enrollments in some areas has had an undermining effect on the public schools. The South, a region which traditionally has been at the bottom in virtually every aspect of public education, is again being victimized by its own racial fears. Because of the private school movement, many areas are seeing a return to separate-but-unequal education. According to the latest figures from the National Education Association, four Southern states show a significant drop in public school enrollment this year:

State	*1969/70*	*1970/71*	*Loss*
Alabama	825,072	803,507	—21,565
Louisiana	853,766	842,365	−11,401
Mississippi	575,284	534,395	−40,889
South Carolina	648,182	646,100	− 2,082

In many areas within these states the public school systems are becoming all-black. In many of these instances the school boards remain under the control of whites who are sending their children to private schools. Instances of the transfer or gift of public school property and materials to private schools have been alleged. State revenue to public schools, usually based on average daily attendance, has decreased with white flight and evidence is accumulating that local bond issues for public schools in several Southern states are being voted down because of the move to the academies.

The problem compounds itself. As black enrollment increases, achievement test scores begin to drop, reflecting centuries of educational abuse Negroes have suffered in segregated schools and a segregated society. Negro drop-out rates increase because the public school system in the South is still, generally, a white middle-class institution which does not effectively serve its new constituents. White parents became more and more reluctant to send their children to schools as the percentage of blacks in a school increases and the benefits of an integrated education are lost to all. The present institutional framework of public education is generating trouble and unless effective solutions are created, there is a grave danger that public education in many parts of the South will disintegrate.

Because the segregation academy movement is a prime factor in this depressing state of education in the region, it is imperative that all publicly-supported encouragement of segregated private schools—by tax exemptions, free lunches, etc.—be withdrawn at once. Further, to insure an educated populace for the future, minimal standards of quality should be required of all private schools for the safety and well-being of all.

BLACK STUDENTS SPEAK:

THEY'RE LOOKING TO US AS EXAMPLES

(The following is from a tape recording of a discussion by four black high school seniors who are in their first year at a fully integrated school in a small southern city. It is not necessarily representative of all problems or ranges of opinion among southern students. But it does suggest the concrete reality of a situation about which adults have done so much abstracting and generalizing. And it reflects that which in all southern young people needs only encouragement and honest adult leadership for the making of a better South and better America.)

FIRST STUDENT: You know it may not seem important to some people. But to us—you know we had been going to [all-black school] for three years—and to go to another school and lose all our identity wouldn't seem right to us. Because you know we had more pride in our school than to just go lose it. So we wanted our school colors—you know not all of them—but consolidated. We wanted part of our colors to be there, too. I mean they really sort of played our school color out. They had more of theirs than ours. They just gave a few stripes. [laughter]

SECOND STUDENT: They just had a little stripe of gold [on football uniforms]. All the rest of it was [formerly predominantly white school] colors. For them it was just like last year—only instead of having a little white stripe they had a little gold stripe.

THIRD STUDENT: Football. That's where most of the problems come from—football. The Negro students and the coaching staff—how we were treated over there. . . . They criticized our coaches—about how we played ball. Yet still we had the best players—most of the best players out there on the field were Negroes.

FOURTH STUDENT: Our head coach was assistant B-team coach and our head line coach was really assistant C-team coach and our one black coach on the varsity was—they always sent him down on the end with the leftovers. . . . The head coach [of the B-team] just started coaching this year.

THIRD STUDENT: I think they should change the whole coaching staff. As long as you have Negro players the kinds of things that happened this year will go on happening after the coach acted like he did this year.

FOURTH STUDENT: Rather than get a black head coach, they should

get a fair head coach. Get a man that's qualified. He doesn't have to be black to be qualified. Someone who can deal with both black and white ball players.

FIRST STUDENT: Someone who would treat one player as he would treat another.

SECOND STUDENT: [The present coach] will be back next year. But I don't think he should. They should get a coach who is fair to all players.

FIRST STUDENT: What his problem is—he is the authority over there at school.

THIRD STUDENT: He runs everything.

FIRST STUDENT: What he says—he tells the principal what to do. He can tell anyone what to do over there because you know—they consider him as a god because, you know, he had a pretty good season—winning teams, you know. So he thinks everything should go his way. And the principal lets him have his way.

THIRD STUDENT: On the basketball team it seems as though to me they [white and black co-coaches] try to do half-way right. If they make a decision they try to show that both of them discussed it and made the decision together. . . . The basketball situation is a lot better than the football situation [even though the white co-coach is, in effect, in charge of both the girls' and boys' teams]. Not just because we have more black players out there—even though the black players we have out there—they are the best.

FIRST STUDENT: [A big difference in the new school situation this year] is that the higher authorities expect you to change. You know—you've been going to a black school for twelve years and they expect you to change your ways, your traditions and everything, you know—even your language. They expect you to change this in a year . . . You can change a little. But there's no reason to change totally. The teachers—they're all right. They don't try to be so rough. Just a few do.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal and assistant principal, they'll get you in the office and the first thing they'll tell you is—you're supposed to be setting an example. You can't be with all the other black students out there. You got to walk this way. You got to talk this way. I told him one day, I'm on the student council and he going to tell me I couldn't be with those people. I told him they were the ones who elected me. For me to turn my back now—In other words they want you to be white. I mean they want me—if some trouble comes about—to tell 'em to be cool. Don't boycott. Go along with it. I know it's wrong. But go along with it. I don't believe in it.

SECOND STUDENT: They always tell us they're looking to us as examples. But we got to live with our color. They don't have to live with our color. They don't. We grew up with them. For us to go out there and change—uh-uh—ain't no way. They talk about you got to set an example. Don't do what you see everybody else doing. They want you to stay out from around ones they think cause a whole lot of trouble. We got a little

old place out there [in front of the school]. A lot of Negroes hang out there. They don't want you to hang out there. That's a bad group. You know it's mostly hippies and Negroes hang out there in front. I been with 'em all my life. I can't change in one year. . . . If a Negro don't come to school and they happen to see him on campus, he gets suspended. They've thrown out a lot of them, and the majority was Negro. . . . The Negroes and hippies get along very well.

FIRST STUDENT: They sort of had a reason for putting [security guards] in—consolidation, integration and all. They don't bug me. The majority are white. Some people say they bug them—they try to say they're like policemen or cops or something. But I don't think it should bug them. If you don't do wrong, they don't have anything to do.

FOURTH STUDENT: You have to give it to them. Some of them go out of the way to be nice to you. One of them, white, when he sees a black person, he says, "Brother—brother . . ." You can talk to them. . . . We get along with them. Black people do. But like I say, those hippies and some of the white people, they don't like them. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're just trying to do a job. I think it's good to have them over there . . .

I get along with most of the white kids. In football, we got along all right. They didn't get mad or anything while we were out there on the field. But now after football season is over with—we're just like somebody who just walked onto the schoolyard. When we were football players, they thought something of us.

FIRST STUDENT: The young black students—they can get along with the young white students. The young black students, they have a rather different idea towards older white people. I mean you can't—maybe it's just a generation gap or something like that . . . But the young white students, they sort of understand some parts of how we act.

SECOND STUDENT: All the while we were playing football, all the white football players—they only spoke to Negro football players. You know, seems like there were just a few who would speak to a Negro they didn't play football with. If they would see me coming down the hall, they'd speak. But if you didn't play no football they wouldn't have nothing to do with you. Then when football season was over—don't none of 'em speak to us. It don't make me no difference but—they say we're integrated, but we are not because when you go over there, you've got the blacks in one group, you've got the hippies in one group, you've got the whites in one group. You may find a few whites and blacks together. But mostly you got the whites and hippies and blacks . . . I ain't going to die over them not talking to me—but if you're going to integrate you ought to go over there and be together on things. I try to get along with them. We went over there trying to make the thing work. We gave them a lot. We went over there, we had to go by their rules. . . .

You know we used to have dances. Well, they cut that out. We like to go to dances. [The town] is pretty dead nowadays. You don't have anywhere

to go. Now we can't have a dance because somebody's going to get to fighting. That's the first thing they bring up.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they're going to fight, they'll fight anyhow. We are over there all day—we go to school together.

THIRD STUDENT: So why shouldn't we be able to go over there to a dance? We didn't have no homecoming court or anything. We go to school all day with them. Why shouldn't we be able to socialize with them at a dance? . . .

Anything they have over there, it looks like they try to eliminate a lot of Negroes from being in it, anyway.

FIRST STUDENT: If they're going to have integration over there, seems as though they should want the blacks and whites to get together. But seems like they try to keep us apart. I don't know what they think. I guess they think we can't be together.

FOURTH STUDENT: He [the principal] argued with me about assembly programs. We were going to have a black history program and [one on] Martin Luther King's assassination. He was afraid any time we get in there together there's going to be an all-out battle. We had one program, and he was afraid Negroes and whites were going to get to fighting then. Nobody didn't get in a fight. It was just like anything else. I told him one day, "What you trying to hide? If we go fight, you might as well get it over with. Let 'em fight." He dodged around all the issues, you know. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: The school year is almost half-way over, and we haven't had even two fights over to the school yet between black and white. I mean why do they try to avoid the issue? If the blacks want to fight, they'll fight. We're just like they [whites] are. I mean they try to label us as violent and all that. We are just like they are. We have brains.

THIRD STUDENT: I think that what we did last year, going over there protesting—that helped a lot. I bet you they weren't going to change the colors and all. Because they think that Negroes, we don't think about anything. That we would just go over there and give in to what they already had over there. We had traditions just like they did.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal admitted himself if it hadn't been for those demonstrations, they weren't going to change anything. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: You know you're not going to have many white people taking that [black history] course. I like the class myself. It reminds me of last year. When I go in there, it's mostly Negroes. Three hippies go in there. It's just like a regular [all-black school] class for me. I feel right with it. They say they don't have any class books for Negro history. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're doing things to bring about demonstrations over at that school.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they keep on, it's kind of like a steam pot. If you keep it on the stove the pressure builds, the top will blow off. . . . They should just show they aren't scared of us. Like they feel like we are wild, going to fight . . . . Give me a chance. They say, you know, hot weather—

we're supposed to riot and tear up in hot weather. That's the way black people are. That's what they believe, I guess. But if all along we had been having dances—you know, the more you become familiar with people the less it will be. Like going to school with them—you know, you don't notice white people too much. The first day you really noticed 'em—but now it's just common. If we had dances with 'em, it'd be common if we kept doing it.

FIRST STUDENT: I think they should have a dance and just see how it worked out with the Negroes and the whites. You can't hide from things. They going be thinking about the same thing we are right now. They're making it bad for themselves. For example—if you have a friend that's a white friend—if you made friends with him, you know and socialized with him, if something were to happen you wouldn't want to take it out on your friend—because he's a friend, too. He's just your friend. But I mean if you don't socialize with 'em or anything like that and he's just around, he may get hurt just like the rest of 'em. If you socialize, well, you know, you don't have any problems. If you're separate—like we're all-black and you're all-white—if something comes up, you don't care who gets hurt. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: When we started demonstrating, we didn't start off by going straight to violence. We went over there and tried to talk to the principal, and get a meeting going and everything. They tried to run us out.

[The most of violence that occurred in the demonstrations was by police during mass arrests. Some black students were involved in window breaking.]

FOURTH STUDENT: We had been meeting for two or three months and we couldn't find anything. No changes had been made; no attempt to make any changes had been made. . . . We tried to tell [an assistant principal] and he just ran us out. He literally ran us out from over there. After that there wasn't anything else to do but this other thing. Demonstrating worked better than talking.

FIRST STUDENT: Some people say you can't solve anything by violence. We didn't intend to solve it by violence. It wasn't going to be in a violent way but the stuff just kept building up and building up. We didn't try violence, but that's the way it turned out.

THIRD STUDENT: Like they say you can't handle things by violence, and they over there fighting in the war, trying to solve it by violence. . . . You see that talking isn't getting you anywhere. You can't talk your way out of everything. You have to fight your way out sometimes. [laughter] . . .

The same thing will come about next year. They talk about building a new school. When they build a new school, they got to find a way. So why not be looking for it now. They wait 'til the last minute and then they go drop something down on your shoulders. And you're supposed to take that and go on with it. . . .

They get us and try to talk with us individually. We can't tell what everybody's going to be thinking about out there in the student body. The

principal and all have got to get the students together and talk about solving problems. They can't just get some of the folks. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: [The principal] is not the main problem. You know I talk to him a lot. I kind of feel sorry for him really. I think he's just scared. You know, he's trying to keep his school together so the people in this community won't get on him—because, you know, they got on him last year. I told him, "You ought to face the problem," you know, but he just don't want to face the problem. He tries to stay in the middle. The middle of the road is not the best answer. . . . Do it fairly. Go on and face the problem and let it go.

FIRST STUDENT: [A black assistant principal] is a pretty good guy. He tries to work with everybody. He don't just try to work with blacks and not work with whites. He tries to work with white and black, and you know, get us all together. He's not trying to be separatist or anything like that.

FOURTH STUDENT: The situation at that school would be worse if it weren't for [the same assistant principal] because, you know, he understands. He tries to understand you and he listens to the problem. He's helping not just white and not just black; he's helping the whole student body.

THIRD STUDENT: The white students and the black students trust him more than they do anybody else over there. . . .

They try to keep dodging. . . . I don't think it'll be any better myself. You try to be friends with the whites. Now you might be a friend with some that go to classes with you. But some of 'em you can't meet—they don't get a chance to see or anything.

FOURTH STUDENT: We get along with the white students. It's just the older people. I don't know—they've got the wrong—I don't know where their ideas come from.

THIRD STUDENT: If someone started now and when it comes to the students that come behind us someone would help try to bring it along again. It would keep building up and then one day it would be all right and everyone would be human beings.

FIRST STUDENT: If they keep us separated things are going to remain the same. It's going to be just like when they first started integration if they keep us separated. But if we mingle and become more understanding toward each other, why things could be better.

SECOND STUDENT: A lot of people say if it hadn't been for the football team, for the football, with Negroes going out there and getting along with the whites, and going along with it, things would have been all messed up. The way I look at it, they're going to have to get a better coach if they going to want this thing to work out.

THIRD STUDENT: If [the present coach] had been [in an integrated situation] three years ago, he wouldn't be there today. The students that were before us wouldn't stand for this. They think that we are violent, but the students that came before us . . . would have turned it out a long time ago.

FIRST STUDENT: Time . . . time solves a whole lot, you know. The students that were before us—some of them have told us they don't want to associate with whites and they don't want whites to associate with them. But time changes. We want to, you know, get together. Things can't go just separated all the time. But then—they hadn't experienced being with whites, whites with blacks, you know. They were just apathetic. They just didn't care about nothing. We do care. We want things to go on right.

THIRD STUDENT: We was young when we first started. . . . You can't teach an old dog new tricks. When we was young, we had a chance to associate with some white teachers. They talked to us. . . .

SECOND STUDENT: They think they can tell the Negro anything and he'll go along with it. But they're wrong. These Negroes, they've got to the point where they don't want to take no more foolishness. You've been through it so long that you've done got tired of it. Don't want to take it no more. Out there on the field, when the coach hollers at us, that's the white man, he's been hollering at us all the time. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: On a football team, you're going to get hollered at and if you deserve it. . . . I don't mind.

THIRD STUDENT: If you're black and you're not super, you don't get to play.

THIRD STUDENT: I think it's more the older whites than the younger whites. I get along with them. I've got more white friends—whites that I speak to.

FIRST STUDENT: You know my grandmother is 93 years old and you know she's kicking about pretty good. She tells me about what she used to go through, how she used to try to make a living. Compared to now, it was hard. I sort of think, you know, how could people treat people that way?

FOURTH STUDENT: You never will get total integration. You know that. But we're in there together. I figure if they'd put somebody eighteen or twenty years old in there as assistant principal and let 'em go on you know the school would be all right. People are people—I don't care. I don't say there'll be total integration. But I can live with you just as long as you'll live with me. Just like those people at school. We can live with them. We get along well with them.

FIRST STUDENT: You take a Martian and an Earthman, and they get together—you don't expect them to do the same thing. That's the way with Negroes and whites. You can't expect them to talk the same, dance the same. . . . Talk, dance, think.

THIRD STUDENT: All these things they're doing [at school]—some Negroes are looking at it. It won't take a whole group of folks to do it. If some Negroes get together and . . . . start something . . . then everybody's going to join in with it. I mean why shouldn't I help? If some Negroes get together and say, "I'm just fed up"—that's what happened over to the school last year. Everybody just started talking and the hall filled up and everything. . . . It won't be planned or anything; it'll just happen.

SECOND STUDENT: If it keeps going on like it's going now, there's going to be some trouble. If they keep ducking and dodging and going on like it is, just like the man says, it's going to get hot after awhile . . .

They're trying to hide [from] social life . . . Going out to dances and things with white people. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: Our Negro principal [last year] is a principal now in a night school. . . . We were trying to help him. If he had stuck with us he might have been a principal or assistant principal [at the integrated school]. We would like to see our principal get a good job.

THIRD STUDENT: Like our coach. He was the head coach and has fallen back to assistant coach. . . .

FOURTH STUDENT: How does [the principal] feel now? I'd leave this town. . . Money helps. But my pride—being a man—that's what we're trying to get away from—these black men who . . . aren't men. They're "boy" you know—that's why they call them boys all the time. That's what we're getting away from. We want to be men.

FIRST STUDENT: If they don't want to talk with you, don't want to associate with you, don't want to say anything—and you go up to them and say something, and they'll walk on off. . . . That sort of gets me. I can't see why they think they are so much superior. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: Now my sister, she's real small. She probably doesn't think much about it [integration]. She's in the fifth grade. She gets along with the whites all right. They call her and she has friends. My little nephew, he brings white friends home, and he goes over there sometimes. The young folk get along all right.

FOURTH STUDENT: They've been going together all along. It's nothing new. . . .

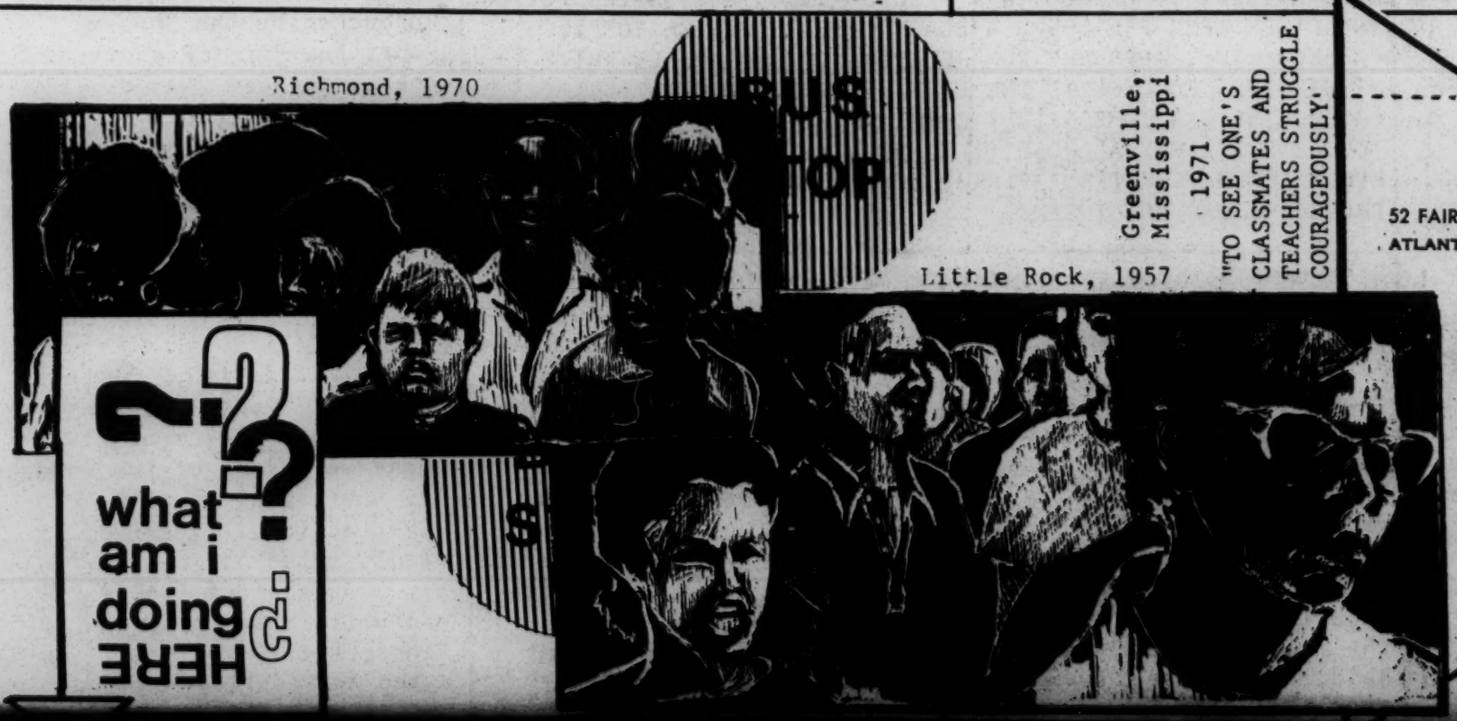
DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS fall '71...What's Happening?

DATELINE: BIRMINGHAM, ALA., September 15: For years, PTA's devoted themselves to monthly meetings and an occasional cake sale...Now Parent Teacher Associations across (Alabama) are working for better black-white relationships, pushing for legislative changes, trying to involve young people...Human relations are a major concern because this year for the first time state PTA's are totally integrated. For this reason Alabama is trying for a federal grant for human relations workshops across the state where blacks and whites can sit down and talk about problems and new ideas concerning school integration..."I'm tired of hearing people say integration is the whole problem in our educational system. For the children it's no problem. They've accepted it and maybe we, as adults, should open our eyes, too." (Mrs. Harry W. Schaffner, Alabama State PTA President. Birmingham News, September 15, 1971)

THE GOOD OLD CAKE-SELLING PTA ASKING FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT? YOU'RE LOOKING GOOD, PTA, BABY....IF STUDENT POWER IS YOUR BAG, WHAT ABOUT CHECKING OUT THE PTA? DON'T BE TOO QUICK TO PUT THE OLD CAKE SELLER DOWN ON GROUNDS OF ESTABLISHMENT RESPECTABILITY. WHAT NAME IS BETTER KNOWN, POTENTIALLY MORE INFLUENTIAL, THAN PTA? CAN YOU DIG?

DATELINE: COLUMBIA, S.C., AUG. 27:...According to an examination of black student disciplinary troubles in dozens of school districts around the country, the rate of expulsion and suspension for black students has been

continued on page 6



Greenville, Mississippi 1971 "TO SEE ONE'S CLASSMATES AND TEACHERS STRUGGLE COURAGEOUSLY"

"TO MAKE SOMETHING HAPPEN HERE THAT HAS NOT HAPPENED IN ANY OTHER SCHOOL IN THIS NATION HAS TO GIVE HIM REASON NOT TO BE SO BITTER AND NOT TO FEEL SO HOPELESS...."

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

school desegregation project news-letter

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS fall '71...What's Happening?

DATELINE: BIRMINGHAM, ALA., September 15: For years, PTA's devoted themselves to monthly meetings and an occasional cake sale...Now Parent Teacher Associations across (Alabama) are working for better black-white relationships, pushing for legislative changes, trying to involve young people...Human relations are a major concern because this year for the first time state PTA's are totally integrated. For this reason Alabama is trying for a federal grant for human relations workshops across the state where blacks and whites can sit down and talk about problems and new ideas concerning school integration..."I'm tired of hearing people say integration is the whole problem in our educational system. For the children it's no problem. They've accepted it and maybe we, as adults, should open our eyes, too." (Mrs. Harry W. Schaffner, Alabama State PTA President. Birmingham News, September 15, 1971)

THE GOOD OLD CAKE-SELLING PTA ASKING FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT? YOU'RE LOOKING GOOD, PTA, BABY....IF STUDENT POWER IS YOUR BAG, WHAT ABOUT CHECKING OUT THE PTA? DON'T BE TOO QUICK TO PUT THE OLD CAKE SELLER DOWN ON GROUNDS OF ESTABLISHMENT RESPECTABILITY. WHAT NAME IS BETTER KNOWN, POTENTIALLY MORE INFLUENTIAL, THAN PTA? CAN YOU DIG?

DATELINE: COLUMBIA, S.C., AUG. 27:...According to an examination of black student disciplinary troubles in dozens of school districts around the country, the rate of expulsion and suspension for black students has been

continued on page 6

52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

school desegregation project newsletter

what am i doing HERE?

WHO, WHAT, WHERE, WHEN?

A really sizeable number of non-black students and non-white students entered school together this September in the seventeen southern and border-South states in which, seventeen Septembers ago, the same act would have been illegal. This September, for the first time, the statistical situation in the South constitutes some no-jive integration. And, all in all, some heavy history has gone down in this country these last seventeen years. Like Cronkite says, you were there.

WHY?

Why are we doing it this way, when it used to be a crime? A range of non-students--parents, politicians, sociologists, professional do-gooders, professional haters, and the non-professional variety--have had a range of answers, from "It's all a Communist Plot" to "To save the world," and the intensity of their conflicting beliefs has been at the root of the hassles our generation has grown up with. Some people have become rich and famous because of the load put on the words "school integration"; some people have died because of the same thing.

We believe students, who, after all, are deep into the question and answer thing, have come up with the most workable, the most sophisticated of answers to "Why school integration?" Answer: To get an education, which by definition cannot be based on remaining in separated components, ignorant of one another.

FOCUS

The editors apologize if we seem to be hustling you with this answer. We believe you can best find the answers for yourselves if you know the facts. Our aim is to provide you with some facts and some history, to defuse some words, and to raise some questions that you, of necessity, will answer existentially in the schools.

WHAT'S GONE DOWN SO FAR

The phrases "school integration" and "school desegregation" first began tripping tongues of the general public as a result of a Supreme Court decision handed down in May, 1954, of course, the Brown v. Bd. of Education decision. Few lives have remained untouched by the social upheaval attendant on those words (particularly when school integration is thought of as a forerunner of the Black Liberation Movement and the agitation for social justice among other people and in other areas the Movement stimulated).

Brown did not just happen overnight, nor did "massive" desegregation this September, resulting from the Alexander and the Swann decisions.

Consider the school desegregation upheaval from the perspective of the life span thus far of a beautiful cat from Greenville, Miss., Willie Davis, who graduated from high school in the class of '71 (and who, because of the vibes he got from the struggle toward brotherhood in his newly integrated school, in Mississippi, mind you, changed his mind about heading North after college, with most of his educated Black brothers, and determined to stay in Mississippi to fight to change things for the better. More about this elsewhere.)

OLD TIMES THERE...

Mr. Davis is probably about 18 years old now. The year he was born about 2,650,000 black students and 8,500,000 white students were in Southern public schools in the 17 states which, along with the District of Columbia, required dual school systems for blacks and whites, the black ones with black faculty, some black administrators, and all-white elected school boards in the role of overseer. (The states were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.) Public and private schools in most of those states were forbidden by state law to integrate: Section I of Article VIII of Georgia's Constitution, for example, read: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

Separate - but equal? Of the $145,600,629 investment that the Southern states had made in public school property by 1915, only $13,996,342--or 9.6 per cent of the total--had been put into schools for Negroes. Fifteen years later, the total had increased significantly, but the Negro school system's proportional share remained constant: a little more than 9 per cent of the whole. In the Deep South states the contrast was even greater. In 1929-30 the per capita annual expenditures for education were, in Alabama: black students, $7.16 each

more

annually; white students, $37.50 each annually; Georgia: black: $6.98; white: $31.52; Louisiana: black: $7.84; white: $40.64; Mississippi, black: $5.94; white: $31.33; South Carolina: black: $5.20; white: $52.89. $52.89 each year for each white student's education, $5.20 each year for each black student's schooling! The value the white education and political power structure placed on education for a white child was ten times that for a black child.

Now, forty years later, a current news article quotes a black leader demanding integration of underfinanced all-black schools: "The money goes where white students go." Not much change in the nitty-gritty fiscal facts in a century of public education.

PRE-1954 LEGAL ASSAULT

In the thirties, when Mr. Davis' mother and father presumably were attending public schools in Mississippi, at the rate of $5.94 a year each expense to taxpayers of the state, black people launched a massive, earnest legal attack on the inequities of the existing dual school systems. In twenty years of litigation for truly equal separate schools, results were spotty; by 1950 numerous court decisions brought on behalf of four school desegregation cases, usually lumped together under Brown v. Bd. of Education.

Pro-desegregation arguments based on direct evidence (that is, hard facts) of inequities of expenditure and course offerings was augmented by use of a relatively new tactic in the courts, testimony from social scientists and psychologists. Perhaps the best remembered witness was a black psychologist, Kenneth Clark, who highlighted data pointing to the damage done to all children by segregation, prejudices, and their social concomitants--children of the majority group in a way somewhat different from the damage experienced by the more obviously affected children of the minority group. Ira DeA. Reid, a black sociologist, made the point that segregation imposes upon individ-

cision as "inevitable." Black leaders and newspapers rejoiced at the court-sanctioned elimination of one type of racial discrimination.

Several border South school districts--Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Md., St. Louis, Mo. among them--moved promptly to put desegregation plans into effect. Elsewhere, the South waited for further instruction.

BUSTED!

WHILE WE KNOW OF NO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT WHO FELT ENOUGH LIKE DEFYING TRADITION AND MORES AND LAW TO ACTUALLY ATTEMPT TO ENROLL IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL DESIGNATED FOR THE OTHER RACE PRE-1954, A BLACK MISSISSIPPI RESIDENT, CLENNON KING, APPEARED FOR REGISTRATION AT AN ALL-WHITE MISSISSIPPI COLLEGE IN THE LATE FIFTIES WITHOUT COURT ORDER. HE WAS IMMEDIATELY COMMITTED BY STATE OFFICIALS TO THE STATE MENTAL HOSPITAL. MEDICAL OFFICIALS RELEASED HIM A FEW DAYS LATER, AFTER PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION PROVED HE WAS NOT INSANE.

A year later, after additional hearings, the Supreme Court spelled out guidelines: the process by which integration must be achieved by the school districts. This "implementation" decision (Brown II) was handed down in May of 1955. Federal district judges were charged to see that school authorities against whom a case was decided make a "prompt and reasonable start" toward desegregation, "with

large (including, perforce, those favoring integration) and ultimately totalled millions of dollars--dollars which could have gone into feeding hungry people, providing jobs, or, at the very least, education.

BUMMER

A kaleidoscopic sweep, for now, over the years when Mr. Davis was entering school, learning about life in Mississippi for a black child, learning about hope as the civil rights Movement shook the South.

His elementary school was untouched by the Supreme Court rulings. Preserving the segregated "way of life" had become hot political property across the white South following the moderation the Court showed in its Brown II implementation ruling, and progress toward desegregation was slow, slow and tortuous.

"Nullification," "Interposition," School Closing Laws, Pupil Placement Plans--these were some of the words Mr. Davis grew up with, evasive tactics all, all ultimately ruled unconstitutional. "Freedom of Choice," a euphemistic catch phrase for "integrate if you dare," endured for eight years (but was finally knocked out in

annually; white students, $37.50 each annually; Georgia: black: $6.98; white: $31.52; Louisiana: black: $7.84; white: $40.64; Mississippi, black: $5.94; white: $31.33; South Carolina: black: $5.20; white: $52.89. $52.89 each year for each white student's education, $5.20 each year for each black student's schooling! The value the white education and political power structure placed on education for a white child was ten times that for a black child.

Now, forty years later, a current news article quotes a black leader demanding integration of underfinanced all-black schools: "The money goes where white students go." Not much change in the nitty-gritty fiscal facts in a century of public education.

PRE-1954 LEGAL ASSAULT

In the thirties, when Mr. Davis' mother and father presumably were attending public schools in Mississippi, at the rate of $5.94 a year each expense to taxpayers of the state, black people launched a massive, earnest legal attack on the inequities of the existing dual school systems. In twenty years of litigation for truly equal separate schools, results were spotty; by 1950 numerous court decisions brought on behalf of black teachers had more or less equalized teachers' salaries across the dual systems but other expenditures, such as plant and equipment outlay and operational expenditure, remained grossly disproportionate. It became obvious to black legal and educational experts that the white majority would not give all-black schools an equal share of their tax dollar, and the legal strategy shifted to an attack on segregation itself.

THE YEAR BEFORE '54

The year Mr. Davis was born, school "consolidation" was the big educational argument--not consolidation of black and white schools into a joint system, but consolidation of small, community schools into larger facilities serving one or more counties (one for black, one for white). A lesser issue was "equalization," for now school administrators and lawmakers had become sensitive to black efforts to balance lopsided educational appropriations and they were beginning a somewhat frenzied, scattered effort to equalize black school facilities. (This explains the modern and shining school building now to be found in many a black neighborhood.) And in the Supreme Court in Washington, arguments were being heard in a series of cases, usually lumped together under Brown v. Bd. of Education.

Pro-desegregation arguments based on direct evidence (that is, hard facts) of inequities of expenditure and course offerings was augmented by use of a relatively new tactic in the courts, testimony from social scientists and psychologists. Perhaps the best remembered witness was a black psychologist, Kenneth Clark, who highlighted data pointing to the damage done to all children by segregation, prejudices, and their social concomitants--children of the majority group in a way somewhat different from the damage experienced by the more obviously affected children of the minority group. Ira DeA. Reid, a black sociologist, made the point that segregation imposes upon individuals a distorted sense of social reality: the real world is made up of a mixture of cultures and races.

Arguments against desegregation centered around the difficulties involved and predictions that integration would not be accepted by white and black students and their communities.

The decision came in May, 1954: "Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson," said Chief Justice Warren in reading the opinion, "this finding is amply supported by modern authority...We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

WHAM! POW!

Thus came to an end the legal basis for Jim Crow education--the system of separation by race known for three quarters of a century.

The initial Southern white reaction to the Brown decision was restrained, the black one generally approving. All major religious groups active in the South endorsed the ruling as harmonious with Judeo-Christian principals, and major white newspapers greeted the decision. Black leaders and newspapers rejoiced at the court-sanctioned elimination of one type of racial discrimination.

Several border South school districts--Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Md., St. Louis, Mo. among them--moved promptly to put desegregation plans into effect. Elsewhere, the South waited for further instruction.

BUSTED!

WHILE WE KNOW OF NO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENT WHO FELT ENOUGH LIKE DEFYING TRADITION AND MORES AND LAW TO ACTUALLY ATTEMPT TO ENROLL IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL DESIGNATED FOR THE OTHER RACE PRE-1954, A BLACK MISSISSIPPI RESIDENT, CLENNON KING, APPEARED FOR REGISTRATION AT AN ALL-WHITE MISSISSIPPI COLLEGE IN THE LATE FIFTIES WITHOUT COURT ORDER. HE WAS IMMEDIATELY COMMITTED BY STATE OFFICIALS TO THE STATE MENTAL HOSPITAL. MEDICAL OFFICIALS RELEASED HIM A FEW DAYS LATER, AFTER PSYCHOLOGICAL EXAMINATION PROVED HE WAS NOT INSANE.

A year later, after additional hearings, the Supreme Court spelled out guidelines: the process by which integration must be achieved by the school districts. This "implementation" decision (Brown II) was handed down in May of 1955. Federal district judges were charged to see that school authorities against whom a case was decided make a "prompt and reasonable start" toward desegregation, "with all deliberate speed." If "additional time" was necessary to carry out the ruling, the burden would rest on the defendant school board to establish the necessity of such time, if it was in the "public interest," yet "consistent with good faith compliance."

But under Brown II the burden of bringing suit to compel individual school district desegregation remained on black students. Over the next decade, hundreds and hundreds of law suits were filed and adjudicated to require individual school districts--city wide or county wide--to desegregate (some, but not many, desegregated voluntarily). Expenses of litigation were borne by black citizens and by civil rights organizations, and the frequent actual dangers of bringing suit--the harassment, threats, and economic reprisals of racists--were borne by tax payers at those favoring integration) and ultimately totalled millions of dollars--dollars which could have gone into feeding hungry people, providing jobs, or, at the very least, education.

BUMMER

A kaleidoscopic sweep, for now, over the years when Mr. Davis was entering school, learning about life in Mississippi for a black child, learning about hope as the civil rights Movement shook the South.

His elementary school was untouched by the Supreme Court rulings. Preserving the segregated "way of life" had become hot political property across the white South following the moderation the Court showed in its Brown II implementation ruling, and progress toward desegregation was slow, slow and tortuous.

"Nullification," "Interposition," School Closing Laws, Pupil Placement Plans--these were some of the words Mr. Davis grew up with, evasive tactics all, all ultimately ruled unconstitutional. "Freedom of Choice," a euphemistic catch phrase for "integrate if you dare," endured for eight years (but was finally knocked out in 1968, in Green v. New County Board of Education).

By 1964 under "Freedom of Choice" there were 34,105 black students attending school with whites in the eleven Southern states--a whopping big 1.7 percent of total black enrollment.

TALK ABOUT BUSING.

WITH JIM CROW EDUCATION LAWS UNDER LEGAL ATTACK, VAST AMOUNTS OF TAX MONIES WERE PAID TO SEND BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IF LOCAL ALL-BLACK COLLEGES DID NOT PROVIDE THE TYPE PROGRAM THEY DESIRED. IF YOU WERE BLACK AND YOU LIVED IN ATHENS, GEORGIA, AND WANTED TO CONCENTRATE IN JOURNALISM, SAY,-A SPECIALTY OF THE HOUSE AT THE WHITE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA IN ATHENS--THE STATE OF GEORGIA PROVIDED A SCHOLARSHIP FLOATING YOUR EXPENSES FOR TRANSPORTATION, OUT-OF-STATE TUITION, AND LIVING EXPENSES TO CORNELL, IN ITHICA, NEW YORK, MAYBE, BUSING YOU SOME 2,000 MILES EACH WAY TWICE A YEAR.

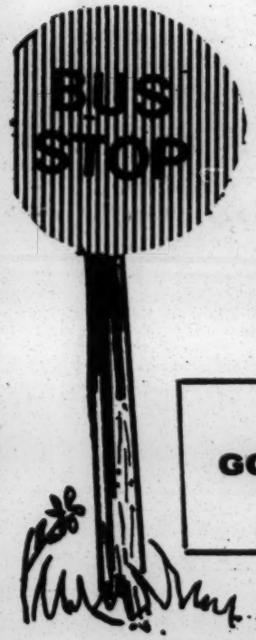
HELP.

Finally, the legislative and executive branches of the government moved to flank the judiciary's frontal assault on segregation by approving the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbade federal financial assistance to discriminatory programs or activities. Schools are dependent on federal funds to a substantial degree, so for the first time the mandate to desegregate blanketed the South. But the false promise of "Freedom of Choice" was permitted to remain in the Office of Education Guidelines. (The Guidelines

continued on pg.7

BUS LINES!

INTO ECOLOGY? RECYCLE THIS NEWSLETTER!
USE IT TO PLAY "BUS LINES"...IT'S ORGANIC!



GO!

DR. E. EDWARD JONES, NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA: "The National Baptist Convention 'views busing as a means not only of achieving racial balance in the schools, but as a measure towards achieving quality education for minority race children.'" ADVANCE 2 SPACES.

TRAFFIC JAM. GO BACK 4 SPACES

TOM WICKER, NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST: "As the public schools open for the fall term, busing continues to be both a scare word and a straw man for those who are opposed to or dubious about desegregation. Busing also continues to be the only real hope for achieving substantial desegregation in the North and the larger cities of the South; and it is therefore potentially one of the most important instruments for improving American education." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

BLOW OUT. GO BACK 3 SPACES.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

THE HON. RICHARD NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: "I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school children to achieve a racial balance and

JACK DAVIDSON, SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT, AUSTIN, TEXAS: "Man in White House speaks with fork in tongue." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

JAIL Forfeit three throws.

TICKET. GO BACK 6 SPACES.

FREEWAY. ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

BUS LINES!

INTO ECOLOGY? RECYCLE THIS NEWSLETTER!
USE IT TO PLAY "BUS LINES"...IT'S ORGANIC!

GO!

DR. E. EDWARD JONES, NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF AMERICA: "The National Baptist Convention 'views busing as a means not only of achieving racial balance in the schools, but as a measure towards achieving quality education for minority race children.'" ADVANCE 2 SPACES.

TRAFFIC JAM. GO BACK 4 SPACES.

TOM WICKER, NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST: "As the public schools open for the fall term, busing continues to be both a scare word and a straw man for those who are opposed to or dubious about desegregation. Busing also continues to be the only real hope for achieving substantial desegregation in the North and the larger cities of the South; and it is therefore potentially one of the most important instruments for improving American education." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

JACK DAVIDSON, SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT, AUSTIN, TEXAS: "Man in White House speaks with fork in tongue." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

JAIL
Forfeit three throws.

TICKET. GO BACK 6 SPACES.

FREEWAY. ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

BLOW OUT. GO BACK 3 SPACES.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

THE HON. RICHARD NIXON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: "I have consistently opposed the busing of our nation's school children to achieve a racial balance and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing. While the Executive branch will continue to enforce the orders of the court, including court-ordered busing, I have instructed the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare that they are to work with individual school districts to hold busing to the minimum required by law."

GO TO JAIL. GO DIRECTLY TO JAIL.

TRAIN PASSING. GO BACK 2 SPACES.

DR. RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, CHAIRMAN, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE: "The President has created the climate for the opposition to busing. Those who follow his views have been given moral support to protest. If there is violence in carrying out court-ordered busing... Mr. Nixon will be responsible for the violence." ADVANCE 4 SPACES.

JONATHAN YARDLEY, BOOK EDITOR, GREENSBORO (N.C.) DAILY NEWS: "President Nixon's statement on the Austin, Texas, school case has come as a severe blow to the South. That may seem surprising, but only if one is unaware--as Mr. Nixon certainly seems to be--of the remarkable steps this region has taken in recent weeks to prepare itself for the inevitability of thorough, even traumatic racial change...Since May the order of the day generally has been, we are going to obey the law, we are going to obey it fully, and we are going to obey it in good spirit." ADVANCE 3 SPACES.

Green Light. Advance 3 Spaces.

THE HON. LINWOOD HOLTON, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA: "Leave it to the kids. They are the ones who can handle it--who are handling it nicely. The parents and the politicians don't need to be afraid of it if they let the kids know they have confidence in the kids' ability to handle it." ADVANCE 7 SPACES.

DETOUR. GO TO AUSTIN, TEXAS

RED LIGHT. GO BACK 4 SPACES.

WASHOUT. GO BACK 3 SPACES.

Hobson City

THE HON. GEORGE WALLACE, GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA: "They're (the Administration) watching me, I know. They're watching close and what they're seeing is a Governor just trying to help the President and the Attorney General keep their anti-busing promises." GO TO JAIL.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS: "The Supreme Court 'expressly recognized that busing is a necessary element in school desegregation. Many in this nation, instead of recognizing and accepting this truth, have helped turn busing into an emotion laden word'...'For purposes other than integration, busing has been a common feature of American education.' We urge that busing 'be discussed within the legal and educational context in which it belongs.'" ADVANCE 2 SPACES.

play it again sam

RE-RUNS

5 WORDS FROM OUR SPONSOR

RACIAL EQUALITY? BROTHERHOOD? SCHOOL UNITY? IF ANY ONE OR ALL THREE COMBINED ARE YOUR BAG AND YOU WANT TO BE PART OF A SOUTH-WIDE, ORGANIZED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THESE THINGS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS, GET IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 30303. TELEPHONE: 522-8764.

STATE SCHOOL BOARDS

Reprinted from "National High School Publication,"Student Information Center, October, 1971

The state school board is the agency in charge of directing the entire educational system of a state. School boards can regulate the licensing of teachers, the selection of textbooks, integration, courses required for graduation, and the length of the school day and year. They control Federal funds and state aid to education.

State boards have great potential power, but they exercise their power to only a limited extent (which, in many cases, we can be thankful for)...(It)may do nearly anything it likes within the state's laws to control education. But it rarely governs in any but the most general way. Either it allows the state department of education to make many policies, an unfortunate but frequent occurrence, or it yields a great deal of its power to local school authorities.

The Student Information Center surveyed state boards of education to learn about (a) the composition of the school boards, (b) how much stu-

$$$ FOR SCHOOLS

Reprinted from "National High School Publication," Student Information Center, October, 1971

School districts today are facing the same financial crisis that is affecting many other facets of American life. This is a problem that (for once) we, the students, are not the cause of. But we can possibly be the solution to this problem--and increase our power at the same time--by using our new voting powers.

***

While school costs are rising, communities are fed up with high taxes. Citizens in school districts in all parts of the country have been voting against tax-raising elections. These elections, called levy or millage elections (or, more often, bond or school bond elections in the South - ed.), give the local school board the right to raise local property tax.

Now, with 18-20 year olds voting in local elections, school officials are hoping that tax increases will be approved.

***

play it again sam

RE-RUNS

RACIAL EQUALITY? BROTHERHOOD? SCHOOL UNITY? IF ANY ONE OR ALL THREE COMBINED ARE YOUR BAG AND YOU WANT TO BE PART OF A SOUTH-WIDE, ORGANIZED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE THESE THINGS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS, GET IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 30303. TELEPHONE: 522-8764.

STATE SCHOOL BOARDS

Reprinted from "National High School Publication,"Student Information Center, October, 1971

The state school board is the agency in charge of directing the entire educational system of a state. School boards can regulate the licensing of teachers, the selection of textbooks, integration, courses required for graduation, and the length of the school day and year. They control Federal funds and state aid to education.

State boards have great potential power, but they exercise their power to only a limited extent (which, in many cases, we can be thankful for)...(It)may do nearly anything it likes within the state's laws to control education. But it rarely governs in any but the most general way. Either it allows the state department of education to make many policies, an unfortunate but frequent occurrence, or it yields a great deal of its power to local school authorities.

The Student Information Center surveyed state boards of education to learn about (a) the composition of the school boards, (b) how much students participate in formulating state educational policies, and (c) activities regarding students' rights. The results of our survey were distressing, but hardly surprising.

Not a single state school board had a high school (or even college) student as a member. In fact, the youngest member we could locate was thirty-six years old, twice the age of any high school student. The oldest members were 75 years old, more than five times as old as many of the people their decisions affect. The older members went to high school prior to the First World War. There were almost five times as many males as females on school boards.

A few state school boards, such as California, North Carolina, Vermont, Delaware and South Carolina, have student advisors. These advisors either sit in at school board meetings or meet separately; in either case they offer their opinions and recommendations to the full board. But they cannot vote and therefore have no real power.

***

Not having students on school boards is like having only foreign citizens representing us in Congress. In most states, school board members are appointed by the governor or elected by the voters. Qualifications for members usually do not exclude students (of Southern states, bds. are elected in Ark., La., Tex.; appointed in Ala., Ga., NC, SC, Tenn., & Va.: "other" in Fla. & Miss.--ed. note)

A second area in which state school boards need to be more responsive is students' rights. Traditionally, the rights of students have been totally dependent on the whims of their teachers and principals. In recent years, student pressure--involving everything from demonstrations to law suits--has forced a number of cities and states to adopt Students' Bills of Rights. A great deal of time and effort can be saved if state boards of education--rather than the hundreds of local boards--issue bills of rights. * * *

POWER ! to the PUPIL

$$$ FOR SCHOOLS

Reprinted from "National High School Publication," Student Information Center, October, 1971

School districts today are facing the same financial crisis that is affecting many other facets of American life. This is a problem that (for once) we, the students, are not the cause of. But we can possibly be the solution to this problem--and increase our power at the same time--by using our new voting powers.

***

While school costs are rising, communities are fed up with high taxes. Citizens in school districts in all parts of the country have been voting against tax-raising elections. These elections, called levy or millage elections (or, more often, bond or school bond elections in the South - ed.), give the local school board the right to raise local property tax.

Now, with 18-20 year olds voting in local elections, school officials are hoping that tax increases will be approved.

***

The results of most levy elections have been very close, so the bloc of new young voters could have a decisive role in future elections. Students can also persuade their parents to vote one way or the other.

The impact of determined young voters in an election is increased by the failure of most adults to vote. In the June, 1971 levy election in Kalamazoo, Michigan, for example, 20,551 persons out of the approximately 50,000 registered voters actually went to the polls. The request for a tax increase was defeated by about 5,000 votes. In Kalamazoo the 10,000-12,000 potential 18-20 year old voters could have reversed the vote.

School officials need young voters to pass levy elections. Their need can be used as a power base for obtaining improvements that you want in your school (assuming that you can get the 18-20 year old voters to cooperate with you.)

In a levy election, you have the choice of either helping the community or helping the school board win the election. You could out and out defeat the levy election with no negotiations on the grounds that more money in schools will not make them any better. By your being able to defeat the election, you show that you do have a base to negotiate from and can present demands after the election. You might also be able to get the community to help you win new rights in school.

On the other hand, you could present a list of demands to the school administration before the election. If enough of the demands are not satisfied you will help defeat the tax raises. However, if the administration consents to most of the demands, you will help get the levy election passed.

You will have to decide whether you will benefit most by siding with the community or with the school administration.

DOES YOUR SCHOOL OBEY THE CONSTITUTION?

Reprinted from "National High School Publication," October, 1971

The 5th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that no person shall ...be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The purpose of this section of the fifth amendment was to assure citizens that certain general rules would be followed when they were being tried for a crime.

Due process became law in the United States in 1789, but in public schools it is a new concept and is yet to be practice. Principals or discipline officers usually suspend or expel students arbitrarily. The student is usually just called into an office and told that he is suspended. School officials act as plaintiff, jury, judge, prosecutor, and executioner. This system of justice is an open invitation for injustice.

Students in several states have gone to court to sue their schools because of unjust suspension or expulsion procedures. Because these cases were not argued in the Supreme Court, there is still no national policy on due process in public schools. However, several lower courts have been rather consistent in laying down due process procedures. The following procedure is typical of how courts have been interpreting the law.

1. The student should be given a written statement of the charges prior to the date of the hearing.
2. A hearing should be conducted before an impartial person (usually a school administrator not personally involved in the case).
3. Students should be permitted to inspect in advance any evidence...
4. Students should be allowed to present a defense to charges against them and to present affadavits, exhibits, and witnesses.
5. Students should be permitted to have counsel (not always a lwayer) present.
6. Students should be permitted to hear evidence presented against them and to question any witness who gives evidence against them.
7. The hearing officer should determine the facts of each case solely on the basis of evidence presented at the hearing and should state his decision in writing.
8. Either side may, at its own expense, make a record of the events...

RE-RUNS

OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE - Sponsored by the School Desegregation Project of the Southern Regional Council, August 15-August 25, Camp Fellowship, Waterloo, S.C.

RE-RUNS

...The seventeen year period from 1954 until the present was just the prelude to the battle confronting all students today--both black and white. For, upon them falls the responsibility of organizing a "new constituency" dedicated to realizing and attaining quality desegregated education for all students...

...Recognizing their responsibility in making the newly desegregated situation work, a small biracial group of college and high school students met in Waterloo, South Carolina for a ten-day Desegregation Institute to review last year's experiences and activities, to analyze the status of the desegregation movement and the institution of public education from the youth perspective, and to learn and/or refine specific skills needed for the back-home situation.

With an air of determination and hope, these students [illegible]

pulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for separate black school boards, schools, and so forth, are contrary to the history of this country in which whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for separate schools.

A statement from students and others is needed stating that "We need to desegregate the schools." The court in the Swann decision asked if the black community wanted to desegregate, to which the response was "yes." Contrary to this, however, the press is highlighting the anti-desegregation statements of blacks.

DOES YOUR SCHOOL OBEY THE CONSTITUTION? Reprinted from "National High School Publication," October, 1971

The 5th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that no person shall ...be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The purpose of this section of the fifth amendment was to assure citizens that certain general rules would be followed when they were being tried for a crime.

Due process became law in the United States in 1789, but in public schools it is a new concept and is yet to be practice. Principals or discipline officers usually suspend or expel students arbitrarily. The student is usually just called into an office and told that he is suspended. School officials act as plaintiff, jury, judge, prosecutor, and executioner. This system of justice is an open invitation for injustice.

Students in several states have gone to court to sue their schools because of unjust suspension or expulsion procedures. Because these cases were not argued in the Supreme Court, there is still no national policy on due process in public schools. However, several lower courts have been rather consistent in laying down due process procedures. The following procedure is typical of how courts have been interpreting the law.

1. The student should be given a written statement of the charges prior to the date of the hearing.
2. A hearing should be conducted before an impartial person (usually a school administrator not personally involved in the case).
3. Students should be permitted to inspect in advance any evidence...
4. Students should be allowed to present a defense to charges against them and to present affadavits, exhibits, and witnesses.
5. Students should be permitted to have counsel (not always a lwayer) present.
6. Students should be permitted to hear evidence presented against them and to question any witness who gives evidence against them.
7. The hearing officer should determine the facts of each case solely on the basis of evidence presented at the hearing and should state his decision in writing.
8. Either side may, at its own expense, make a record of the events...

RE-RUNS

OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE - Sponsored by the School Desegregation Project of the Southern Regional Council, August 15-August 25, Camp Fellowship, Waterloo, S.C.

RE-RUNS

...The seventeen year period from 1954 until the present was just the prelude to the battle confronting all students today--both black and white. For, upon them falls the responsibility of organizing a "new constituency" dedicated to realizing and attaining quality desegregated education for all students...

...Recognizing their responsibility in making the newly desegregated situation work, a small biracial group of college and high school students met in Waterloo, South Carolina for a ten-day Desegregation Institute to review last year's experiences and activities, to analyze the status of the desegregation movement and the institution of public education from the youth perspective, and to learn and/or refine specific skills needed for the back-home situation.

With an air of determination and hope, these students set forth over the 10-day period to attain these goals, while first unconsciously and later consciously molding a spirit of direction and determination out of the collective realization that there were other young adults from througout the South working towards similar goals--the establishment of a humane society and the development of quality education fro all students.

This groups represented a cross-section of youth encountered through nine months of extensive travel and work with youth groups and educational projects by the staff and volunteers of the School Desegregation Project...

SEMINARS

CASE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION MOVEMENT: JULIUS CHAMBERS

Four basic points were covered in the seminar on the legal/historical aspects of school desegregation: (1) the origin of the school desegregation movement; (2) the reason for massive school desegregation in the '70's; (3) the landmark cases in the school desegregation movement; and (4) some of the major dynamics and/or problems set off by the school desegregation movement in general and the Swann Decision in particular. Following coverage of these points, Attorney Julius Chambers made some general observations on various desegregation issues and responded to questions from the floor.

Law was described as an evolutionary process faced with the problem that many people differentiate the "letter of the law" and the "spirit of the law." This has tended to hinder what is already a basically slow process, as illustrated by the seventeen year lapse between the Brown and Swann decisions.

***

In dialogue with participants, Attorney Chambers highlighted several points:

(1) School desegregation is a reality, the courts will not retract the decision; therefore, we need to "look toward developing means of protecting black students and teachers in the desegregated schools. In many cases, these protective measures can be developed more feasibly through the political and legislative route than through the judiciary, at least until 1976.

Community organization is needed to pressure the school boards into establishing policies concerning suspensions, expulsions which will insure students the right to "due process protection." Since the hearings usually result in a re-affirmation of the suspensions and/or expulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for separate black school boards, schools, and so forth, are contrary to the history of this country in which whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for separate schools.

A statement from students and others is needed stating that "We need to desegregate the schools." The court in the Swann decision asked if the black community wanted to desegregate, to which the response was "yes." Contrary to this, however, the press is highlighting the anti-desegregation statements of blacks.

***

THE NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL IMPLICATIONS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: JEAN FAIRFAX

.....The seminar terminated on a key point, the implications of the pressure of groups, 'chunks,' of students in the desegregated school today as opposed to small numbers under the other plans. Though in most cases in a minority, black students now have the opportunity to organize a base within the system, if they become a politically aware body, which will strive to learn where the power is, how decisions are made, where the money is, and how they can become a strategy group with a conscious plan.

***

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: ANDREW YOUNG

...According to Rev. Young, "violence destroys people and property, not systems." He described nonviolence as organized aggressive goodwill, aimed at developing new relationships between people. Although the problems in school desegregation are immediate, we have to understand the overall picture and be clear on the ultimate goal--the establishment of a humane society.

***

..."Students, once they get their minds together, are the most knowledgeable people concerning eudcational matters, because they are directly involved. They should therefore look toward attending school board meetings, asking for youth representation on school boards, and utilizing other aggressive means of attaining power."

POWER ! to the PUPIL

STUDENT RIGHTS: LAUGHLIN MCDONALD

...The areas of discussion ranged widely and covered many of the issues affecting students in the desegregated schools today. Some of them were: (1) Suspensions. Several points came out in the discussion of suspensions as opposed to expulsion. From the administrative point, most students are guilty until proven innocent. Highlighted was a major contradiction "between law and action since many states had compulsory attendance laws requiring a specific number of days' attendance but would permit suspensions and/or expulsions which would run over those days."...The seminar concluded with a call for strong local organization, and a discussion of the method of documenting infringements of student rights (write down; solicit witnesses; if possible, notarize the description of the incident; document disciplinary actions).

VA. GOVERNOR HAS

Bussing Answer—Leave It to the Kids

BY ROBERT J. DONOVAN
Times Associate Editor

RICHMOND—What to do about the bitter issue of bussing?

"Leave it to the kids. They are the ones who can handle it—who are handling it nicely." Such is the advice of a man who is in a peculiarly good position to know something about the problem—Gov. Linwood Holton of Virginia.

"That parents and the politicians don't need to be afraid of it if they let the kids know they have confidence in the kids' ability to handle it," the first Republican ever elected governor of Virginia said in an interview.

"We have four children in the public school system of Richmond. We took them there last year as a demonstration of compliance with the courts.

"Two of them are in a middle school—what you would call junior high—which last year had 4% white and 96% black enrollment.

"Last year we took them to school from the mansion in the station wagon. This year, after school opened my daughter, Anne, who is 13, called the administrative office and asked 'Where can we catch the bus?' Last Friday morning she and Woody, her brother, went out on Broad St. and caught the school bus and came home on the bus.

"My older daughter, Tayloe, goes to John F. Kennedy High School, which is predominantly black. She was elected one of two white cheerleaders out of 12 altogether.

"These young people are getting along. In some cases they are dear friends. Our children bring black friends home to the mansion after school.

"I am not advocating mixed schools. I am simply reporting what

black students and half white.

"The crowd was a good mix. You never saw a better behaved crowd at a high school football game.

"You can see kids enjoying themselves, getting on well, not paying attention to what others are saying. I understand older people don't feel that way. Young people are just more flexible."

What about the political controversy over bussing?

"The politics of bussing won't last until next year's election—not in the areas that have it," the governor prophesied.

What can Gov. George Wallace of Alabama gain from the issue?

"Nothing. Defiance of court orders on constitutional rights isn't going to get anybody anywhere."

★

Actually, Holton opposed bussing to bring about racial balance in schools, but has insisted on compliance with court orders.

"Massive resistance was a mistake and won't be done again," Holton continued. "When they closed the schools in 1958 as part of massive resistance, that was the end of massive resistance in this state. People are going to insist on a good education for their youngsters.

"I don't believe that bussing will be an issue next year. At least not in Virginia. This desegregation no longer has great validity in Virginia. People realize blacks are going to get equal treatment from the government.

"Since we are accepting court-ordered bussing, our kids in the major cities are going to school together after being taken there by some form of transportation. Norfolk has a problem because of last-minute requirements. The opening of schools there has been delayed, and there's been confusion and inconvenience.

1969 when the courts and HEW required our rural systems to add school busses to achieve racial balance instead of racial segregation.

"Almost without incident in 1970 Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke and other more urban areas were required by the courts to achieve arbitrary racial balance.

"There was a loud outcry in Richmond, but as soon as the election was over, the outcry declined noticeably, and the kids, on whom the big burden fell, accepted the burden. They were getting along fine by the end of the year. This doesn't mean that our people approve bussing across town to achieve racial balance.

"But the courts have said to us as a matter of constitutional rights all children are entitled to equal opportunity in school. You can't change that except by constitutional amendment. And that can't be done. It is not feasible that such an amendment could be enacted. So we must all comply with the courts.

"You can have confidence in the ability of the kids to handle this. I know because I have seen them do it under the most adverse of circumstances right here in this area.

"Richmond was strongly opposed to integration. The editorials in the newspaper, the largest in the state, approached the hysterical. Furthermore the school administration had no opportunity to conduct seminars to prepare its teachers and administrators or time to get right-sized chairs or the right books. Still we had what people now realize was a successful school year.

"This year schools have now been opened for over a week and to look at the situation you couldn't tell Richmond from any other city.

"The time has come when the people of Virginia are turning their attention to the development of their state. They recognize that a good

ced from L.A. Times, 9/12/71

STEAMY SEMANTICS

Excerpted from "Mixing Adds Some Terms to Our Language," Birmingham News, 8/22/71.

QUESTION: What is the meaning of 'busing'? Is it different from riding a bus to school?

ANSWER: The word 'busing' may take its present meaning from an experiment conducted in New York City by the commissioner of education when he transferred white students by bus to black schools and transferred black students to white schools. He did this voluntarily, without a court order. The resultant outcry by parents made the word a part of our contemporary vocabulary. Buses have been used for more than 40 years to transport students who live too far from school to walk...

QUESTION: What is meant by 'racial balance?'

ANSWER: The phrase was first used by educators who said they saw an advantage in a black-to-white ratio in the school equal to that in the population in the vicin-

Bussing Answer—Leave It to the Kids

VA. GOVERNOR HAS

BY ROBERT J. DONOVAN
Times Associate Editor

RICHMOND—What to do about the bitter issue of bussing?

"Leave it to the kids. They are the ones who can handle it—who are handling it nicely." Such is the advice of a man who is in a peculiarly good position to know something about the problem—Gov. Linwood Holton of Virginia.

"That parents and the politicians don't need to be afraid of it if they let the kids know they have confidence in the kids' ability to handle it," the first Republican ever elected governor of Virginia said in an interview.

"We have four children in the public school system of Richmond. We took them there last year as a demonstration of compliance with the courts.

"Two of them are in a middle school—what you would call junior high—which last year had 4% white and 96% black enrollment.

"Last year we took them to school from the mansion in the station wagon. This year, after school opened my daughter, Anne, who is 13, called the administrative office and asked 'Where can we catch the bus?' Last Friday morning she and Woody, her brother, went out on Broad St. and caught the school bus and came home on the bus.

"My older daughter, Tayloe, goes to John F. Kennedy High School, which is predominantly black. She was elected one of two white cheerleaders out of 12 altogether.

"These young people are getting along. In some cases they are dear friends. Our children bring black friends home to the mansion after school.

"I am not advocating mixed schools. I am simply reporting what I see. Last Friday night we went to the Kennedy football game. The number of whites at the school has now risen to 15%. They were playing a school that has about half black students and half white.

"The crowd was a good mix. You never saw a better behaved crowd at a high school football game.

"You can see kids enjoying themselves, getting on well, not paying attention to what others are saying. I understand older people don't feel that way. Young people are just more flexible."

What about the political controversy over bussing?

"The politics of bussing won't last until next year's election—not in the areas that have it," the governor prophesied.

What can Gov. George Wallace of Alabama gain from the issue?

"Nothing. Defiance of court orders on constitutional rights isn't going to get anybody anywhere."

★

Actually, Holton opposed bussing to bring about racial balance in schools, but has insisted on compliance with court orders.

"Massive resistance was a mistake and won't be done again," Holton continued. "When they closed the schools in 1958 as part of massive resistance, that was the end of massive resistance in this state. People are going to insist on a good education for their youngsters.

"I don't believe that bussing will be an issue next year. At least not in Virginia. This desegregation no longer has great validity in Virginia. People realize blacks are going to get equal treatment from the government.

"Since we are accepting court-ordered bussing, our kids in the major cities are going to school together after being taken there by some form of transportation. Norfolk has a problem because of last-minute requirements. The opening of schools there has been delayed, and there's been confusion and inconvenience. Norfolk is going to have trouble.

"But in most areas of the state, kids are being bussed to achieve racial balance pursuant to court orders. This began on a major scale in 1969 when the courts and HEW required our rural systems to add school busses to achieve racial balance instead of racial segregation.

"Almost without incident in 1970 Norfolk, Richmond, Roanoke and other more urban areas were required by the courts to achieve arbitrary racial balance.

"There was a loud outcry in Richmond, but as soon as the election was over, the outcry declined noticeably, and the kids, on whom the big burden fell, accepted the burden. They were getting along fine by the end of the year. This doesn't mean that our people approve bussing across town to achieve racial balance.

"But the courts have said to us as a matter of constitutional rights all children are entitled to equal opportunity in school. You can't change that except by constitutional amendment. And that can't be done. It is not feasible that such an amendment could be enacted. So we must all comply with the courts.

"You can have confidence in the ability of the kids to handle this. I know because I have seen them do it under the most adverse of circumstances right here in this area.

"Richmond was strongly opposed to integration. The editorials in the newspaper, the largest in the state, approached the hysterical. Furthermore the school administration had no opportunity to conduct seminars to prepare its teachers and administrators or time to get right-sized chairs or the right books. Still we had what people now realize was a successful school year.

"This year schools have now been opened for over a week and to look at the situation you couldn't tell Richmond from any other city.

"The time has come when the people of Virginia are turning their attention to the development of their state. They recognize that a good school system is essential to the state's development, and we are going to have that good system no matter how many blacks or whites are in the same class."

Reproduced from L.A. Times, 9/12/71

SEMANTICS

Excerpted from "Mixing Adds Some Terms to Our Language," Birmingham News, 8/22/71.

QUESTION: What is the meaning of 'busing'? Is it different from riding a bus to school?

ANSWER: The word 'busing may take its present meaning from an experiment conducted in New York City by the commissioner of education when he transferred white students by bus to black schools and transferred black students to white schools. He did this voluntarily, without a court order. The resultant outcry by parents made the word a part of our contemporary vocabulary. Buses have been used for more than 40 years to transport students who live too far from school to walk...

QUESTION: What is meant by 'racial balance?'

ANSWER: The phrase was first used by educators who said they saw an advantage in a black-to-white ratio in the school equal to that in the population in the vicinity of the system. For many parents and voters it has come to mean school integration of any degree.

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS (Continued from page 1)

on the rise for the last several years, with disciplinary cases in many cases at an all time high.

...Most blacks and some whites interviewed in every community said they felt that the increasing dismissal rate for black children was strictly racial in nature. Most whites blamed cultural and class differences, however... Blacks take strong exception to the "cultural-clash" point of view. Ruby Martin, of the Washington Research Project...has complained to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that the "rate of black students being pushed out of school is both tragic and alarming" and that the discipline is racial in nature. "The great majority of these students," she wrote..."have been expelled because of minor disciplinary infractions--infractions for which no punishment was administered so long as they attended all-black schools and infractions for which white students are rarely, if ever, punished"..Some educators think that the basic cause of the growing discipline problem is the restriction placed on individual action by school administrators at a time when students and parents are becoming more militant...William E. Thompson, principal of formerly all-black George W. Carver High School in Montgomery, Ala....said that white educators should immediately establish "rap" sessions between groups of white and black students and should not expect "kids from the ghetto to accept their middle-class white mores and culture right off the bat"... (New York Times, August 28, 1971)

IS THERE A BIGGER PICTURE SOMEWHERE? WHITE SUSPENSIONS, EXPULSIONS ARE INCREASING, TOO... FOR DRESS, FOR HAIR, FOR TENNIS SHOES, FOR NO POCKET ON YOUR T-SHIRT...SOMETIMES FOR REALLY THINKING. DOES SOCIETY DEMAND THAT ITS CHILD CONFORM TO THE SAME OLD COOKIE CUTTER...OR ELSE? OR IS IT ALL-PURPOSE REPRESSION? OR IS IT THE IDEA OF EDUCATION FOR EVERYONE, THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM ITSELF, THEY'RE PUTTING DOWN? IDEAS, ANYONE?

DATELINE: SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., AUG. 31: The California State Supreme Court, in a 6-to-1 decision, said today that in its opinion the United States Supreme Court would hold that California's system of financing public education violated the Federal Constitution.

...The California system is the same one that is followed by almost all the states: public secondary and elementary schools are financed by local property taxes supplemented by "equalization funds" provided by various Federal grants in aid.

...The case is one brought in behalf of children and parents in Los Angeles County. The contention is that some school districts have greater concentrations of taxable real estate than do others, and that this results in some school districts having more money than do others, even though the taxpayers may pay lower rates in the more wealthy districts....(New York Times, August 31, 1971)

THIS DECISION HAS BEEN CALLED AS SIGNIFICANT FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AS THE BROWN DECISION WAS. WHILE THE CALIFORNIA RULING MERELY DIRECTED THAT HEARINGS ON CORRECTING EXISTING INEQUITIES BE HELD, THE RULING ADDRESSES ITSELF TO CONDITIONS PREVAILING ACROSS THE COUNTRY (ALTHOUGH THE DISPARITY IS NOT AS MARKED IN THE SOUTH, WHERE STATE FUNDING OF EDUCATION IS HEAVIER, PROPORTIONATELY, THAN ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY). IF, EVENTUALLY, COURTS REQUIRE THAT EVERY CHILD HAVE AN EQUAL AMOUNT SPENT ON HIS EDUCATION, WOULD THERE BE IMPLICATIONS FOR DESEGREGATION?

BUSLINES: Sources. Jones, NY Times, 9/12/71; Wicker, NY Times, 9/2/71; Nixon, NY Times, 8/8/71; Davidson, NY Times, 8/8/71; Abernathy, NY Times, 9/12/71; Yardley, NY Times, 8/20/71; Wallace, NY Times, 8/19/71 8/19/71, CRC, NY Times, 8/12/71; Holton, LA Times, 9/12/71.

outlined steps school boards must take toward desegregation so that they could lawfully receive federal financial assistance.)

By September, 1967 fourteen per cent of Southern black students attended schools that were termed "desegregated." In May of the following year Green v. New County Board of Education was handed down by the Court, requiring "other means" if Freedom of Choice "fails to undo segregation," and stating school boards must show "affirmative steps" to desegregate. Green called for "unitary" school systems--without a "white" school and a "Negro" school; with "just schools."

ONE WAY STREET OR HIGHWAY?

The first Mississippi public school district desegregated August 31, 1964 when sixteen Negro children entered four first-grade classes in previously all-white schools in Biloxi. By September, 1966, when Mr. Davis was entering the eighth grade, his home town school district of Greenville had eight "desegregated" schools, with 281 black students attending classes with 5,208 white students. A smattering of desegregation had extended into the Deep South states and into the rural areas of

THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE THEY REMAIN THE SAME...

RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE CENTERED AROUND THE SCHOOL HOUSE AND ADJOINING WHITE-WASHED CHURCH IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE CENTURY, AND MOVES TOWARD "CONSOLIDATION" INTO LARGER, BETTER EQUIPPED SCHOOLS, SERVING MORE STUDENTS, WERE STRONGLY OPPOSED. WHY? BECAUSE THE "CONSOLIDATED" SCHOOLS REQUIRED EXTENSIVE BUSING AND WERE SAID TO BE DESTRUCTIVE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL CONCEPT. SOUND FAMILIAR? THE BLACK SCHOOL SYSTEM STILL WAS COMPRISED OF FEWER SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SO RATHER THAN WALKING TWO OR THREE MILES TO ATTEND SCHOOL, BLACK STUDENTS WERE BUSED SOMETIMES 40 OR 50 MILES AWAY EACH DAY. WHITE STUDENTS WERE BUSED EXTENSIVELY TOO, OF COURSE, BUT SHORTER DISTANCES, GENERALLY, BECAUSE OF A GREATER NUMBER OF WHITE SCHOOLS.

predominantly white schools. The reverse, white students in predominantly black schools, counted for nought.

In 1968, when Mr. Davis was a high school freshman, a new phenomenon spread, like the earlier sit-in movement, across the South: direct action by black students in protest of inequities in school desegregation, in protest of black schools closed, and slights in previously all-white schools. That fall in Atlanta students at all-black Eva Thomas High School, who demonstrated several weeks in protest of school board plans to reassign them to integrated schools, were lauded by an elated Lester Maddox (Georgia's arch-segregationist Governor at the time). Maddox probably did

gained in popularity. It has also brought together an unlikely combination of educational separatists and segregationists of the Citizens' Councils variety. Specifics of separatism in education--how, for example, it

attended predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attended desegregated schools with enrollments of 80 to 99.9% black; and 18.4% attended all-black schools.

This was the first significant increase in sixteen Septembers, if the numbers don't lie. It was "a beginning of assault on the outward manifestations of segregation," wrote Senator Walter Mondale (Chairman, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity), "but we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a mutual respect."

But we'll do even that if people like Willie Davis, his black and white classmates,

HEY, ORANGE! HEY, BLUE! WE'RE SO PROUD OF YOU!
HEY, BLACK! HEY, WHITE! YOU LOOK SO GOOD TONIGHT!

(Maury High School cheer.) Maury High School in Norfolk, Va., was closed in 1958 for five months in an attempt to prevent racial desegregation. This fall, Maury's 2,500 member student body is about half black, half white, and otherwise changed. The NY Times, 10/24/71, reports:

First there was the quiet-but-suspicious stage, during which white and black tolerated each other gingerly, afraid to say the wrong thing.

Then, black students began to gain confidence, to assert themselves, and in some instances to play on the fear they often detected in

"Black traditions have begun to penetrate this school," said Carolyn Wiggins, "but we still have to fight for them. Everything here is the white tradition unless we change it."

When Maury took a 6-to-0 lead over Princess Anne during the second quarter

much as anything what Miss Wiggins was talking about.

The white cheerleaders generally kept to a high-kicking, more ritualized, traditional style. The blacks displayed a jazzier, side-to-side movement, a kind of rock dance step.

A trivial difference, per-

outlined steps school boards must take toward desegregation so that they could lawfully receive federal financial assistance.)

By September, 1967 fourteen per cent of Southern black students attended schools that were termed "desegregated." In May of the following year Green v. New County Board of Education was handed down by the Court, requiring "other means" if Freedom of Choice "fails to undo segregation," and stating school boards must show "affirmative steps" to desegregate. Green called for "unitary" school systems--without a "white" school and a "Negro" school; with "just schools."

ONE WAY STREET OR HIGHWAY?

The first Mississippi public school district desegregated August 31, 1964 when sixteen Negro children entered four first-grade classes in previously all-white schools in Biloxi. By September, 1966, when Mr. Davis was entering the eighth grade, his home town school district of Greenville had eight "desegregated" schools, with 281 black students attending classes with 5,208 white students. A smattering of desegregation had extended into the Deep South states and into the rural areas of the South--but so-called "desegregation" was following, for the most part, this pattern: black schools closed; a token number of black students placed in white schools; black principals and administrators demoted, pushed out, given meaningless, even demeaning titles; black teachers displaced.

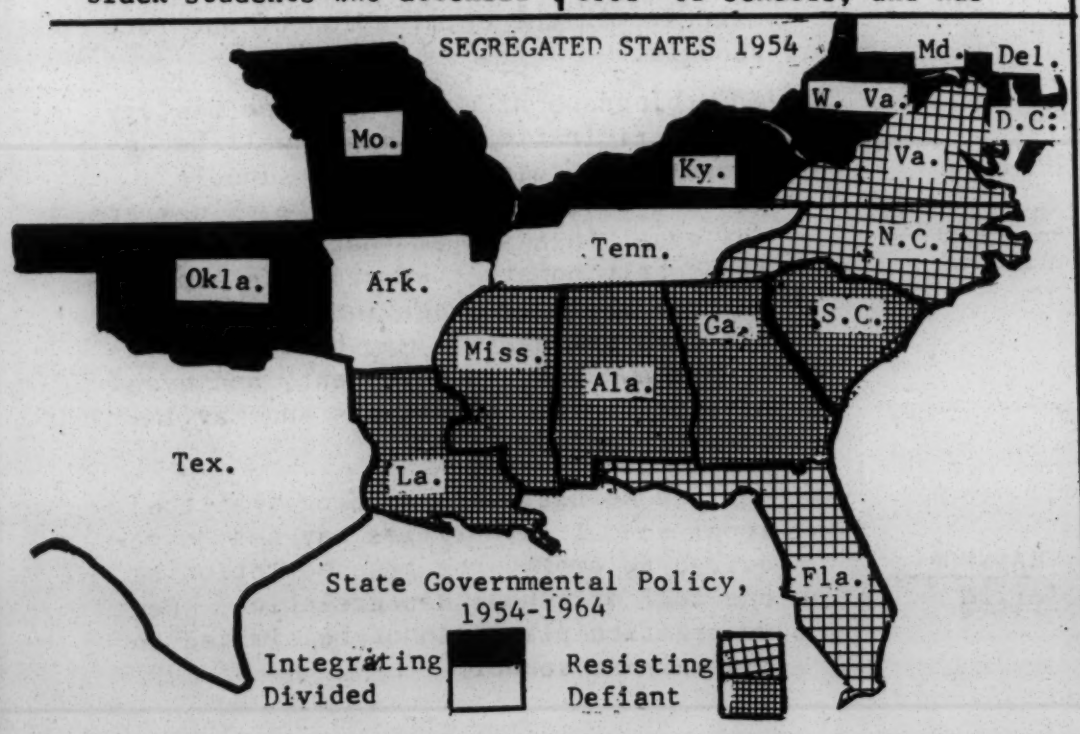
Even the working definition of the word "desegregation" was soon to become questionable; the press, the educational experts, the desegregation experts (and, this year, the U.S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare and the President of the United States) gauged the statistical extent of "desegregation" by the number of black students who attended predominantly white schools. The reverse, white students in predominantly black schools, counted for nought.

THE MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE THEY REMAIN THE SAME...

RURAL COMMUNITY LIFE CENTERED AROUND THE SCHOOL HOUSE AND ADJOINING WHITE-WASHED CHURCH IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE CENTURY, AND MOVES TOWARD "CONSOLIDATION" INTO LARGER, BETTER EQUIPPED SCHOOLS, SERVING MORE STUDENTS, WERE STRONGLY OPPOSED. WHY? BECAUSE THE "CONSOLIDATED" SCHOOLS REQUIRED EXTENSIVE BUSING AND WERE SAID TO BE DESTRUCTIVE OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL CONCEPT. SOUND FAMILIAR? THE BLACK SCHOOL SYSTEM STILL WAS COMPRISED OF FEWER SCHOOL BUILDINGS, SO RATHER THAN WALKING TWO OR THREE MILES TO ATTEND SCHOOL, BLACK STUDENTS WERE BUSED SOMETIMES 40 OR 50 MILES AWAY EACH DAY. WHITE STUDENTS WERE BUSED EXTENSIVELY TOO, OF COURSE, BUT SHORTER DISTANCES, GENERALLY, BECAUSE OF A GREATER NUMBER OF WHITE SCHOOLS.

In 1968, when Mr. Davis was a high school freshman, a new phenomenon spread, like the earlier sit-in movement, across the South: direct action by black students in protest of inequities in school desegregation, in protest of black schools closed, and slights in previously all-white schools. That fall in Atlanta students at all-black Eva Thomas High School, who demonstrated several weeks in protest of school board plans to reassign them to integrated schools, were lauded by an elated Lester Maddox (Georgia's arch-segregationist Governor at the time). Maddox probably did not know the protesting black students' position was: "We'd be happy to have them (white students) come to school here," in their new, million dollar, all-black school. (There is a difference, be it said, between a demand for equal treatment, and racist action.)

And in this period, some nationally known black leaders, notably Roy Innis of the Congress of Racial Equality, began to urge "separatism" in the schools--a return to a dual educational system, the black one this time black-controlled, the white one white controlled. (At this writing, such a concept of integration has become tied in the public mind to the concept of "community control" of schools, and has gained in popularity. It has also brought together an unlikely combination of educational separatists and segregationists of the Citizens' Councils variety. Specifics of separatism in education--how, for example, it would be effected in the widespread rural areas where racial proportions are often greatly unbalanced--have not been projected by its proponents.)



NOW..."NOW"

Mr. Davis graduated with the class of 1971. In his junior year, he is likely to have heard a good bit of talk about changes wrought by Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, in which the Supreme Court put down patience, setting aside its own "deliberate speed" doctrine after fourteen years of tokenism, and directed desegregation "now." Carter v. West Louisiana Parrish School Board followed soon thereafter, calling for desegregation "immediately." These rulings in late 1969 set the stage for wide-scale school desegregation in the 1970's.

By September of 1970, according to Department of Health, Education, and Welfare figures (perhaps not accurate, but the only ones available) 38.1% of southern black students attended schools with a predominantly white student body; 20.4% attended predominantly black schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% black; 23.1% attended desegregated schools with enrollments of 80 to 99.9% black; and 18.4% attended all-black schools.

This was the first significant increase in sixteen Septembers, if the numbers don't lie. It was "a beginning of assault on the outward manifestations of segregation," wrote Senator Walter Mondale (Chairman, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity), "but we have not achieved real desegregation or quality education on the basis of a mutual respect."

But we'll do even that if people like Willie Davis, his black and white classmates, and his teachers prevail.

HEY, ORANGE! HEY, BLUE! WE'RE SO PROUD OF YOU!
HEY, BLACK! HEY, WHITE! YOU LOOK SO GOOD TONIGHT!

(Maury High School cheer.) Maury High School in Norfolk, Va., was closed in 1958 for five months in an attempt to prevent racial desegregation. This fall, Maury's 2,500 member student body is about half black, half white, and otherwise changed. The NY Times, 10/24/71, reports:

First there was the quiet-but-suspicious stage, during which white and black tolerated each other gingerly, afraid to say the wrong thing.

Then, black students began to gain confidence, to assert themselves, and in some instances to play on the fear they often detected in whites. The whites would sometimes respond in kind.

The third stage, which Maury is now said to be entering, is one of decreasing self-consciousness about race. ***

'Traditions Penetrate'

"Black traditions have begun to penetrate this school," said Carolyn Wiggins, "but we still have to fight for them. Everything here is the white tradition unless we change it."

When Maury took a 6-to-0 lead over Princess Anne during the second quarter the other night, from the Commodores' side of the field rose a cheer of distinctly Negro inflection:

"I'll say. Right on! Hey, Hey! That's the Maury Way!"

That cheer, and the very styles of the cheerleaders themselves, symbolized as much as anything what Miss Wiggins was talking about.

The white cheerleaders generally kept to a high-kicking, more ritualized, traditional style. The blacks displayed a jazzier, side-to-side movement, a kind of rock dance step.

A trivial difference, perhaps. But it became a major point of contention last spring when black students complained that their cheerleader candidates were judged by a "white" standard consequently rejected. ***

Mr. Davis graduated this year. Throughout most of twelve years of schooling, he had been burned by a majority of the country in the matter of the Constitutional promise of no closed doors because of race. As graduation approached, self-serving politicians were again exploiting adult hang-ups, this time with a threadbare "bussing" issue wrung from another Court ruling (Swann v. Board of Education), trying hard to put their sick trip on kids. Full circle from 1954.

But at Commencement, Willie Davis stood before his integrated graduating class of 1971 at Greenville, Mississippi, High School, and said this:

"No doubt there are many people here, like this speaker, who, before this year, never really considered living in this state for the rest of their lives, who always knew that as soon as they were old enough they'd waste no time putting a great deal of distance not only between them and the state line, but also between

keep on

them and the Mason-Dixon line, who were certain that this delta land had not even the least bit of attraction for them and that it was only a matter of time before they said their tearless good-byes to its magnolias, its heat, and its racism. And if they were like this speaker, they were never more wrong in their lives. There is something attractive here, something indefinable yet genuine. And in spite of all the bitterness and despair that it is possible for a black Mississippian to have, that genuineness can be felt. Probably it's been felt more this year than at any other time--because of what happened this year at this school. To see one's classmates and teachers struggle courageously to make something happen here that has not happened in any other school in this nation has to give him reason not to be so bitter and not to feel so hopeless. He can believe in the brotherhood that the class motto speaks of. He can believe, like Willie Morris, that the South has a better chance of realizing the dream of true brotherhood than any other section of the country. He can believe, finally, that there is something here worth working for, worth nurturing, worth being committed to.

"Perhaps, in the end, it is really a question of loving this state not necessarily for what it is or for what it has been, but for what it can be. And maybe it is this love that will induce those (like this speaker) who plan to attend college somewhere other than this state to return. For it is the love that one has for his home, his roots. It is the love that commits one to changing things for the better. It is, indeed, the tie that binds a brother to his brother." ■■■

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION DEPT.

Dig the October, 1971 National High School Publication of the High School Student Information Center, student-produced and totally relevant. This month's publication is really psyched to our interests, with articles on student involvement with state school boards and on the use of the vote-power base to bargain for changes we would like to see in schools. Also one on 5 Amendment rights of students expelled or suspended. (See RE-RUNS for some excerpts.) Subscribe to the STUDENT INFORMATION CENTER PUBLICATION, $2.00 for [illegible]

" ..To many persons - especially whites in the South - it seemed unlikely that Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, President Nixon's nominee, would write such a ruling, and that it would be unanimously backed by a Court that has been bitterly divided on many other issues. But what is at stake goes beyond individual justices' predilections and political background to the integrity of the promise that the Court made in 1954. As Chief Justice Burger put it..."At no time has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding."
NY Times, April 25, 1971

HELP! I'VE BEEN bussed!

Here's what the busing hassle is about: highlights of what the Supreme Court really said in its April Swann v. Bd. of Education decision, touted in state house and press as the "busing" decision.

In its unanimous decision, the Court termed the central issue student assignment, with four "problem areas." The four areas are: racial balances, one race schools, rearrangement of school districts (neighborhood schools), and transportation.

RACIAL BALANCES — 1. To what extent racial balance or racial quotas may be used as an implement in a remedial order to correct a previously segregated school;

ONE RACE SCHOOLS — 2. Whether every all-Negro and all-white school must be eliminated as an indispensible part of a remedial process of desegregation;

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS — 3. What are the limits, if any, on the rearrangement of school districts and attendance zones as a remedial measure;

TRANSPORTATION — 4. What are the limits, if any, on the use of transportation facilities to correct state-enforced racial school segregation.

What the Court Said:

line, who were certain that this delta land had not even the least bit of attraction for them and that it was only a matter of time before they said their tearless good-byes to its magnolias, its heat, and its racism. And if they were like this speaker, they were never more wrong in their lives. There is something attractive here, something indefinable yet genuine. And in spite of all the bitterness and despair that it is possible for a black Mississippian to have, that genuineness can be felt. Probably it's been felt more this year than at any other time--because of what happened this year at this school. To see one's classmates and teachers struggle courageously to make something happen here that has not happened in any other school in this nation has to give him reason not to be so bitter and not to feel so the brotherhood that the class motto speaks of. He can believe, like Willie Morris, that the South has a better chance of realizing the dream of true brotherhood than any other section of the country. He can believe, finally, that there is something here worth working for, worth nurturing, worth being committed to.

"Perhaps, in the end, it is really a question of loving this state not necessarily for what it is or for what it has been, but for what it can be. And maybe it is this love that will induce those (like this speaker) who plan to attend college somewhere other than this state to return. For it is the love that one has for his home, his roots. It is the love that commits one to changing things for the better. It is, indeed, the tie that binds a brother to his brother." ■■■

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION DEPT.

Dig the October, 1971 National High School Publication of the High School Student Information Center, student-produced and totally relevant. This month's publication is really psyched to our interests, with articles on student involvement with state school boards and on the use of the vote-power base to bargain for changes we would like to see in schools. Also one on 5 Amendment rights of students expelled or suspended. (See RE-RUNS for some excerpts.) Subscribe to the STUDENT INFORMATION CENTER PUBLICATION, $2.00 for students, 1010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007. LEFT ON, SIC! ALL POWER TO THE PUPIL!

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

ATLANTA GA

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1085

steamy semantics

Excerpted from "Mixing Adds Some Terms to Our Language," Birmingham News, 8/22/71.

QUESTION: Why do we have school 'zones'?

ANSWER: School zones are not new. Before 'freedom of choice' was made a law by the Alabama Legislature, students were required to attend school in the same zone where they lived. Black students attended the black schools in that zone and white students attended the white schools in that zone. The boards of education in the various systems now draw the zone lines, as they did before "freedom of choice," but now they are under court order to draw zone lines to achieve the maximum desegregation....

QUESTION: What is the difference between 'de facto' and 'de jure' segregation?

ANSWER: 'De facto' means 'in fact.' On the other hand, 'de jure' means 'by law.' The black plaintiffs and the U.S. government have tried to integrate schools where the population is more or less integrated. Congress, however, has considered laws to attack Northern style "de facto" segregation, as well as segregation by law.

President Nixon's nominee, would write such a ruling, and that it would be unanimously backed by a Court that has been bitterly divided on many other issues. But what is at stake goes beyond individual justices' predilections and political background to the integrity of the promise that the Court made in 1954. As Chief Justice Burger put it..."At no time has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding."
NY Times, April 25, 1971

HELP! I'VE BEEN bussed!

Here's what the busing hassle is about: highlights of what the Supreme Court really said in its April Swann v. Bd. of Education decision, touted in state house and press as the "busing" decision.

In its unanimous decision, the Court termed the central issue student assignment, with four "problem areas." The four areas are: racial balances, one race schools, rearrangement of school districts (neighborhood schools), and transportation.

RACIAL BALANCES

1. To what extent racial balance or racial quotas may be used as an implement in a remedial order to correct a previously segregated school;

ONE RACE SCHOOLS

2. Whether every all-Negro and all-white school must be eliminated as an indispensible part of a remedial process of desegregation;

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

3. What are the limits, if any, on the rearrangement of school districts and attendance zones as a remedial measure;

TRANSPORTATION

4. What are the limits, if any, on the use of transportation facilities to correct state-enforced racial school segregation.

What the Court Said:

RACIAL BALANCES

1. A school authority's remedial plan or a district court's remedial degree is to be judged by its effectiveness. Awareness of the racial composition of the whole school system is likely to be a useful starting point in shaping a remedy...
The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole.

ONE RACE SCHOOLS

2. ...In a system with a history of segregation the need for remedial criteria of sufficient specificity to assure a school authority's compliance with its constitutional duty warrants a presumption against schools that are substantially disproportionate in their racial composition.
...The district judge or school authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest degree of actual desegregation and will thus necessarily be concerned with the elimination of one race schools.

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

3. All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient, and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some...

TRANSPORTATION

4. We find no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school desegregation. Desegregation plans cannot be limited to the walk-in school.

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS april '72...What's Happening?

DATELINE: Washington, D.C. 2/23/72. Memo from the National Education Association Council on Human Relations: "...There appear to be indications that (scores of thousands) may be out of school this year as a result of suspensions, expulsions, arrests, boycotts, and other administrative and educational deficiencies in desegregated schools in at least eight states. A preliminary survey by Don Shire of the Teacher Rights Division indicates that in 28 school districts and attendance areas there have so far this year been 1 death, 1,284 arrests, and 2,720 student expulsions and suspensions..."

"ADMINISTRATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS" SUMS UP WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT BLACK PUSH-OUTS AND DROP OUTS, TOO. SEE COLUMN 4.

DATELINE: Birmingham, Ala. 12/30/71. "Officials at Shelton State Technical Institute in Tuscaloosa County have been ordered to reinstate a Black student who was suspended December 8. Willie James Hill was suspended until Jan. 3 after putting Black unity symbols and phrases on a stereo cabinet and bar he built in a woodworking class...U.S. District Judge Seybourn H. Lynne ruled that school officials had not issued formal charges against Hill, nor provided him with an administrative hearing so that he could defend his actions...Hill was denied a temporary restraining order against the school, in which he sought relief allowing all students to design items they make according to their own wishes..." Birmingham News.

TWO ISSUES...ONE IS WHAT IS CALLED "DUE PROCESS OF LAW." UNDER THE 5TH AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, A PERSON MAY NOT BE PUNISHED UNLESS "PROCESS OF LAW"--GENERAL RULES WHICH REQUIRE A STATEMENT OF CHARGES, A HEARING, A DEFENSE--ARE FOLLOWED. BUT EVEN THOUGH SOME LOWER COURTS HAVE RULED THAT SCHOOL OFFICIALS

continued on page 2

one monkey don't start

school desegregation project newsletter
ISSUE NO. 5

gency School Assistance Program--neither

DO IT

THEY WERE TOLD NEVER TO COME BACK

BY

DATELINE: Washington, D.C. 2/23/72. Memo from the National Education Association Council on Human Relations: "...There appear to be indications that (scores of thousands) may be out of school this year as a result of suspensions, expulsions, arrests, boycotts, and other administrative and educational deficiencies in desegregated schools in at least eight states. A preliminary survey by Don Shire of the Teacher Rights Division indicates that in 28 school districts and attendance areas there have so far this year been 1 death, 1,284 arrests, and 2,720 student expulsions and suspensions..."

"ADMINISTRATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS" SUMS UP WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT BLACK PUSH-OUTS AND DROP OUTS, TOO. SEE COLUMN 4.

DATELINE: Birmingham, Ala. 12/30/71. "Officials at Shelton State Technical Institute in Tuscaloosa County have been ordered to reinstate a Black student who was suspended December 8. Willie James Hill was suspended until Jan. 3 after putting Black unity symbols and phrases on a stereo cabinet and bar he built in a woodworking class...U.S. District Judge Seybourn H. Lynne ruled that school officials had not issued formal charges against Hill, nor provided him with an administrative hearing so that he could defend his actions...Hill was denied a temporary restraining order against the school, in which he sought relief allowing all students to design items they make according to their own wishes..." Birmingham News.

TWO ISSUES...ONE IS WHAT IS CALLED "DUE PROCESS OF LAW." UNDER THE 5TH AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, A PERSON MAY NOT BE PUNISHED UNLESS "PROCESS OF LAW"--GENERAL RULES WHICH REQUIRE A STATEMENT OF CHARGES, A HEARING, A DEFENSE--ARE FOLLOWED. BUT EVEN THOUGH SOME LOWER COURTS HAVE RULED THAT SCHOOL OFFICIALS

continued on page 2

school desegregation project newsletter
ISSUE NO. 5

one monkey don't start no show

It looks like you're being messed over again, this time by ESAP/CG

(and if you've never heard of ESAP/CG, that's part of what we mean). High school and junior high students are missing out on their share of power in the operation of a multi-million dollar federal program to make desegregation work, the "Emergency School Assistance Program, Community Groups."

Off-the-wall ESAP guarantees students a role in decision-making and planning for its local projects. But a School Desegregation Project investigation suggests that, when it comes to real power, neither of the two branches of the Emergency School Assistance Program--neither LEA nor Community Groups ESAP projects--is doing right by students. If students were grading ESAP administrators on whether they have made sure students share power in the projects, our investigation suggests a barely passing D-minus grade for LEA's and a slightly higher C-minus for Community Groups. (In ESAP-language, "LEA" programs is the name for the projects administered by school officials, or "Local Education Agencies." ESAP/CG or "ESAP Community Groups" projects are administered by--you guessed it--groups in the community that are not school-affiliated.)

The last issue of the Newsletter reported why we think ESAP-LEA programs barely pass: a spot-check of students suggests that "Student Advisory Committees" to projects, required by

continued on page 2

DO IT to it!

If Uncle Sam puts his money where his mouth is, more federal millions will become

available next fall for public and private organizations to do their thing toward achieving and maintaining a desegregated school system. If you're ready, you can be there hands out and receive a grant for a project your group of high school or junior high students initiates and operates.

Here's what you'll need to do. If you attend school in an eligible district (we'll let you know the eligible districts), organize a group of high school or junior high students and interest them in initiating a project (or, if you're in an established group, one like Hi-Y, or a school

continued on page 4

THEY WERE TOLD NEVER TO COME BACK

BY Patricia Thompson

On Friday, Jan. 28, the National Education Association held an External

Council Meeting on Civil and Human Rights, in Atlanta, Georgia. The meeting place was the Airport Hilton Inn. Present were many national and local organizations and ten Black students from ("X" County, Ala.), ("Y", South Carolina), and ("Z", Miss.).

The discussion was opened with testimony from ___, student, from Mississippi. ___'s ninth grade sister ___ was permanently suspended from school because the teacher mis-graded her paper.

(The S.C. student) contended that his school officials brand the outspoken Black students as the "wrong students." These "wrong students" are eliminated from school on the simplest bases that the officials can think of.

continued on page 2

Dateline Southern Schools *Continued*

MUST OBSERVE THE STUDENT'S RIGHT TO DUE PROCESS BEFORE HE IS EXPELLED, SUSPENDED, OR PUNISHED (AS THIS COURT DID), THIS REQUIREMENT HAS NOT THUS FAR BEEN ESTABLISHED BY THE U.S. SUPREME COURT. FOR THIS REASON, A STUDENT WHO HAS BEEN EXPELLED OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL WITHOUT "DUE PROCESS" LEGALLY CAN ONLY GO TO COURT, AS MR. HILL DID, AND HOPE FOR A FAVORABLE DECISION. THE SECOND ISSUE IS A COURT ORDER "ALLOWING ALL STUDENTS TO DESIGN ITEMS THEY MAKE ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN WISHES." IN THE OPINION OF THE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE IN MR. HILL'S CASE THIS IS NOT A RIGHT STUDENTS HAVE UNDER PRESENT LAW. WHAT SEEMS RIGHT IS NOT ALWAYS A LEGAL "RIGHT"...NOT UNTIL A COURT DECIDES IT IS.

QUESTION: AREN'T THERE HUMAN RIGHTS, RIGHTS NOT COVERED BY LAW? PROBLEM: HOW CAN WE GET SCHOOL OFFICIALS TO RECOGNIZE HUMAN RIGHTS?

Just the Facts, Please

Here's how we checked out ESAP/CG. We drew a batch of 25 project Synopses from the SE Regional Office of Education ESAP/CG files, more or less at random. Eight happened to be from projects in S.C.; 5 from Ala., 3 from Miss., 3 from Ga., 2 from Fla., 2 from N.C., 2 from Tenn. All but one were for 1972.
To determine the existence of student advisors, we sent questionnaires to projects which did not list them on Synopses. To get an idea of project focus, we separated the 25 into 5 groups: adults only (1); students only (6); mostly adults (3); mostly students (3); equally mixed (12). To get an idea of project concentration, we catagorized program components in this manner: tutorials (9 times); work with push-outs (5 times); racial understanding (5 times); art & culture (4 times); interracial activities emphasis (4 times); public information (3 times); encouraging

TOLD NEVER TO COME BACK CONTINUED

(X County, Alabama's) ____ told the organizations that his county had violated the desegregation order on public schools, as he still attends an all-Black high school. "The conditions of our school can't be described," says _____, because it is so bad." The bathrooms are unusable and the classrooms overcrowded. "When it rains," frowns _____, "the mud is so thick that the elementary children are covered at their little feet." "It rains in the classroom and there is no heat, but from a wood-burning heater." Also, the classrooms at _____'s school are cut in half by plastic partitions, and neither side is able to learn for hearing the other. And if you think that is bad, hear this: the Principal will not allow any complaints. Because whoever goes up to the office in order to complain are met by the principal, who wears a forty-five revolver on his right side, a cowboy hat on his head, and a huge German Police dog on his left side.

_____ was suspended from school on the first day, along with _____, _____, and _____, because they could not help but to complain about the conditions under which they were going to school. Today, only one of these students is in school; the others were told never to come back.

After hearing the grievances of these students, the various organizations expressed their concern and offered some possible solutions to the problem.

The group broke up into a student group and an adult group. The purpose was to find what the problem is, what can be done about it, some possible resources, and what the various organiza-

MUST OBSERVE THE STUDENT'S RIGHT TO DUE PROCESS BEFORE HE IS EXPELLED, SUSPENDED, OR PUNISHED (AS THIS COURT DID), THIS REQUIREMENT HAS NOT THUS FAR BEEN ESTABLISHED BY THE U.S. SUPREME COURT. FOR THIS REASON, A STUDENT WHO HAS BEEN EXPELLED OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL WITHOUT "DUE PROCESS" LEGALLY CAN ONLY GO TO COURT, AS MR. HILL DID, AND HOPE FOR A FAVORABLE DECISION. THE SECOND ISSUE IS A COURT ORDER "ALLOWING ALL STUDENTS TO DESIGN ITEMS THEY MAKE ACCORDING TO THEIR OWN WISHES." IN THE OPINION OF THE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE IN MR. HILL'S CASE THIS IS NOT A RIGHT STUDENTS HAVE UNDER PRESENT LAW. WHAT SEEMS RIGHT IS NOT ALWAYS A LEGAL "RIGHT"...NOT UNTIL A COURT DECIDES IT IS.

QUESTION: AREN'T THERE HUMAN RIGHTS, RIGHTS NOT COVERED BY LAW? PROBLEM: HOW CAN WE GET SCHOOL OFFICIALS TO RECOGNIZE HUMAN RIGHTS?

Just the Facts, Please

Here's how we checked out ESAP/CG. We drew a batch of 25 project Synopses from the SE Regional Office of Education ESAP/CG files, more or less at random. Eight happened to be from projects in S.C.; 5 from Ala., 3 from Miss., 3 from Ga., 2 from Fla., 2 from N.C., 2 from Tenn. All but one were for 1972. To determine the existence of student advisors, we sent questionnaires to projects which did not list them on Synopses. To get an idea of project focus, we separated the 25 into 5 groups: adults only (1); students only (6); mostly adults (3); mostly students (3); equally mixed (12). To get an idea of project concentration, we catagorized program components in this manner: tutorials (9 times); work with push-outs (5 times); racial understanding (5 times); art & culture (4 times); interracial activities emphasis (4 times); public information (3 times); encouraging white return to public schools (2 times); crisis activity (2 times); Black history (1 time). Our count of the number of student-initiated and run projects (3 out of 73 in SE region) is based on an HEW press release listing ESAP/CG projects dated 12/7/71. NOTE: Most of our data are based on what projects said about themselves, either to HEW or to us, rather than on reports from completely impartial sources.

one monkey *Continued*

the federal Regulations governing ESAP, frequently are not operating; they often are not representative of the student body; they usually are mere appointed "informants" for school authorities with no function significant to school desegregation; and they never are permitted influence in ESAP project policy-making. The kind of LEA projects which are being approved and "funded" with federal money are almost never new, innovative projects designed to help students make desegregation work; they are more often than not for "general aid to education," a little more of what students were getting already.

So, you may be saying, what's new? We're talking about school administrators, and they aren't likely to cut loose their power, or to bother their heads with new ways of thinking. But what about Community Groups? Aren't they tradition-free "human relations" experts, who know how to go about making desegregation work? Why do we say they're putting students down?

The School Desegregation Project recently checked out ESAP/Community Groups and "graded" the community projects on the basis of student participation in decision-making. Questionnaires to project directors, Office of Education file materials, and talks with students were our main sources. Here's what we found.

1. ESAP/CG projects are unfair to students on bi-racial advisory committee participation.

Many ESAP/CG projects for students have no student advisors from secondary schools. We found 11 projects who claim to have student advisors, one project now "developing" a student advisory committee, and 13 projects apparently still without them four months after funding, in a spot check of 25 projects. Even when there is student advisory representation, adults often appear to dominate advisory committee planning, at the expense of student creativity.

2. ESAP/CG administrators have neglected to form projects sponsored by organizations of high school or junior high students.

Instructions from the Office of Education state it wishes to solicit and encourage student and youth projects, run by chartered non-profit student groups (or by groups of students with an adult-organization sponsor). But of a total of 73 Southeastern Region projects funded in late fall, 1971, apparently only three are secondary school student-operated projects. The three together received only $30,504.00 of a total of almost five million

TOLD NEVER TO COME BACK CONTINUED

(X County, Alabama's) ____ told the organizations that his county had violated the desegregation order on public schools, as he still attends an all-Black high school. "The conditions of our school can't be described," says _____, because it is so bad." The bathrooms are unusable and the classrooms overcrowded. "When it rains," frowns _____, "the mud is so thick that the elementary children are covered at their little feet." "It rains in the classroom and there is no heat, but from a wood-burning heater." Also, the classrooms at _____'s school are cut in half by plastic partitions, and neither side is able to learn for hearing the other. And if you think that is bad, hear this: the Principal will not allow any complaints. Because whoever goes up to the office in order to complain are met by the principal, who wears a forty-five revolver on his right side, a cowboy hat on his head, and a huge German Police dog on his left side.

_____ was suspended from school on the first day, along with _____, _____, and _____, because they could not help but to complain about the conditions under which they were going to school. Today, only one of these students is in school; the others were told never to come back.

After hearing the grievances of these students, the various organizations expressed their concern and offered some possible solutions to the problem.

The group broke up into a student group and an adult group. The purpose was to find what the problem is, what can be done about it, some possible resources, and what the various organiza-

"THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IS DESIGNED TO EDUCATE YOU SO YOU CAN BE A BLACK WHITE PERSON"

Six students were refused reinstatement in school by the principal and the superintendent because they boycotted school the previous year. They are still out of school."

tions could do to help solve the problem.

The students found the problem to be the condition of the present school system. This included the facts that the student had no voice in the school's policy making, dress code, or any other policies that directly affected the students.

They found that the administration was negligent in that it failed to hear the grievances of the Black students, and took no positive action in correcting the wrongness of the school officials.

The most talked-about problem of the ____ students was that of a psychological type violence used against the Black students. This included the administration of inferior mental tests for the placement of students, discouraging remarks from counselors, and using the suspension of certain Black students as an example to the others.

The possible resources suggested by the students were to let the students handle the situation, since they are the ones directly involved. And let each organization be willing to appropriate funds when needed by the students. There is a need for financial aid.

After the beautifully handled discussion from the students was finished, the adults gave the solutions or possible sources to which a student is able to look in the time of need.

The meeting was wrapped up by Mr. George W. Jones, director.

Everyone expressed his grievance and others expressed their concern, but to talk is natural, let us begin to put our words into positive action.

P.T.

outs and push-out students (paralleling a concentration on general aid to education programs we found in LEA programs).

Three minuses and one plus: from a student viewpoint, ESAP/CG policy seems to be shorting students on advisory participation of any significance; on student initiated and operated projects; and on some ESAP extras routinely extended adults; but students seem to be receiving fair treatment on the number of project activities directed toward them (but run by adults).

Now for a twist. How does student ESAP power and participation look from the perspective of ESAP/CG administrators? The need, as several see it, is to stimulate student involvement in the adult-run Community Groups projects. Period.

If one monkey don't start no show, who's the missing monkey?

stantive biracial student advisory representation as a condition of funding. Community Groups projects are now "encouraged" to have students in advisory positions; they are not required to have them--in what seems to us to be clear contradiction of the ESAP Regulations.

The Community Groups ESAP division could also help insure student advisory representation by clearly prescribing a form for it: either separate student committees, or student representation on predominantly adult committees, or both. (Current written instructions, dated August, 1971, "encourage" the development of a "student advisory committee". An earlier handbook for applicants calls for, not a committee, but student representation on overall committees. Yet, an ESAP/CG spokesman told us the latter policy is the one now in effect. But, student representation on overall project advisory committees is nowhere mentioned in the

were refused reinstatement in school by the principal and the superintendent because they boycotted school the previous year. They are still out of school." P.T.

THE (EDUCATION) SYSTEM SAYS YOU'VE GOT TO GET OUT OF THIS CULTURE AND GET INTO ANOTHER CULTURE. WE REJECT IT. WE THINK THE WHITE CHILD OUGHT TO HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF KNOWING THE BLACK CULTURE." Miss. student conference participant.

Photo by Elaine Tomlin

Patricia Thompson, who wrote this report for SDP, is a high school student from a smallish Mississippi city. Representatives of concerned organizations who attended the NEA/CHR meeting agreed to:
...solicit strong organizational statements relating to student push-outs;
...establish an information center to document push-outs;
...form assistance teams to help students in crises;
...seek funding for alternative education for push-outs.

What could do to help solve the problem.

The students found the problem to be the condition of the present school system. This included the facts that the student had no voice in the school's policy making, dress code, or any other policies that directly affected the students.

They found that the administration was negligent in that it failed to hear the grievances of the Black students, and took no positive action in correcting the wrongness of the school officials.

The most talked-about problem of the ____ students was that of a psychological type violence used against the Black students. This included the administration of inferior mental tests for the placement of students, discouraging remarks from counselors, and using the suspension of certain Black students as an example to the others.

The possible resources suggested by the students were to let the students handle the situation, since they are the ones directly involved. And let each organization be willing to appropriate funds when needed by the students. There is a need for financial aid.

After the beautifully handled discussion from the students was finished, the adults gave the solutions or possible sources to which a student is able to look in the time of need.

The meeting was wrapped up by Mr. George W. Jones, director.

Everyone expressed his grievance and others expressed their concern, but to talk is natural, let us begin to put our words into positive action. ●

dollars--$4,753,226--distributed among the 73 projects.

3. ESAP/CG is unfair to students in the matter of some of the "extras" it has extended to adults. It has infrequently paid for student travel to regional or state conferences, or invited students to workshops and meetings where (ESAP-paid) adults exchange information about projects, about techniques, and about the situation in their communities.

On one question, we graded ESAP/CG "fair to students." In our (unscientific) "sampling," the number of programs (and their component parts, in the case of multi-purpose programs) for students slightly exceeds the number for the adult community. That is, projects do things directed toward student participation, things like workshops, cultural enrichment programs, tutorials, more often than they do things for adult participation.

But, even though programs for students predominate in our 25-project sample, they concentrate on tutorials and on work with drop-outs (paralleling concentration on general aid to education programs we found in LEA programs).

Three minuses and one plus: from a student viewpoint, ESAP/CG policy seems to be shorting students on advisory participation of any significance; on student initiated and operated projects; and on some ESAP extras routinely extended adults; but students seem to be receiving fair treatment on the number of project activities directed toward them (but run by adults).

Now for a twist. How does student ESAP power and participation look from the perspective of ESAP/CG administrators? The need, as several see it, is to stimulate student involvement in the adult-run Community Groups projects. Period.

If one monkey don't start no show, who's the missing monkey? Is ESAP/CG putting students down, or is it the other way around? Are students not as interested as they might be?

It seems to us that if student power, student planning, and student decision-making were increased, student interest and participation in ESAP/CG programs would be assured. But how can students grab power roles for themselves in adult-conceived, adult-run programs? No way. The burden of increasing the degree of student power in community groups programs is on ESAP/CG administrators in Washington, in regional offices, and on the local projects' boards and paid staff. If a third year of ESAP is authorized by Congress, we think the Community Groups division should revise its present policy relating to the role of students --if, that is, it seriously wants to increase student participation in the projects.

For example, ESAP/CG at top level might REQUIRE projects to have sub-sentation as a condition of funding. Community Groups projects are now "encouraged" to have students in advisory positions; they are not required to have them--in what seems to us to be clear contradiction of the ESAP Regulations.

The Community Groups ESAP division could also help insure student advisory representation by clearly prescribing a form for it: either separate student committees, or student representation on predominantly adult committees, or both. (Current written instructions, dated August, 1971, "encourage" the development of a "student advisory committee." An earlier handbook for applicants calls for, not a committee, but student representation on overall committees. Yet, an ESAP/CG spokesman told us the latter policy is the one now in effect. But, student representation on overall project advisory committees is nowhere mentioned in the current instructions his office distributes.)

Our spot check suggests the result has been a reasonless mixture: of the 11 projects in our sample which claimed to have any student advisors, five have separate student committees; six have student representatives as a minority on adult committees. A twelfth states it is forming a separate student committee. None claimed both types of student representation.)

Student advisory representation could be required in the initial planning of the project, not at some later date. Our questionnaire check suggested that some groups funded last November are still in the process of "developing" student committee membership. There is no reason why ESAP/CG should permit projects the "30 days after school opening" leeway LEAs have (one which excludes students from the formative stages).

In its future policy, ESAP/CG should pre-

continued on page 4

DO IT! *Continued*

paper, the Beta Club, or the 4-H Club, interest them in sponsoring the project). Your group must be a legal entity, chartered under the laws of the state; or, if you prefer, ask a local, chartered adult organization to serve as sponsor for your student-run project.

If you do not have approval of your school officials, right on! Formal endorsement by school authorities is not required if school hours, facilities, or personnel are not involved. Two kinds of student-sponsored projects: out-of-school projects and in-school projects (in-school projects must have the approval of the officials of all schools involved; out-of-school projects are encouraged to solicit the approval of school officials but do not have to have it).

If your organization has a charter or if it has a chartered organization willing to sponsor it, then you need an idea.

Next you need to form an advisory committee (with adult representation on it); next you can get an application form from the regional Office of Education ESAP/Community Groups division, fill it out, and send it in.

Ideas for projects? We know of one in Texas that performs student-improvised plays based on their experiences with racial prejudice. The Wilmington, N. C. Youth Council operates a Rumor Control Center, to squelch rumors and provide accurate, unbiased information on school desegregation. Some in-school projects recommended by the Office of Education (all were suggested by students) are: "activities that promote the inclusion of ethnic studies as a regular part of the school curriculum"; activities that research student attitudes, values, and opinions so that actions can be taken as a result of the findings which will improve programs and services"--where-it's-at ideas, aimed toward making basic changes in curriculum, materials, programs, and in the community, so that desegregation can work.

We can help you (with ideas and with information necessary for each step along the way in the application process) or the Community Groups' ESAP office in your HEW region can refer you to Technical Assistance Centers for help.

Although applications won't be accepted until later this year (contingent on ESAP's being approved for another year), it's not too soon to start organizing, and to develop an idea for a worthwhile student-run, student initiated ESAP Community Groups Project. Do it!

"One Monkey" and other ESAP material by Marge Manderson, editor of this issue.

CATCH THE NEXT MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE FOR STUDENTS, MAY 6, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, SPONSORED BY THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER OF MISSISSIPPI, 603 N. FARISH ST., JACKSON 39203. SUBJECT: SCHOOL PUSH-OUTS.

ONE MONKEY *Continued*

scribe ways to counteract adult domination of advisory committee functions (and of projects).

For a start, ESAP/CG could change its present instructions to applicants pertaining to "Student Involvement," which suggest a secondary role for students ("volunteer assistance in tutoring," are to be accepted; "publicity" is required of ESAP.

There are other ways the Office of Education's ESAP/CG division could move to stimulate student power in its projects. Informational workshops are convened by ESAP and its technical assistance centers; why can't they be held, getting to the nitty-gritty; not many deal with institutionalized racism in the schools (from a student viewpoint); not many show students how to work to change institutionalized racism, or how to work to change irrelevant curriculum and materials; not many help students to understand and deal with the difficulties and

A spokesman for the Southeastern Region ESAP/CG office told the School Desegregation Project he does not think adults should dominate projects; that rather students should make project decisions for adults--but somehow, as in the LEA programs, good intentions and off-the-wall talk about really meaningful student participation

4-H club, interest them in sponsoring the project). Your group must be a legal entity, chartered under the laws of the state; or, if you prefer, ask a local, chartered adult organization to serve as sponsor for your student-run project.

If you do not have approval of your school officials, right on! Formal endorsement by school authorities is not required if school hours, facilities, or personnel are not involved. Two kinds of student-sponsored projects: out-of-school projects and in-school projects (in-school projects must have the approval of the officials of all schools involved; approval of school officials but do not have to have it).

If your organization has a charter or if it has a chartered organization willing to sponsor it, then you need an idea.

Next you need to form an advisory committee (with adult representation on it); next you can get an application form from the regional Office of Education ESAP/Community Groups division, fill it out, and send it in.

Ideas for projects? We know of one in Texas that performs student-improvised plays based on their experiences with racial pre- Rumor control center, to squelch rumors and provide accurate, unbiased information on school desegregation. Some in-school projects recommended by the Office of Education (all were suggested by students) are: "activities that promote the inclusion of ethnic studies as a regular part of the school curriculum"; activities that research student attitudes, values, and opinions so that actions can be taken as a result of the findings which will improve programs and services"--where-it's-at ideas, aimed toward making basic changes in curriculum, materials, programs, and in the community, so that desegregation can work.

cessary for each step along the way in the application process) or the Community Groups' ESAP office in your HEW region can refer you to Technical Assistance Centers for help.

Although applications won't be accepted until later this year (contingent on ESAP's being approved for another year), it's not too soon to start organizing, and to develop an idea for a worthwhile student-run, student initiated ESAP Community Groups Project. Do it!

"One Monkey" and other ESAP material by Marge Manderson, editor of this issue.

CATCH THE NEXT MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE FOR STUDENTS, MAY 6, TOUGALOO COLLEGE, SPONSORED BY THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES CENTER OF MISSISSIPPI, 603 N. FARISH ST., JACKSON 39203. SUBJECT: SCHOOL PUSH-OUTS.

ONE MONKEY Continued

scribe ways to counteract adult domination of advisory committee functions (and of projects).

For a start, ESAP/CG could change its present instructions to applicants pertaining to "Student Involvement," which suggest a secondary role for students ("volunteer assistance in tutoring," "identification of potential dropouts," "inviting youth to discussion groups," etc., so that students may be "given a greater understanding of the complexities of the problem").

ESAP/CG administrators should more actively encourage student groups to initiate and run projects.

Chartered student organizations (groups that are legal entities) have not been informed that they are eligible for ESAP funding for organized projects to help make desegregation work. (Students have not been informed that an organized group can easily obtain a charter.) ESAP/CG has convened informational meetings of potential adult group applicants (and paid their expenses); the same thing could be done for student groups. Why can't student newspapers (and other student-focused media) be used by ESAP/CG to publicize to students how their groups too can sponsor projects or at least to publicize dates when applications are to be accepted; "publicity" is required of ESAP.

There are other ways the Office of Education's ESAP/CG division could move to stimulate student power in its projects. Informational workshops are convened by ESAP and its technical assistance centers; why can't they be held, always, during non-school hours, and why can't projects be required to assure student attendance? A strong student role could be required in self-evaluations projects must conduct; students could be assured of a part in Office of Education project Evaluations. The Office of Education could consider hiring and paying student technical consultants, as it now does adult consultants; and it could place student interns in positions to advise administrators about project program.

Finally, to stimulate student interest in ESAP/CG projects, the relevance of the present program concentrations--tutorials, work with drop-outs and push-outs--should be weighed. Whether they like desegregation or not, black and white students are interested in it, and interested in making it work or coping with it. But not many projects for students seem to be getting to the nitty-gritty; not many deal with institutionalized racism in the schools (from a student viewpoint); not many show students how to work to change institutionalized racism, or how to work to change irrelevant curriculum and materials; not many help students to understand and deal with the difficulties and sensitivities that often surface in newly integrated situations; not many provide for joint interracial efforts out-of-school. In short, not many projects for students are much more than stop-gap devices; not many grapple with causes, the ground where school officials are unwilling to tread (and where community groups can be of unique service).

ESAP/CG is firmly bound to make sure its projects have direction from the people they serve (to insure "maximum" participation in "the development and implementation of all programs and projects" by "the groups served," according to OEO law which presumably pertains to the current operation of ESAP since present funding is partially drawn from appropriations for OEO. ESAP Regulations cite OEO law in relation to their requirement of student and adult advisory committees: 42 US Code 2781. "The groups served" means, in large part, students.)

A spokesman for the Southeastern Region ESAP/CG office told the School Desegregation Project he does not think adults should dominate projects; that rather students should make project decisions for adults--but somehow, as in the LEA programs, good intentions and off-the-wall talk about really meaningful student participation have not become the reality of ESAP/CG.

What can you do? If you are a high school or junior high student and if there is an ESAP Community Group project in your community, check it out. If you see any opening at all for contributing your first-hand experience and observations about making school desegregation work, do it. We guarantee the ESAP project will be the better for your help. ●

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

ATLANTA GA.

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1085

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS june '72...What's Happening?

DATELINE: Washington, D.C. "President Nixon signed today a bill (which) provides $2 billion over the next two years to help communities that are in the process of desegregating their grade schools and high schools..." N.Y. Times, June 24, 1972.

WITH THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE, THE FEDERALLY FUNDED PROGRAM WE KNEW AS ESAP WAS SUCCEEDED BY A NEW PROGRAM--THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT (ESAA). UNDER THE NEW LAW, THERE WILL BE ESAP COMMUNITY GROUPS PROGRAMS FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. (THEY SHOULD RECEIVE, NATIONWIDE, $80 MILLION PER YEAR, BUT INSIDERS SAY NOT OVER 10% OF THAT AMOUNT, OR $8 MILLION PER YEAR, WILL BE APPROPRIATED.)

WE DO NOT YET KNOW IF THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION WILL EMPHASIZE STUDENT-RUN, STUDENT INITIATED PROGRAMS. REGARDING STUDENT PARTICIPATION ON ADVISORY COMMITTEES, THE LAW SAYS ALL LEA ESAA PROGRAMS MUST BE DEVELOPED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF A COMMITTEE THAT INCLUDES SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS "WHERE APPLICABLE." THE SAME COMMITTEE (INCLUDING STUDENTS WHERE APPLICABLE) MUST BE "CONSULTED WITH AND INVOLVED IN THE OPERATION OF" LEA ESAA PROGRAMS.

AN ISSUE ON DEALING

NO. 6

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

1 IT STARTED LAST YEAR WHEN

the desegregation plan took place. When the plan came forth, in a month's time they had demoted the high school to a tenth grade center, and a white principal was transferred over to the school and--we had no one to go to to help solve these problems. We had problems with the

Continued on page 2

2 THIS IS AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL

and homecoming came up. They had picked--we're set up under these majority-minority plans where the blacks are in a minority at this school and the whites are in a majority. They sent us little ballots, you know, telling us to write down who we would vote for queen, or

Continue page 3

3 THURSDAY, FEB. 10. MY FIRST

class is advance grammar. My teacher is white. (There is only one black teacher in the English Department.) There are two other blacks in the English class. Out of these people I'm the only one that converse with the white students. The reasons for not conversing with the students

Continued on page 2

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS IN '72...WHAT'S HAPPENING?

DATELINE: Washington, D.C. "President Nixon signed today a bill (which) provides $2 billion over the next two years to help communities that are in the process of desegregating their grade schools and high schools..." N.Y. Times, June 24, 1972.

WITH THE PRESIDENT'S SIGNATURE, THE FEDERALLY FUNDED PROGRAM WE KNEW AS ESAP WAS SUCCEEDED BY A NEW PROGRAM--THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT (ESAA). UNDER THE NEW LAW, THERE WILL BE ESAP COMMUNITY GROUPS PROGRAMS FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS. (THEY SHOULD RECEIVE, NATIONWIDE, $80 MILLION PER YEAR, BUT INSIDERS SAY NOT OVER 10% OF THAT AMOUNT, OR $8 MILLION PER YEAR, WILL BE APPROPRIATED.)

WE DO NOT YET KNOW IF THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION WILL EMPHASIZE STUDENT-RUN, STUDENT INITIATED PROGRAMS. REGARDING STUDENT PARTICIPATION ON ADVISORY COMMITTEES, THE LAW SAYS ALL LEA ESAA PROGRAMS MUST BE DEVELOPED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF A COMMITTEE THAT INCLUDES SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS "WHERE APPLICABLE." THE SAME COMMITTEE (INCLUDING STUDENTS WHERE APPLICABLE) MUST BE "CONSULTED WITH AND INVOLVED IN THE OPERATION OF" LEA ESAA PROGRAMS.

AN ISSUE ON DEALING

NO. 6

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

IT STARTED LAST YEAR WHEN

the desegregation plan took place. When the plan came forth, in a month's time they had demoted the high school to a tenth grade center, and a white principal was transferred over to the school and--we had no one to go to to help solve these problems. We had problems with the

Continued on page 2

THIS IS AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL

and homecoming came up. They had picked--we're set up under these majority-minority plans where the blacks are in a minority at this school and the whites are in a majority. They sent us little ballots, you know, telling us to write down who we would vote for queen, or

Contin. page 3

THURSDAY, FEB. 10. MY FIRST

class is advance grammar. My teacher is white. (There is only one black teacher in the English Department.) There are two other blacks in the English class. Out of these people I'm the only one that converse with the white students. The reasons for not conversing with the students

Continued on page 2

tactics

are you going where you're coming from?

School walkouts. One thing about them, there were hundreds and hundreds this year.

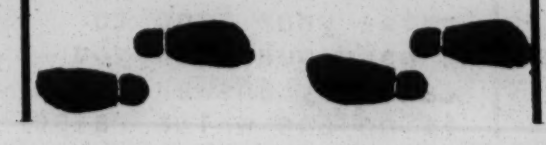
Another thing about them: it seems like when you walk, where it usually gets you is suspended from school.

We're not putting down walkouts as a protest tactic, but there are other ways of working for change. (And, about walkouts, a third thing should be said: they're more effective when the reasons for them are well publicized, so that other citizens who might come to your aid will know what's coming down in the schools.)

It pays to remember there are many tactics available when you're working to change a situation. And it pays to remember that any one tactic can be used so much it becomes ineffective.

Lobbying, lawsuits, picketing, boycotts, harassment--all are forms of non-violent protest. In any one situation you might even use a whole bag of tactics: demonstrations, rallies, picketing, leafleting, petitioning, teach-ins, using radio, TV, and newspapers, and protesting to elected officials. And remember, the unusual tactics you improvise to fit a situation are often the most effective (as the lunch-counter

continued on pg. 7



ALABAMA RUNNING A GAME ON STUDENTS: dumb schools

THIS REPORT ON HOW STUDENTS ARE DEALING WITH TRICK "DUMB SCHOOLS" AND WITH OTHER FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WAS WRITTEN BY AN ELEVENTH-GRADE ALABAMA STUDENT. WE ARE NOT IDENTIFYING HER TO PROTECT HER FROM POSSIBLE REPRISALS FROM SCHOOL OFFICIALS.

We arrived in Marion, Alabama, for a Student Conference meeting at 9:25 A.M. The meeting started at 10:50. Representatives of five counties came forth and explained why the meeting was called, and to discuss the main problems of Marion County.

Mr. Albert Turner, an ESAP director and a

continued on page 7

message from the mission: HOLD ON!

Program Design: National Conference on Education for Black

Some national social action organizations are hip that racial discrimination doesn't end when the final court integration order comes down and (finally) they're getting on the case. A leading example: the Legal Defense and Ed-

continued on page 7

STUDENT SITUATION 1 – "We Couldn't Get Anything Accomplished..."

(Continued from page 1)

principal, he was kicking students. Kicking black and white students. He would tell them to boot over, I'm going to kick you for going across the grass. And if he would see a girl going by he would pull their hair and things like this, and like, he would tell, for instance, if a black person was sent out to the library, "You niggers don't know how to use public facilities," or things like this, you know. And if the person would try to talk back to him or voice his opinion about what he said or try to get back at him the way he told his statement to them, he would get sent home.

This black man named Mr. Holmes, he was a history teacher and the principal was checking up on him because his class--you know, he said he was incompetent --plus the fact that his classroom, he didn't know how to handle them. They could write on the board anytime they pleased, they wouldn't have class. But on the other side of the hall the white man that teached the same course was doing the same thing, flirting with the young ladies. So he fired the man and when he fired this teacher the school was upset because--I mean, they walked out.

They really didn't walk out just because of this purpose, they walked out--you know, they just reached the boiling point and they just wanted to do something about it. The man was fired, he was sent away and was not able to teach back in that school system and that other, white man, he still there, plus the fact that there are a lot of the same people that are still there that didn't have control of their classrooms. We tried to settle this problem. We had grievances and we brought them forth in person to the school board and the school board didn't have no response to the grievances. We picketed for about two weeks and after two weeks we just went back to class. We couldn't get no type of help, unless we got help from the community leaders, black leaders, but the power structure was just too powerful and we couldn't get anything accomplished. It went burserk.

DEALING

"...WE HAVE NO WAY OF FIGHTING THIS AND WE'RE LOOKING FOR SOME WAYS."

THREE STUDENTS REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN THEIR SCHOOLS

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 1

The students would do well to concentrate on bringing the students together--black and white students--on the matter of physical abuse by the principal. This matter is far more easily and directly explained to the community and authorities than that of hiring and firing of teachers. (It appears that many of the teachers in this school are not in control of their classes, and the quality of teachers generally in this school is not desirable.) The matter of physical abuse is a much clearer problem, that the students could organize and act upon.

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 2

There are two ways to deal with this frequent type problem:

a. You can adopt guerrilla tactics, and be ready to accept the consequences. That means that you accept the fact that you are on "foreign" ground and you act like an underground to interfere with that system:

principal, he was kicking students. Kicking black and white students. He would tell them to boot over, I'm going to kick you for going across the grass. And if he would see a girl going by he would pull their hair and things like this, and like, he would tell, for instance, if a black person was sent out to the library, "You niggers don't know how to use public facilities," or things like this, you know. And if the person would try to talk back to him or voice his opinion about what he said or try to get back at him statement to them, he would get sent home.

This black man named Mr. Holmes, he was a history teacher and the principal was checking up on him because his class--you know, he said he was incompetent --plus the fact that his classroom, he didn't know how to handle them. They could write on the board anytime they pleased, they wouldn't have class. But on the other side of the hall the white man that teached the same course was doing the same thing, flirting with the young lady and when he fired this teacher the school was upset because--I mean, they walked out.

They really didn't walk out just because of this purpose, they walked out--you know, they just reached the boiling point and they just wanted to do something about it. The man was fired, he was sent away and was not able to teach back in that school system and that other, white man, he still there, plus the fact that there are a lot of the same people that are still control of their classrooms. We tried to settle this problem. We had grievances and we brought them forth in person to the school board and the school board didn't have no response to the grievances. We picketed for about two weeks and after two weeks we just went back to class. We couldn't get no type of help, unless we got help from the community leaders, black leaders, but the power structure was just too powerful and we couldn't get anything accomplished. It went burserk.

1

DEALING

"... WE HAVE NO WAY OF FIGHTING THIS AND WE'RE LOOKING FOR SOME WAYS."

THREE STUDENTS REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN THEIR SCHOOLS

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 1

The students would do well to concentrate on bringing the students together--black and white students--on the matter of physical abuse by the principal. This matter is far more easily and directly explained to the community and authorities than that of hiring and firing of teachers. (It appears that many of the teachers in this school are not in control of their classes, and the quality of teachers generally in this school is not desirable.) The matter of physical abuse is a much clearer problem, that the students could organize and act upon.

These instances of physical abuse as described are not corporal punishment but are indiscriminate, spontaneous assaults--a matter that concerns all students, white and black, very directly; one they should be able to unite about.

Always, when students demonstrate or walk out, they should remember they're in a much stronger position when they have exhausted all administrative remedies and have made a full and fair effort to seek redress through normal channels. A public will place far more pressure on a school board that has been given every opportunity to remedy the situation.

Finally, if human relations efforts fail in a situation like this, students and parents should be prepared to take legal actions through proper channels (the basis here would be that the students have been assaulted). Particularly if a number of parents and students file legal action, the school board will be forced to take some action to cause the principal to cease his most blatant abuses.

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 2

There are two ways to deal with this frequent type problem:

a. You can adopt guerrilla tactics, and be ready to accept the consequences. That means that you accept the fact that you are on "foreign" ground and you act like an underground to interfere with that system;

b. You have to develop a way to force the black adult community leadership and the black teachers to be ready. There is a long process in which you prepare them ahead of time, for it is my belief that they will not come to your defense in a crisis unless you have done your homework with them ahead.

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 3

Any help you get is gravy. You know this now in the most fundamental way, and now you will never forget it. But this is your education. It is not your parent's, not your community leaders', not your school board's. It belongs to you. Taking your education back from those who don't want you to have it will happen only when you and other students really want to know. Here's what the whole thing is all about.

STUDENT SITUATION 3 "Invisible Tension Exists Between the States..."

3

Continued from page 1

is because there is a general feeling of mistrust among the students, both blacks and whites. When the bell rings there is little or no conversation of any depth between black and whites. There is a feeling of uncertainty and invisible tension that exists between the states.

Friday, Feb. 11. I had a very usual day today and I discovered there are only six black teachers in the high school and only two teach college preparatory courses. I observed the teachers today and found many have the attitude that if you are black and raise your hand to a hard question you can only answer it if no one white raise his hand.

Wednesday, Feb. 16. Tonight I go to the student Council meeting. I am one of the ten blacks on the student council, which consists of about 33% black with two officers. We discuss

To page 5

STUDENT SITUATION 2 – "He's Doing a Lot of Blacks Down Here Like That"

Continued from page 1

the twelve most beautiful, or something like that, so the blacks, they were pretty together on it, they voted for one person, one black person, like eleventh grade maid, twelfth grade maid, tenth grade maid. But when the deal came around, everything was white. We had a white homecoming queen, a white twelfth grade maid, eleventh grade maid, and a white tenth grade maid and, you know, we got a little committee up of black students and we went and tried to get some black maids, at least we asked for a black homecoming queen but they wouldn't give it to us. They said it would cause confusion, this wouldn't be a right type of school, whereby everything would be set up on yours and hers, so they gave us the black maids.

And after this they announced on the intercom that they were having a homecoming dance and, you know, blacks took it upon themselves to go to the dance, but when they got there the policemen say that no blacks could come. And we were faced with that problem. We couldn't do anything about that. No help from nowhere.

O.K., after that January came up and we wanted at least a memorial for Martin Luther King. And they say that--they told us that it was unscheduled, we really didn't have enough time to plan it, but I had told the Black Heritage teacher about two months before January came, you know, to set it up, and he told me that he had told the principal, and the principal, he didn't grant us this right to have a memorial. So the kids walked out, I mean, they took it, they took the 45 minutes, and they walked out, they left campus, they decided his Birthday was worth a whole day, so let's take a whole day, so they walked out, they didn't go back to school.

And the yearbooks and everything. Suspensions, students getting suspended unnecessarily, just for little things, you know, for bumping into a white girl or a white guy going down the hall, the student gets suspended like that. And the main problem is where, like a black person fights a white person, where the black is recommended to see the school board or the superintendent, whereby the superintendent or the school board tells the student that he is mentally disturbed and that he cannot stay in school. The student has a great capacity to think and he makes the student go to vocational school. And he's doing a lot of blacks down here like that and which we have no way of fighting this and which we're looking for some ways.

AND FOUR CIVIL RIGHTS AND EDUCATION EXPERTS GIVE THEIR ADVICE ON CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS THE STUDENTS CAN DEAL.

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 1

Voting in this particular school for homecoming maids encourages black and white voting patterns, increasing student separateness. Students should attempt to get black and white students to reorganize homecoming court make-up and elections. Perhaps a consensus, rather than a voting approach, could be used. Even a system whereby black

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 2

You see lots of problems, that are symptoms of a system that won't listen to your needs as people. Your action on the Beauty Queens

the twelve most beautiful, or something like that, so the blacks, they were pretty together on it, they voted for one person, one black person, like eleventh grade maid, twelfth grade maid, tenth grade maid. But when the deal came around, everything was white. We had a white homecoming queen, a white twelfth grade maid, eleventh grade maid, and a white tenth grade maid and, you know, we got a little committee up of black students and we went and tried to get some black maids, at least we asked for a black homecoming queen but they wouldn't give it to us. They said it would cause confusion, this wouldn't school, whereby everything would be set up on yours and hers, so they gave us the black maids.

And after this they announced on the intercom that they were having a homecoming dance and, you know, blacks took it upon themselves to go to the dance, but when they got there the policemen say that no blacks could come. And we were faced with that problem. We couldn't do anything about that. No help from nowhere.

O.K., after that January came up and we wanted at least a memorial for Martin Luther King. And they say that--they told us that it was unscheduled, we enough time to plan it, but I had told the Black Heritage teacher about two months before January came, you know, to set it up, and he told me that he had told the principal, and the principal, he didn't grant us this right to have a memorial. So the kids walked out, I mean, they took it, they took the 45 minutes, and they walked out, they left campus, they decided his Birthday was worth a whole day, so let's take a whole day, so they walked out, they didn't go back to school.

And the yearbooks and everything. Suspensions, students getting suspended unnecessarily, just for little bumping into a white girl or a white guy going down the hall, the student gets suspended like that. And the main problem is where, like a black person fights a white person, where the black is recommended to see the school board or the superintendent, whereby the superintendent or the school board tells the student that he is mentally disturbed and that he cannot stay in school. The student has a great capacity to think and he makes the student go to vocational school. And he's doing a lot of blacks down here like that and which we have no way of fighting this and which we're looking for some ways.

AND FOUR CIVIL RIGHTS AND EDUCATION EXPERTS GIVE THEIR ADVICE ON CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS THE STUDENTS CAN DEAL.

DEALING

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 1

Voting in this particular school for homecoming maids encourages black and white voting patterns, increasing student separateness. Students should attempt to get black and white students to reorganize homecoming court make-up and elections. Perhaps a consensus, rather than a voting approach, could be used. Even a system whereby black and white maids are selected from each class with students required to cast dual votes would cause more student communication.

Again, black and white students have failed to act together in the instance of black students being excluded from the homecoming dance. Black students have directed pressures toward authorities and teachers rather than asking for aid and support from white--but fellow--students. Would police have been so easily able to turn away black and white students entering the dance as companions?

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 2

You see lots of problems, that are symptoms of a system that won't listen to your needs as people. Your action on the Beauty Queens and Dr. King's memorial were good. You got something from them the first time and you had your own celebration the second.

Tracking into vocational and dead end programs is a problem that will take a long time to solve. Part of that solution must come from the courts. Part of it must come from students who refuse to accept "counseling" to enter such programs. Part of it must come from committed black teachers and guidance personnel who see to it that blacks get properly assigned. Part of it must come

Continued on Page 1

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 3

What does Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., have to do with your education? Don't jive now. Deal with it. And what would have happened if instead of your having..."told the Black Heritage teacher"...to set it up, you and all of the other students concerned enough had set it up yourselves? Is what Dr. King stood for when he was alive, for real to you, or were you just looking for another chance to come down on the school? The answer lies in how you all used the time when you walked out of school.

From Page 3

problems facing the school. The council is really powerless to do anything of value to students.

Thursday, Feb. 17. There are no outward appearances of racial prejudice. It is all concealed very nicely by whites who actually believe they are being as objective as possible. The blacks have made many requests to have things changed. As usual they are put off very calmly as if to say you can't have what you want but we give you something.

Friday, Feb. 18. Today I'm cutting class. This presents a very strong problem for many of the blacks. Some are hustled by the Man. But I'm never questioned because they know I know where he coming from.

Monday, Feb. 21. I resume my studies the same as alway. There are no problems when it come down to why I was absent or if I can make up a test. I think many blacks are pushed around when it come down to this thing of have to make up a test if you were absent. The policy in our school says if you have an unexcused absent you can't make it up. Of course, they have their own double

Continued on Page 1

February 28, 1972 - Hearings open on proposed "anti-busing" Constitutional Amendments.

(3) Because a number of Congressmen have proposed changing the U.S. Constitution to forbid "busing" for desegregation, the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee opens hearings in Washington. The purpose is to gather testimony pro and con from citizens' groups, individuals, and experts, on the desirability of putting to a vote a Constitutional Amendment limiting busing. (The proposal to change the Constitution has no connection with the bill the House passed in November; it is a separate, much more far-reaching attempt to "stop busing.")

November 4, 1971 - "Anti-busing" amendments passed by House.

(2) The U.S. House of Representatives in Washington votes to prohibit the use of any federal money for transportation to desegregate schools, and to prohibit any federal agencies (such as the Justice Department or H.E.W.) from encouraging or requiring school districts to use money from local sources (that is, from state or city budgets) for transportation to desegregate schools. The House also votes to prohibit court desegregation orders for "achieving a balance among students with respect to race" from taking effect until all appeals to higher courts have been completed. (The "anti-busing" measures are in the form of amendments to a bill on Higher Education.)

April 20, 1971 - Supreme Court's Swann decision.

(1) In a unanimous decision (subsequently

March 1, 1972 - Mild "anti-busing" measures passed by Senate.

(4) The U.S. Senate in Washington, in its own version of the bill passed by the House on November 4, votes to put mild restrictions on busing by amending its Higher Education Act. The Senate amendments permit federal funds to be used for busing if local school officials request the funds; it delays implementation of court orders to bus students across school district lines or to merge school districts until appeals have been completed.

Because the House and the Senate passed different versions of the same legislation, both bills go to a House-Senate Conference Committee--a committee where some House members and some Senate members will try to work out a compromise bill, agreeable to both House and Senate.

TACTICS: Can You Make a Differen

(1) A Supreme Court decision. CAN YOU MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

No. Courts are above influence by the people--in theory. (In practice, they are aware of major trends in public opinion and aware of the implications of election returns.)

(2) Bill is passed by

(3) Hearings by committee on proposed Constitutional Amendment. Can you make a difference?

Maybe. You can write the committee conducting the hearings (in this case the House Judiciary Committee) and (a) express your opinion on the issue, or any relevant infor-

(3) Because a number of Congressmen have proposed changing the U.S. Constitution to forbid "busing" for desegregation, the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee opens hearings in Washington. The purpose is to gather testimony pro and con from citizens' groups, individuals, and experts, on the desirability of putting to a vote a Constitutional Amendment limiting busing. (The proposal to change the Constitution has no connection with the bill the House passed in November; it is a separate, much more far-reaching attempt to "stop busing.")

November 4, 1971 - "Anti-busing" amendments passed by House.

(2) The U.S. House of Representatives in Washington votes to prohibit the use of any federal money for transportation to desegregate schools, and to prohibit any federal agencies (such as the Justice Department or H.E.W.) from encouraging or requiring school districts to use money from local sources (that is, from state or city budgets) for transportation to desegregate schools. The House also votes to prohibit court desegregation orders for "achieving a balance among students with respect to race" from taking effect until all appeals to higher courts have been completed. (The "anti-busing" measures are in the form of amendments to a bill on Higher Education.)

April 20, 1971 - Supreme Court's Swann decision.

(1) In a unanimous decision (subsequently known as "Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education"), the United States Supreme Court holds that, to eliminate racial segregation, lower courts can require school officials to assign students to schools that are not in their own neighborhoods, even if it means the students will have to travel to school by bus.

The News in D.C. is BUSING! (Are you being taken for a ride?)

NOW THE GOVERNMENT'S INTO BUSING - - - HAVE YOU BEEN CONFUSED BY THE NEWS? HERE'S A STEP BY STEP CHRONOLOGY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS ON "BUSING."

(4) The U.S. Senate in Washington, in its own version of the bill passed by the House on November 4, votes to put mild restrictions on busing by amending its Higher Education Act. The Senate amendments permit federal funds to be used for busing if local school officials request the funds; it delays implementation of court orders to bus students across school district lines or to merge school districts until appeals have been completed.

Because the House and the Senate passed different versions of the same legislation, both bills go to a House-Senate Conference Committee--a committee where some House members and some Senate members will try to work out a compromise bill, agreeable to both House and Senate.

TACTICS: Can You Make a Differen

(1) A Supreme Court decision. CAN YOU MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

No. Courts are above influence by the people--in theory. (In practice, they are aware of major trends in public opinion and aware of the implications of election returns.)

(2) Bill is passed by House of Representatives. Can you make a difference?

Maybe. Before the measure comes to a vote in the House, you can write a letter, or send a telegram, or make a telephone call or even make a personal visit to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington from your state, asking them to vote the way you want them to. You can mobilize other people in your state to do the same thing, as many other people as possible. (It's unlikely that one voice will change a legislator's mind.) You can write a letter to the editor of your newspaper or use other ways of urging people to communicate with their Representatives.

(3) Hearings by committee on proposed Constitutional Amendment. Can you make a difference?

Maybe. You can write the committee conducting the hearings (in this case the House Judiciary Committee) and (a) express your opinion on the issue, or any relevant information you have, and ask that it be made part of the public record; (b) ask for an opportunity to testify before the committee. Urge other people who might have relevant testimony to ask for the opportunity to testify. Write asking your U.S. Representatives or Senators to testify to the committee (if they will support your views). (The chances that you will be asked to appear by the committee will be greater if you represent a large group; if you have expert information; or if you have had personal experiences strongly supporting a position.) If what you are going to tell the committee might persuade other people in the country to support your position, try to get newspaper and T.V. there.

Political Action as a Tactic -The Lon

The federal government is in the business of making

The "chronology" above--a blow by blow account of m ton--illustrates how presidential decisions, congres can change your schools. Experience has made most

March 16, 1972 - President asks Congress to stop "busing."

(5) President Nixon speaks out against amending the U.S. Constitution to prohibit busing for desegregation--"It takes too long," he says--and asks Congress to call an immediate "moratorium"--a temporary halt--on "new busing," and then to pass yet another, entirely new bill placing permanent restraints on "busing."

March 24, 1972 - Hearings on President's proposed bills.

(6) Hearings begin on the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, the major anti-busing bill asked for by the President March 16.

ce in the Heavy Decisions?

(4) Bill is passed by Senate. Can you make a difference?

Maybe. You can communicate with your U.S. Senators before the bill is voted on (as with Representatives in Number 2).

(5) President asks Congress to pass new laws. Can you make a differ-

(7) Conference reports out a compromise bill. Can you make a difference?

No. Not in the conference proceedings or vote.

(8) Senate votes on compromise bill. Can you make a difference?

Communicate with your Senators before vote.

May 17, 1972 - House-Senate Conference Committee reports out compromise anti-busing amendments.

(7) The anti-busing measures approved November 4 by the House and March 1 by the Senate, as amendments to the Higher Education Act, have been worked into a compromise version, which must now be voted on by both the Senate and the House. The compromise provisions prohibit use of federal funds for transportation of students "to overcome racial imbalance" unless federal funds are specifically requested by local school officials; it postpones the implementation of court orders which require transfer of students "for the purposes of achieving a balance among students with respect to race..." until time for all court appeals has been exhausted (or until Jan. 1, 1974).

May 24, 1972 - The Senate passes the bill.

(8) The Senate votes in favor of the Higher Education Act of 1972, which contains anti-busing provisions in Section 803.

June 8, 1972 - The House passes the bill.

(9) The House votes in favor of the Higher Education Act and its compromise anti-busing provisions.

June 23, 1972 - President signs the bill into law.

(10) With the President's signature, the Higher Education Act and its anti-busing provi-

(5) President Nixon speaks out against amending the U.S. Constitution to prohibit busing for desegregation--"It takes too long," he says--and asks Congress to call an immediate "moratorium"--a temporary halt--on "new busing," and then to pass yet another, entirely new bill placing permanent restraints on "busing."

March 24, 1972 - Hearings on President's proposed bills.

(6) Hearings begin on the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, the major anti-busing bill asked for by the President March 16.

ce in the Heavy Decisions?

(4) Bill is passed by Senate. Can you make a difference?

Maybe. You can communicate with your U.S. Senators before the bill is voted on (as with Representatives in Number 2).

(5) President asks Congress to pass new laws. Can you make a difference?

You can communicate your opinion to the President by letter or by wire.

(6) Congressional committees begin hearings on proposed new laws. Can you make a difference?

The tactics in Number 3 are applicable here.

(7) Conference reports out a compromise bill. Can you make a difference?

No. Not in the conference proceedings or vote.

(8) Senate votes on compromise bill. Can you make a difference?

Communicate with your Senators before vote.

(9) House votes on compromise bill. Can you make a difference?

Communicate with your Representatives before the bill is voted on.

(10) President signs bill into law. Can you make a difference?

Action this late will not make a difference.

YES NO

YOU CAN TRY TO INFLUENCE GOVERNMENTAL DECISIONS THAT WILL AFFECT YOUR LIFE.

HERE'S A STEP BY STEP LOOK AT THINGS YOU COULD HAVE DONE TO TRY TO INFLUENCE THE WASHINGTON LEGISLATIVE DECISION-MAKERS AS THEY WERE HASSLING OVER "BUSING" - - - A LOOK AT THE CITIZEN'S ACTION TACTIC CALLED "LOBBYING."

g Way Home

decisions that ultimately will affect your life.

jor news events in the busing hassle in Washing-
sional decisions, and of course, court decisions
outhern students aware of the mechanics of court

Continued on page 8

ee reports out compromise anti-busing amendments.

(7) The anti-busing measures approved November 4 by the House and March 1 by the Senate, as amendments to the Higher Education Act, have been worked into a compromise version, which must now be voted on by both the Senate and the House. The compromise provisions prohibit use of federal funds for transportation of students "to overcome racial imbalance" unless federal funds are specifically requested by local school officials; it postpones the implementation of court orders which require transfer of students "for the purposes of achieving a balance among students with respect to race..." until time for all court appeals has been exhausted (or until Jan. 1, 1974).

May 24, 1972 - The Senate passes the bill.

(8) The Senate votes in favor of the Higher Education Act of 1972, which contains anti-busing provisions in Section 803.

June 8, 1972 - The House passes the bill.

(9) The House votes in favor of the Higher Education Act and its compromise anti-busing provisions.

June 23, 1972 - President signs the bill into law.

(10) With the President's signature, the Higher Education Act and its anti-busing provisions become law. However, the administration makes it clear that it will encourage Congress to pass further anti-busing legislation--the proposed Student Transportation Moratorium Act and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, which are now in committee.

A BILL WAS PASSED, SOME CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS WERE DEBATED, AND SOME NEW BILLS WERE INTRODUCED IN CONGRESS. WHAT DIFFERENCE WILL THIS MAKE TO YOU, RIGHT NOW?

The Higher Education Act and the anti-busing provisions have become law, and will be enforced.

But, this law's anti-busing provisions make it unlike other laws. There is some possibility that the busing section is unconstitutional (not permitted by the U.S. Constitution) because it attempts to put restraints on the courts. Also, its wording is ambiguous, and its interpretation will depend on the courts. (Does it mean any new busing for integration, or merely new busing to achieve a strict racial balance--a reflection in each school of the racial ratio of the school district? Will communities that have begun busing revert back to segregation while their school desegregation cases are reopened in the courts?)

Among the cities in which additional busing may be delayed this September because of the anti-busing amendments to the Higher Education Act are: Shreveport, La.; Little Rock, Ark.; Birmingham, Ala.; Nashville, Tenn.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Macon, Ga.; Jacksonville and Orlando, Fla., unless the courts say otherwise. The outcome depends on the courts.

STUDENT SITUATION 3

Continued from Page 3

standard for the whites. If you are Black you must know what the rules are or they may be used against you in classroom.

Tuesday, Feb. 22. It has been a very dull day with little action. Most of my classes are boring me to tears. I can't relate to my work as well as before. I consider most of this a waste of time.

Wednesday, Feb. 23. I cut the student council meeting. I was preoccupied with my applications into college with little or no luck, I'm afraid.

Thursday, Feb. 24. Today I decide to explore the school. I begin by showing up late for Physical Ed, which resulted in nothing. Next I walk out of my English class. I was met with a small objection from my white teacher but I was not reprimanded for my actions. Later I failed to return to my algebra class after lunch. I was simply told to pick up an excuse for my absence. From these observations I decided that certain blacks are allowed token freedoms.

Friday, Feb. 25. I decide to use my new found freedom and cut the last two classes.

Tuesday, Feb. 29. A friend was kicked out today for cutting class. He will get the customary three days for his attempt to beat the system. I have yet to find a teacher that you could deal with at ____ High and I truly don't understand how any is ever kicked out.

Wednesday, March 1. Today being the first of the month I decide to just not go to school.

Thursday, March 2. My classes are really boring me. My education is on the down slope. In most of my classes. the blacks don't try to put up with the teacher, which are whites, and therefore they are not receiving the education they could receive. The educational level of blacks in ____ High goes down every year. The major cause are white teachers who seem disinterested in any black students.

Friday, March 9. I have about six tests to make up today, but I have refused to take any until I am properly briefed on the material. Some of the white teachers got very upset because of my refusal to do the work. But I guess they lumped it.

3

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 1

Black and white students must begin to show concern for each other as students. The examples and problems portrayed in all of these instances are compounded by students reacting to their fellow students as the education systems complained of generally react to the needs of students: poorly, unconcerned for fellow students. White and black students must begin to communicate through recognizing that their problems and experiences are common, and that solutions must therefore be common.

Expert 1 is Gideon Stanton, CACTUS
Expert 2 is Rims Barber, Delta Ministry
Expert 3 is Brother George Harris, SRC
Expert 4 is Brother Andrew Marrisette

standard for the whites. If you are Black you must know what the rules are or they may be used against you in classroom.

Tuesday, Feb. 22. It has been a very dull day with little action. Most of my classes are boring me to tears. I can't relate to my work as well as before. I consider most of this a waste of time.

Wednesday, Feb. 23. I cut the student council meeting. I was preoccupied with my applications into college with little or no luck, I'm afraid.

day I decide to explore the school. I begin by showing up late for Physical Ed, which resulted in nothing. Next I walk out of my English class. I was met with a small objection from my white teacher but I was not reprimanded for my actions. Later I failed to return to my algebra class after lunch. I was simply told to pick up an excuse for my absence. From these observations I decided that certain blacks are allowed token freedoms.

Friday, Feb. 25. I decide to use my new found freedom and cut

Tuesday, Feb. 29. A friend was kicked out today for cutting class. He will get the customary three days for his attempt to beat the system. I have yet to find a teacher that you could deal with at _____ High and I truly don't understand how any is ever kicked out.

Wednesday, March 1. Today being the first of the month I decide to just not go to school.

Thursday, March 2. My classes are really boring me. My education is on the down slope.

the blacks don't try to put up with the teacher, which are whites, and therefore they are not receiving the education they could receive. The educational level of blacks in ____ High goes down every year. The major cause are white teachers who seem disinterested in any black students.

Friday, March 9. I have about six tests to make up today, but I have refused to take any until I am properly briefed on the material. Some of the white teachers got very upset because of my refusal to do the work. But I guess they lumped it.

3

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 1

Black and white students must begin to show concern for each other as students. The examples and problems portrayed in all of these instances are compounded by students reacting to their fellow students as the education systems complained of generally react to the needs of students: poorly, unconcerned for fellow students. White and black students must begin to communicate through recognizing that their problems and experiences are common, and that solutions must therefore be common.

Expert 1 is Gideon Stanton, CACTUS
Expert 2 is Rims Barber, Delta Ministry
Expert 3 is Brother George Harris, SRC
Expert 4 is Brother Andrew Marrisette

DEALING

3

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 2

This one hits the whole thing in the face: what good is school as it now exists. This short piece is one of the best educations I have been touched by in a long time. It ought to be the basis of some long discussions.

I really can't give advice. I can dig where it's at. I can verify it from hundreds of other experiences. I can outline options available to this student (though not to be applied to all):

a. He can cut out. He is bright and will make it anyway.

b. He can continue this one man struggle, but I see little likelihood that he will last through to graduation. By this time next year (when he is a senior) he will have cut out or lashed out from the cumulative bitterness so he gets thrown out.

c. Develop a more organizational approach to the problem, with programs of Black study, rap sessions, action with younger kids, etc. This is long range, open ended, and full of both hope and pitfalls.

d. Somehow find out if there are bright white kids who have similar feelings about the school.

Unfortunately, the adults will not understand and will make you an outcast who simplistically does not fit into their system.

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 3

Your diary reads like that of a passive observer. You sit there, bright as hell, and concede YOUR education away, with no hint of a positive response. You wait for your teachers to excite you, to stimulate you, to provoke you into learning, to make you want to come to school. You've been spoon fed so far and you dig it. "The educational level of Blacks in _____ High goes down every year" because..."white teachers...seem disinterested"..., and what do you intend to do about it besides be "bored"?

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 4

Expert number 4, Mr. Andrew Marrisette, gives this advice to students in all three situations: organize Summer Action Programs, similar to the ones he organized. The accompanying student report, which begins on page 1 under "Dumb-Schools," is about one meeting of these Summer Action Workshops. Pat Thompson wrote this overview of the Workshops for the SDP Newsletter:

Mr. Marrisette decided that the students of Alabama needed to be taught how to spend a future summer's vacation. He established that instead of the students going to a faraway place they should stay within their own county and deal with school desegregation.

This explains what the Student Workshop is

Continued on page 7

ARE YOU GOING WHERE YOU'RE COMING FROM?

(Continued from page 1)

sit-ins demonstrated a decade ago.

Tactics that will get you somewhere besides backwards take careful planning; they take hard work; and they take knowledge--knowledge of ways to get next to the people who make the decisions that affect your schools. The newsletter plans to take some hard looks at the ways these decision-makers in education operate. The articles that begin on page 4 and 5 take it from the very top, with the public decisions of national elected officials, and tactics you can use to try to control their decisions on educational matters (and thereby gain some control over your schools, your education, and your life).

"dumb-schools"

(Continued from Page 1)

director of Marion County, came up with one of the biggest problems in Marion, which is the Vocational and Surveying School plan. This plan is only one of the millions that the school system is using to segregate the schools again.

The students of Marion County explained to us what the Vocational School plan was all about. The plan is to get Black counties. Some of our Black people think the best way out is the easy way out and while the whites are learning chemistry and biology, our brothers and sisters are learning brick laying and sewing. We as Black people can't all be brick layers or sewers and that kind of education wouldn't get us very far. This is the system's plan to get Blacks out of public schools so they won't get a decent education.

The students of Marion came up with these recommendations to stop the system's plan. They recommend that:
(1) Students should know that we don't have to go to special schools to know that 1 plus 1 equals 2 because just like the whites we were taught all that in elementary school. So we should act as one big family and stop the system's plan to keep us from getting an education.

Students later talked about problems they were having in their county. Some of them were different, but it all boils down to racial discrimination and unequality in schools.

The students felt that they should have part in making a students rights handbook. The plan is to get ideas and rules from differ-

Message from the Mission

Continued from page 1

ucational Fund of the NAACP. The Legal Defense Fund is the organization that has been behind most of the school desegregation suits throughout the nineteen fifties and sixties. Recently it brought in its battery of attorneys from across the country, along with civil rights specialists and students in desegregated schools, for a meeting.

The purpose of the gathering was to develop a legal strategy--a plan of action in the courts--to deal with some of the unfair things that are coming down in some schools.

Four students were invited to tell the assemblage about some of their experiences; to lay out the problems as they see them, and then to tell the group how best to help them. Among the group was a Georgia student who told about being taken from his home at 3:00 in the morning by police, charged with assault, and jailed, following a fight with white students the previous day.

sit-ins demonstrated a decade ago.

Tactics that will get you somewhere besides backwards take careful planning; they take hard work; and they take knowledge--knowledge of ways to get next to the people who make the decisions that affect your schools. The newsletter plans to take some hard looks at the ways these decision-makers in education operate. The articles that begin on page 4 and 5 take it from the very top, with the public decisions of national elected officials, and tactics you can use to try to control their decisions on educational matters (and thereby gain some control over your schools, your education, and your life).

"dumb-schools"

(Continued from Page 1)

director of Marion County, came up with one of the biggest problems in Marion, which is the Vocational and Surveying School plan. This plan is only one of the millions that the school system is using to segregate the schools again.

The students of Marion County explained to us what the Vocational School plan was all about. The plan is to get Black students out of the city schools by sending them to what the system calls a special school.

Black students who fail in public schools are persuaded to take a test which a first grader could pass. This test is to see if they qualified for special school. But if you're Black, naturally you qualify. The students sometimes didn't have much of a choice if he or she were failing in public schools.

This plan has brainwashed some of the sisters and brothers in Marion and other counties. Some of our Black people think the best way out is the easy way out and while the whites are learning chemistry and biology, our brothers and sisters are learning brick laying and sewing. We as Black people can't all be brick layers or sewers and that kind of education wouldn't get us very far. This is the system's plan to get Blacks out of public schools so they won't get a decent education.

The students of Marion came up with these recommendations to stop the system's plan. They recommend that:
(1) Students should not participate in this plan.
(2) Parents should be convinced about how this plan is hurting their children.
(3) Students attending dumb-school should be convinced on how this plan is also hurting them.
(4) A boycott should take place throughout the county if this plan is not cut out.
(5) A student group should be formed to do research on this school plan so other students may be informed about the truth.
(6) Students should refuse to take the Vocational School test.

We as Black students know that we don't have to go to special schools to know that 1 plus 1 equals 2 because just like the whites we were taught all that in elementary school. So we should act as one big family and stop the system's plan to keep us from getting an education.

Students later talked about problems they were having in their county. Some of them were different, but it all boils down to racial discrimination and unequality in schools.

The students felt that they should have part in making a students rights handbook. The plan is to get ideas and rules from different counties and put them together. They plan to send a copy of this book to Nixon, Wallace, LeRoy Brown (State Supt. of Education) and principals in each county. The students will accept no other rules or regulations in the school system. They feel strongly that they should have some part in deciding their student rights. If nothing is done, other procedures will be taken.

The student representatives planned to meet in Hale County, Saturday, July 15, 1972, for their next conference meeting.

the Mission

Continued from page 1

ucational Fund of the NAACP. The Legal Defense Fund is the organization that has been behind most of the school desegregation suits throughout the nineteen fifties and sixties. Recently it brought in its battery of attorneys from across the country, along with civil rights specialists and students in desegregated schools, for a meeting.

The purpose of the gathering was to develop a legal strategy--a plan of action in the courts--to deal with some of the unfair things that are coming down in some schools.

Four students were invited to tell the assemblage about some of their experiences; to lay out the problems as they see them, and then to tell the group how best to help them. Among the group was a Georgia student who told about being taken from his home at 3:00 in the morning by police, charged with assault, and jailed, following a fight with white students the previous day.

Some of the participating legal experts said they were now trying to do two things: to establish through the courts that school systems have affirmative duties to deal with the problems that naturally occur when a dual system changes into a single school system, so that black students are assured of not being treated as the "step children" of education, and secondly, to establish standards schools must go by before a student can be expelled. In their opinion, mere due process--that is, a guarantee of a hearing before a student can be expelled--is not enough to stop discriminatory expulsions.

Another national confer-

Continued on page 8

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 4 Continued from page 6
all about, its purpose.

The objectives of the Workshop are to let the students do their own thing, to include students of the minority and poor classes; also, to include students of three major counties (Autauga, Elmore, and Montgomery).

The students have become very aware of themselves, as well as their problems, in this workshop.

As a whole, the project has helped to air the plight of the students in the desegregated classroom as well as the communities of the various counties.

Editor of this issue of SDP Newsletter: Marge Manderson.

ADVICE FROM EXPERT 2 ON SITUATION 2 Continued
from pressure for more relevant Title I programs that insure that all students get the type of "remedial" programs that do not lock them into lower tracks.

Suspensions and related student discipline questions need to go to the top of the agenda for student and community groups nationally. The discriminatory denial of the right to an education must end, but it may take a long time. You might begin by demanding to see cumulative record folders, demanding due process, developing new codes for discipline, keeping track of specific instances of suspensions to build a good record of discrimination.

Political Action

Continued from page 5

decisions--that is, judicial decisions that resolve conflicts by interpreting existing law--but the process by which laws are actually passed is new territory for most students. It is important territory, for laws not only affect your life, they are supposed to reflect your wishes and to meet your needs.

When laws are passed, they are the end result of many decisions made by individuals--members of the House of Representatives, members of the Senate, and the President (on the national level).

Whenever elected officials make a decision about a proposed law, you have an opportunity to try to control their decisions. That boils down to power--power through "political action."

A rudimentary lesson [illegible] is

voter in a year or two. Besides, you can do things to influence other people who are voters.)

Just what constitutes "political action"? You can "lobby." "Lobbying" means attempting to influence the vote of elected officials on a specific bill.

There is a second tactic of political action: you can electioneer. That means to work for the success of a candidate for public office in an election.

To be sure, the political process as it now is being used has limitations. Often it seems responsive only to money and to traditional "vested" interests. But, with limitations in mind, organized, focused citizens' efforts can achieve some success.

How can you "lobby," at home, without the hundreds of thousands of dollars large interest groups pay professional lobbyists in Washington? For one

process (illustrated on page 4 and 5). Communication includes letter writing and wires to elected officials (or, if money is available, visits to them in Washington).

"Write your Congressman" may be a denigrative joke among critics of the political process, but it's a fact that every elected official receives a daily pro and con count of his mail on issues. (President Nixon spoke of the "thousands of letters I have received in my mail" when he addressed the nation on "busing.") Even if you are not part of a mass effort, it's a shame to let a crucial vote on an important issue pass by without registering your opinion where it should count.

Sometimes direct action can be the most effective way of communicating with elected officials. The Poor Peoples Campaign and Resurrection City were attempts to influence elected officials in a dramatic, personal [illegible] direct action

where the stuff is at, usually; unless there is strong opposition in Congress, every bill passed by its appropriate committees will ultimately pass. And unless a law is written so that it will really accomplish its purpose, with no small-print modifications, with adequate "teeth," it's jive.)

To "electioneer," you will need to obtain a tally of the voting records of your elected officials, and then publicize his "wrong" votes among all his potential voters when election time comes around. You can also get into canvassing, telephoning, getting out the vote on election day--all the nitty gritty work of getting elected to office the person whose legislative decisions have (or will) come nearest to reflecting your wishes and needs. When you can keep a contender out of office, or put him into office, you have sure enough control over his legis-

Continued from page 5

decisions--that is, judicial decisions that resolve conflicts by interpreting existing law--but the process by which laws are actually passed is new territory for most students. It is important territory, for laws not only affect your life, they are supposed to reflect your wishes and to meet your needs.

When laws are passed, they are the end result of many decisions made by individuals--members of the House of Representatives, members of the Senate, and the President (on the national level).

Whenever elected officials make a decision about a proposed law, you have an opportunity to try to control their decisions. That boils down to power--power through "political action."

A rudimentary lesson in political action is this: you rule your elected officials; they do not rule you. They need to keep their constituents (voters) satisfied. (Even though you may not yet be old enough to vote, elected officials will be aware that your interest now signifies an active, informed registered

Continued from page 5

things to influence other people who are voters.)

Just what constitutes "political action"? You can "lobby." "Lobbying" means attempting to influence the vote of elected officials on a specific bill.

There is a second tactic of political action: you can electioneer. That means to work for the success of a candidate for public office in an election.

To be sure, the political process as it now is being used has limitations. Often it seems responsive only to money and to traditional "vested" interests. But, with limitations in mind, organized, focused citizens' efforts can achieve some success.

How can you "lobby," at home, without the hundreds of thousands of dollars large interest groups pay professional lobbyists in Washington? For one thing, you can demonstrate massive public interest in an issue by organization and agitation in your community. Secondly, you can stimulate mass communication efforts from people who share your views, at crucial stages in the legislative decision-making

on page 5

munication includes letter writing and wires to elected officials (or, if money is available, visits to them in Washington).

"Write your Congressman" may be a denigrative joke among critics of the political process, but it's a fact that every elected official receives a daily pro and con count of his mail on issues. (President Nixon spoke of the "thousands of letters I have received in my mail" when he addressed the nation on "busing.") Even if you are not part of a mass effort, it's a shame to let a crucial vote on an important issue pass by without registering your opinion where it should count.

Sometimes direct action can be the most effective way of communicating with elected officials. The Poor Peoples Campaign and Resurrection City were attempts to influence elected officials in a dramatic, personal way via direct action.

You can also attempt to inform and persuade Congressional committees when they are writing proposed laws. Committees hold hearings on all bills; individuals and representatives from local groups may testify. (Here's

there is strong opposition in Congress, every bill passed by its appropriate committees will ultimately pass. And unless a law is written so that it will really accomplish its purpose, with no small-print modifications, with adequate "teeth," it's jive.)

To "electioneer," you will need to obtain a tally of the voting records of your elected officials, and then publicize his "wrong" votes among all his potential voters when election time comes around. You can also get into canvassing, telephoning, getting out the vote on election day--all the nitty gritty work of getting elected to office the person whose legislative decisions have (or will) come nearest to reflecting your wishes and needs. When you can keep a contender out of office, or put him into office, you have sure enough control over his legislative decisions.

Political action is undoubtedly the long way home. But after you're there (if a law then is enforced and properly administered) you're definitely not where you're coming from--most of the time. ● M.M.

Message from the Mission

Continued from page 7

ence took an unusual turn to encompass the violation of black students' rights in desegregated schools. In May, the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Orthopsychiatric Association convened the first national conference to combat "corporal punishment" in public schools.

"Corporal punishment" traditionally has meant the use of physical force, such as paddling or spanking, to discipline students. (Corporal" means "physical.") But black delegates Clarence Wright, of the School Desegregation Project, and David Jacobs, American Friends Service Committee, urged the group to give attention to the "threat facing black youngsters (which is) not so much that they will get hit, but that they will be suspended or expelled."

As a result, the conference voted to define its interest in corporal punishment as including both physical force and psychological terror against students. It went on record as in agreement that corporal punishment is deliberately used on children who are members of minority groups as "acts of overt racism." A first step was a vote in favor of urging the U.S. Department of Health Education, and Welfare to with hold federal financial assistance from those school districts which permit corporal punishment.

At the first National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks in Washington in April, equal and quality education for all students emerged as a theme. Congressman Louis Stokes, who was chairman of the three-day meeting, said its purpose was for an "exchange of ideas and views on the critical issue of how to attain excellence in education for black children."

There was a major presentation on students' rights, and presentations on school finance, early childhood education, and other topics of general interest. Many of the topics discussed were particularly relevant to desegregated schools in the South; for example, in a position paper, the Black Caucus of the Council for Exceptional Children recommended that schools "require a Black Culture course and/or a general special education course for white teachers teaching in a minority school district and initiate a plan for orientation for new teachers entering a minority setting."

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

ATLANTA GA.

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1085

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: Winter '72...What's Happening?

DATELINE: Shreveport, La., Nov., 1971:
A committee of faculty and students from across Caddo Parish received school board approval of a plan helping to insure fair treatment in school activities. "The plan, which is mandatory, makes the principal at each school responsible for the execution of the election procedure...Principals will also be responsible for annual reports on rules as they apply to (1) election and/or appointment of students to student offices; (2) formation of student clubs; (3) all other extra-curricular activities...Also included in the new policy is a requirement that voting machines be used for two major elections, with the school absorbing the cost. In addition, all schools are required to keep results of all school elections for a minimum of six weeks after the balloting. Permanent records must be kept of election results and the outcome must be made public..." The School Reporter, Nov. 22, 1971.

VOTING MACHINES FOR SCHOOL ELECTIONS....
WE DIG THIS KIND OF "MACHINE POLITICS"...
IT KEEPS ELECTIONS FAIR IN SCHOOL AND IT HIPS YOU TO THE HABIT AND TO THE OPERATION OF VOTING MACHINES IN OUT-OF-SCHOOL ELECTIONS, WHEN YOU BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER. WOULD COUNTY VOTING REGISTRARS MAKE VOTING MACHINES AVAILABLE FOR SCHOOL ELECTIONS IN OTHER COUNTIES, WE WONDER?

DATELINE: Washington, D. C., December 9, 1971.
"The U.S. Office of Education said Wednesday it is suspending and seeking repayment of a $1.7 million desegregation grant to Fort Lauderdale, Fla.,

continued on page 8

EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO ASK ABOUT ESAP BUT WERE AFRAID TO KNOW*

*FROM THOSE WONDERFUL PEOPLE WHO GAVE YOU THE TRUTH ABOUT SANTA CLAUSE

Do you attend a desegregated high school or

effort during the 1970-71 school year "to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in the schools." the Department of Education, on the one hand, responding to applications proposing programs school admin- programs and Community Groups programs.

The second commitment,

DATELINE: Shreveport, La., Nov., 1971:
A committee of faculty and students from across Caddo Parish received school board approval of a plan helping to insure fair treatment in school activities. "The plan, which is mandatory, makes the principal at each school responsible for the execution of the election procedure...Principals will also be responsible for annual reports on rules as they apply to (1) election and/or appointment of students to student offices; (2) formation of student clubs; (3) all other extra-curricular activities...Also included in the new policy is a requirement that voting machines be used for two major elections, with the school absorbing the cost. In addition, all schools are required to keep results of all school elections for a minimum of six weeks after the balloting. Permanent records must be kept of election results and the outcome must be made public..." The School Reporter, Nov. 22, 1971.

VOTING MACHINES FOR SCHOOL ELECTIONS....
WE DIG THIS KIND OF "MACHINE POLITICS"...
IT KEEPS ELECTIONS FAIR IN SCHOOL AND IT HIPS YOU TO THE HABIT AND TO THE OPERATION OF VOTING MACHINES IN OUT-OF-SCHOOL ELECTIONS, WHEN YOU BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER. WOULD COUNTY VOTING REGISTRARS MAKE VOTING MACHINES AVAILABLE FOR SCHOOL ELECTIONS IN OTHER COUNTIES, WE WONDER?

DATELINE: Washington, D. C., December 9, 1971.
"The U.S. Office of Education said Wednesday it is suspending and seeking repayment of a $1.7 million desegregation grant to Fort Lauderdale, Fla.,

continued on page 8

EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO ASK ABOUT ESAP BUT WERE AFRAID TO KNOW*

*FROM THOSE WONDERFUL PEOPLE WHO GAVE YOU THE TRUTH ABOUT SANTA CLAUSE

Do you attend a desegregated high school or junior high? If you do, here's a possibility you may not want to be hipped to. Your share in a $150 million

federal program to assist in school desegregation may have gone down the drain and straight out into a polluted sea. With it has gone another little piece of the American Dream.

SLOOSH!
The Emergency School Assistance Program, a 1970 Nixon kick, poured $75 million federal dollars into a special effort during the 1970-71 school year "to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination in the schools." An additional $62.5 million was apportioned to school and community programs by ESAP for this school year.

ESAP promised student participation in a very direct way: it guaranteed that the ESAP millions would be used substantially to finance student programs and activities to assist in desegregation; and it guaranteed a degree of participatory democracy: student participation in the decisions determining how ESAP projects were to be carried out in their schools and in the community.

But when the bread was spread (by a harrassed and hurried office of the Department of Education, on the one hand, responding to applications proposing programs school administrators wished to institute to get their share, and by a newly created ESAP Community Groups Office, on the other hand, feeling its way in funding non-profit, private organizations) students were shorted all around.

Real student participation was a paper promise, denied students in reality, in both school district ESAP programs and Community Groups programs.

The second commitment, emphasis on projects directly involving students, could be characterized as a tease: ESAP came across once in a while.

TELL IT.

If we were grading the two ESAP divisions on their effectiveness in fulfilling the guarantee of student participation, ESAP Community Groups would receive a C-minus; school districts would be graded D-minus. Our conclusions are based on amply documented, published studies of ESAP's first months of operation, and on a recent investigation and spot check of student participation in ESAP, conducted by the SRC School Desegregation Project.

"The gap is between teachers and pupils, not between pupils."

CONTINUED

school desegregation project newsletter

southern regional council
atlanta, georgia issue no. 4

EVERYTHING Continued

What grade would the total program receive for its success in involving and reaching students? Our investigation suggests that, by and large, ESAP has been used to feed the great educational machine, and that the feeding has been done by robot firemen: the education administrators.

But--and this is an important qualification--our study points up some effects of ESAP which are revolutionary and vitally beneficial to the concept of student power. We believe that, as ESAP goes into its final months under its present funding, there are things students can do to claim some share of power and participation. There are things students can do to avert--at least in part--another Dream Deferred.

But it will take work. Perhaps the final "grade" for ESAP depends on you.

Local Educational Agency must consult with the student advisory committee concerning "carrying out" the ESAP program (and, in last year's ESAP, student activities and affairs).

Community groups must form adult bi-racial advisory committees, and they are "encouraged" to develop student advisory committees, drawing from each school affected by the project. (Community groups operate under a different set of instructions from LEAs.)

LEA advisory committees must be composed of equal numbers of each significant racial group in the affected school: in most Southern schools this means 50% black, 50% white.

These are governmental requirements, set forth in ESAP "regulations" governing the administration of ESAP grants. Two Office of Education Departments, the Division of Equal Educational Opportunity and

to give advice to school administrators and other adults about running a school program--a revolutionary turnabout in the traditional relationship of students to school administrators, who sometimes ignore the need for any representative student voice at all; e.g.,a remark quoted by an HEW official we spoke with, from a principal who told him, "Heck, I don't need a student council as long as I have my football players."

Were school officials and other adults willing to part with any of their power (and were students willing to accept it)?

Community groups, so it seemed to us, would be less likely to be hooked on the authoritarian habit than would school administrators, and more likely to be hip to the ideal of participatory democracy. (The first adult precedent for citizen participatory power in governmental

looked first at student advisory committees in school district programs, those "Local Educational Agency" programs which have received 90% of the ESAP millions. We wanted to learn whether students really can affect or have affected the way in which their schools run their ESAP programs. To this end, in December, the School Desegregation Project made a limited investigation of Office of Education files open to the public; we asked questions of OE and school officials; and in a cursory spot check we asked questions of students whose names are listed in OE files as LEA-project student advisory committee members.

What role have the government-required student advisory committees played thus far in their school ESAP programs? Is it the traditional one: are students to be seen, but not heard?

For that matter, are they to be seen in positions of potential power in ESAP? Have the

What grade would the total program receive for its success in involving and reaching students? Our investigation suggests that, by and large, ESAP has been used to feed the great educational machine, and that the feeding has been done by robot firemen: the education administrators.

But--and this is an important qualification--our study points up some effects of ESAP which are revolutionary and vitally beneficial to the concept of student power. We believe that, as ESAP goes into its final months under its present funding, there are things students can do to claim some share of power and participation. There are things students can do to avert--at least in part--another Dream Deferred.

But it will take work. Perhaps the final "grade" for ESAP depends on you.

ESAP MAP

How are students supposed to have power to affect ESAP programs?

In the complex topography of ESAP there are two divisions, "LEAs" and Community Groups. Law requires that 90% of ESAP appropriations go to school districts (called, in ESAP-language, LEAs, for "Local Educational Agencies"). The remaining 10% may go to Community Groups, such as the Urban League, human relations councils, PTAs.

ESAP grantees (that is, those LEAs and Community Groups who have received the money) in both divisions are required to form bi-racial citizens' advisory committees. LEAs must form an adult advisory committee and bi-racial student advisory committees must be elected from every secondary school affected by the ESAP project.

Representatives from the student advisory committee concerning "carrying out" the ESAP program (and, in last year's ESAP, student activities and affairs).

Community groups must form adult bi-racial advisory committees, and they are "encouraged" to develop student advisory committees, drawing from each school affected by the project. (Community groups operate under a different set of instructions from LEAs.)

LEA advisory committees must be composed of equal numbers of each significant racial group in the affected school: in most Southern schools this means 50% black, 50% white.

These are governmental requirements, set forth in ESAP "regulations" governing the administration of ESAP grants. Two Office of Education Departments, the Division of Equal Educational Opportunity and the Community Groups ESAP office, are responsible for making sure school administrators and community groups comply with all phases of the "Regulations."

Student advisory committees? This translates as official recognition of a group of students empowered and other adults about running a school program--a revolutionary turnabout in the traditional relationship of students to school administrators, who sometimes ignore the need for any representative student voice at all; e.g.,a remark quoted by an HEW official we spoke with, from a principal who told him, "Heck, I don't need a student council as long as I have my football players."

Were school officials and other adults willing to part with any of their power (and were students willing to accept it)?

Community groups, so it seemed to us, would be less likely to be hooked on the authoritarian habit than would school administrators, and more likely to be hip to the ideal of participatory democracy. (The first adult precedent for citizen participatory power in governmental programs is reflected in the federal mandate several years ago for "Maximum Feasible Participation" by poor people in Poverty Programs, where many groups had first hand experience.)

Therefore, to determine if student participation was paper or real, we school [illegible] programs, those "Local Educational Agency" programs which have received 90% of the ESAP millions. We wanted to learn whether students really can affect or have affected the way in which their schools run their ESAP programs. To this end, in December, the School Desegregation Project made a limited investigation of Office of Education files open to the public; we asked questions of OE and school officials; and in a cursory spot check we asked questions of students whose names are listed in OE files as LEA-project student advisory committee members.

What role have the government-required student advisory committees played thus far in their school ESAP programs? Is it the traditional one: are students to be seen, but not heard?

For that matter, are they to be seen in positions of potential power in ESAP? Have the advisory committees really been formed by school administrators?

Our investigation suggests "Yes and No." Names of advisory committees were usually submitted to HEW, but sometimes student committee members did not know they were on the committee or that ESAP existed.

Most superintendents (in a "chance" sampling of 17 districts) submitted at least a few student advisory committee names to OE, if not a full roster. The OE in several instances in our sample corresponded with district superintendents to make sure school advisory committee names were sent in (and they asked for some indication of how they had been selected and for a racial breakdown). However, from a total of nine students directly questioned, six (from two schools, in separate states) told us they did not even know they were on ESAP advisory committees, a year after their names had

WHERE OUR FACTS ARE COMING FROM....

During Christmas holidays, Miss Sandra Shirley and Miss Bernice Jackson conducted a spot-check of members of student advisory committees for ESAP programs to find out just how they have been functioning.

They were able to talk with 9 students (out of 20 they tried to reach), who attended a total of 5 schools in 4 school districts in Deep South states. Names of students were drawn from a look through ESAP applications in the Southeastern Office of Education OEE Office.

Two of the school committee members also were on the superintendent's committee in their district. Six of the students questioned were black; 3 were white.

The spot check results do not reflect a scientific "sample," but they give an impression of how committees of students formed to "advise" on ESAP programs are actually functioning.

THE GAP IS BETWEEN TEACHERS AND PUPILS RATHER THAN BETWEEN PUPILS... Notes from a student advisory committee in Mississippi:

"A primary concern of theirs is school spirit and they are getting organized to implement projects to assist. They are very observant about and want to assist in achieving effective integration. They made recommendations concerning some things they feel will help, such as the involvement of group guidance classes in the problems incident to desegregation...The Emergency School Assistance Program Act was discussed by Dr. _____. The group had few questions, but was interested..."

At the following meeting:"Dr. _____ said he was interested in having their reports on what had been accomplished in school desegregation and what further could be accomplished by students. Student opinion was that 'The gap is between teachers and pupils rather than between pupils.' One student said: 'We are doing much better than some people feared we would and not as well as some hoped we would.'"

Next meeting:"One girl thinks there should be more opportunities for socializing between the students... they discussed arrangements for proportionate number of cheer leaders, black and white...They thought this was an undemocratic situation, but was necessary during the transition period. They were hopeful that it would become unnecessary in three to five years. They hoped that the matter of racial difference would fade away in that length of time..."

---

been turned in to HEW by school officials, and that they had never heard of ESAP. (Both were 1970-71 programs.)

If advisory committees existed, were they representative of the student body? That is, were they elected?

No, they were not elected specifically to ESAP committees.

An OE state program officer (charged with "review" of such matters) let slip a hint of carelessness in en-

tatives of the local education agency" consult "periodically" with the committee?

Yes and No, a mixed bag. No to the latter part, if "Representatives" are thought of as persons from the Superintendent's office.

The regional Office of Education expressed doubt that last year's committees met or were consulted regularly, since the program was "just getting started" then. For the two years, a total of 9 stu-

The nature of the school's ESAP project was explained to the committee by the principal or his representative in 2 (or 3--one student "thinks" so) of the 5 schools in our spot-check. With one exception, committees were not asked about the "carrying out" of the ESAP project; none was asked if they thought the money was being spent wisely, or if students were benefitting from the ESAP program (several students we questioned noted the money was, indeed, financing things the school un-

functioned to try to help ease a school "crisis."

The subjects discussed in two "meetings" with principals (in separate schools) defy generalization: both were attended by students who did not know they were on committees. One black student was called into the principal's office last year where discussion was going on about whether to bring social workers into the school to talk to students who might not feel free to talk to school authorities.

committee in Mississippi:

"A primary concern of theirs is school spirit and they are getting organized to implement projects to assist. They are very observant about and want to assist in achieving effective integration. They made recommendations concerning some things they feel will help, such as the involvement of group guidance classes in the problems incident to desegregation...The Emergency School Assistance Program Act was discussed by Dr. _____. The group had few questions, but was interested..."

At the following meeting:"Dr. _____ said he was interested in having their reports on what had been accomplished in school desegregation and what further could be accomplished by students. Student opinion was that 'The gap is between teachers and pupils rather than between pupils.' One student said: 'We are doing much better than some people feared we would and not as well as some hoped we would.'"

Next meeting:"One girl thinks there should be more opportunities for socializing between the students... they discussed arrangements for proportionate number of cheer leaders, black and white...They thought this was an undemocratic situation, but was necessary during the transition period. They were hopeful that it would become unnecessary in three to five years. They hoped that the matter of racial difference would fade away in that length of time..."

---

been turned in to HEW by school officials, and that they had never heard of ESAP. (Both were 1970-71 programs.)

If advisory committees existed, were they representative of the student body? That is, were they elected?

No, they were not elected specifically to ESAP committees.

An OE state program officer (charged with "review" of such matters) let slip a hint of carelessness in enforcing the requirement for election "by the student body" when he told us school principals were likely to have "appointed" trusted upper classmen. Actually, they "appointed" representatives of several grade levels, our check indicated. All of the students we questioned were appointed by the principal or the principal and a teacher or assistant; often appointees were already on the elected student council. There were no special elections from student body or student council in our sample.

Were the committees representative of both racial minority and majority?

Yes, judging from our check of OE files.

All listings we checked were half black, half white.

Were regular meetings held? Did "Representatives of the local education agency" consult "periodically" with the committee?

Yes and No, a mixed bag. No to the latter part, if "Representatives" are thought of as persons from the Superintendent's office.

The regional Office of Education expressed doubt that last year's committees met or were consulted regularly, since the program was "just getting started" then. For the two years, a total of 9 students in 5 schools were questioned by SDP; 3 students in 3 schools had attended one or more meetings; 6 students from 2 schools did not have functioning committees and did not know they were on committees; students from 2 schools on (the same) overall-district LEA committee had no meeting with a representative from the superintendent's office. Of the 3 schools which had one or more committee meetings, two of them were in this year's ESAP programs. Last year only one committee in our sample had meetings.

What kind of things did the committees discuss? What did school officials ask them to "advise" about?

The most frequent subject matter in meetings was what was happening in the school and how students thought desegregation was working. There was virtually no discussion of the "carrying out" of the ESAP-funded project.

The nature of the school's ESAP project was explained to the committee by the principal or his representative in 2 (or 3--one student "thinks" so) of the 5 schools in our spot-check. With one exception, committees were not asked about the "carrying out" of the ESAP project; none was asked if they thought the money was being spent wisely, or if students were benefitting from the ESAP program (several students we questioned noted the money was, indeed, financing things the school undoubtedly needed).

The exception was in a committee whose ESAP project was totally "student to student" (in ESAP-language): the committee discussed ways to involve Sophomore students in the project.

The matters most frequently cited as having been discussed were school problems; they were asked about what was happening in the school; how they thought desegregation was proceeding, and about trouble spots.

With a few exceptions, the committees appear not to have discussed or advised on positive things they or the administration could do to assist in the desegregation process; the exceptions were both this year: one 1971-72 committee has formed a 3-man subgroup to act to cool racial fights so they will reach the principal's office only as a last resort; another functioned to try to help ease a school "crisis."

The subjects discussed in two "meetings" with principals (in separate schools) defy generalization: both were attended by students who did not know they were on committees. One black student was called into the principal's office last year where discussion was going on about whether to bring social workers into the school to talk to students who might not feel free to talk to school authorities. Another black student--considered by his peers something of a militant and "the voice of black students"--was called to the principal's office to discuss his opinions about desegregation when an un-named "government official" was present. After learning from us about ESAP advisory committees, these two students thought the meetings with the principal must have been ESAP-connected.

SCORE

On this part of our test of the reality of ESAP student-power, the administrators--school superintendents, principals, and OE officials, all in one bag--might be graded 50 out of a possible 100. Principals did "consult with" in at least some minor way all five of the committees in our sample (if the one-shot meetings with uninformed, individual students are included). School officials did not observe the requirement of "election" of

Continued on page 6

3 WAYS TO OF BUS

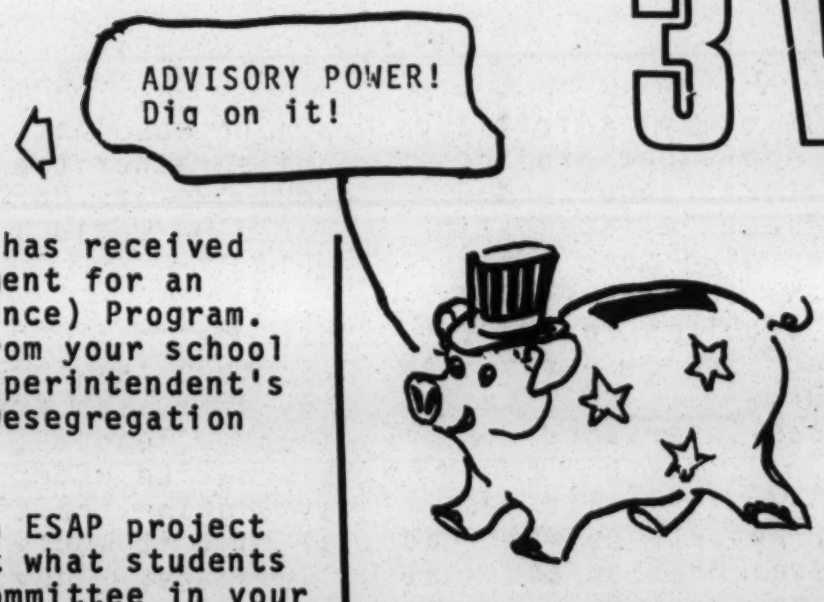
1 esap rap

Find out first if your school has received money from the federal government for an ESAP (Emergency School Assistance) Program. If you can't determine this from your school board office or your school superintendent's office, write us: The School Desegregation Project.

If it has been "funded" for an ESAP project for this school year, find out what students are on the student advisory committee in your school (find out from your principal, your superintendent's office, or, as a last resort, write to us).

Ask them if they can do anything about things you think are unfair in your school as a result of desegregation, or about things you think would increase the success of desegregation.

See if you can get them to really represent the student body: get them to make sure all students know about the student advisory committee; get them to make sure all students know the advisory committee is a way to communicate with your principal and school superintendent about things you think are hurting the success of desegregation, or things you think would help in the process. Ask them to find some way to inform the student body about what happens in each of their meetings. After all, they are supposed to represent you.



2 ESAP trap

IF YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT GETS MONEY FOR AN EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM PROJECT, ALL SCHOOLS MUST FOLLOW RULES WHICH INSURE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION.

IF THESE RULES ARE NOT OBSERVED, THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION MUST CUT OFF ALL ESAP MONEY PAID INTO THAT DISTRICT.

IF YOU KNOW FOR A FACT THAT YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS AN ESAP GRANT THIS YEAR, CHECK TO SEE IF YOUR SCHOOL MEETS THESE REQUIREMENTS. IF IT DOES NOT, AND IF YOU CAN PROVE IT, WRITE ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER HERMAN R. GOLDBERG, DIVISION OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C. Send a copy of your letter to us, the School Desegregation

1 esap rap

Find out first if your school has received money from the federal government for an ESAP (Emergency School Assistance) Program. If you can't determine this from your school board office or your school superintendent's office, write us: The School Desegregation Project.

If it has been "funded" for an ESAP project for this school year, find out what students are on the student advisory committee in your school (find out from your principal, your superintendent's office, or, as a last resort, write to us).

Ask them if they can do anything about things you think are unfair in your school as a result of desegregation, or about things you think would increase the success of desegregation.

See if you can get them to really represent the student body: get them to make sure all students know about the student advisory committee; get them to make sure all students know the advisory committee is a way to communicate with your principal and school superintendent about things you think are hurting the success of desegregation, or things you think would help in the process. Ask them to find some way to inform the student body about what happens in each of their meetings. After all, they are supposed to represent you.

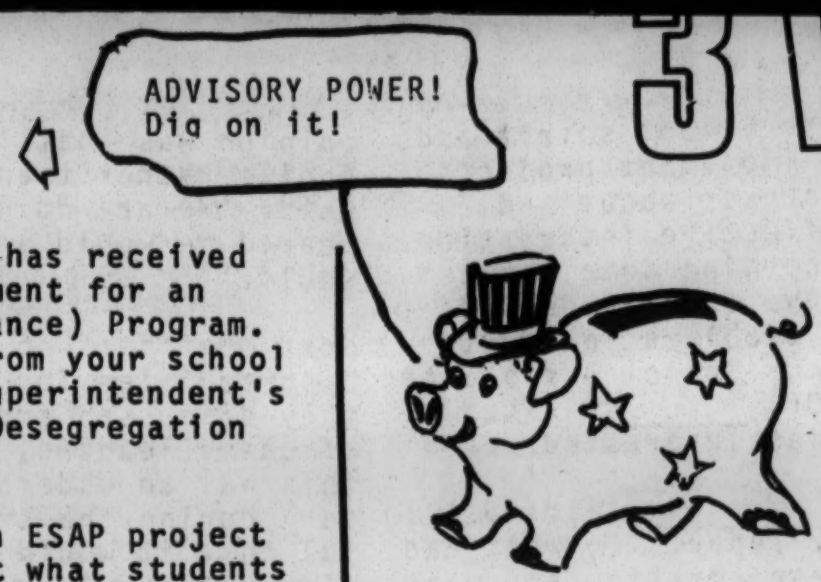
Ask members of your advisory committee to tell you exactly what kind of projects your school's ESAP money is financing. See if there is any chance for students to improve the project, working through the student advisory committee.

Adult advisory committees are required for your school district if schools in the district have an ESAP grant. Find out who they are (from school superintendent, school board, or us). Ask any of them you think might be sympathetic to "student power" if they--the adult advisory committee--can help increase the power of your student committee through their influence with the administration.

If you student committee is hopeless, try working through the adult committee. Make suggestions to them about changing discriminatory situations in your school, or make suggestions to them about school activities that would increase interracial understanding. Ask them to take these things up with your school administrators.

Make suggestions to your adult advisory committee about new ESAP project student programs they might want to ask ESAP to finance next year (if the money becomes available).

See if there are ways locally, perhaps through your regional Office of Education, to make sure the government really enforces requirements of ESAP to guarantee student power. Or write to your local School Board, or pay a visit to them, to impress upon them your interest in having a strong student advisory committee.



3 WAYS TO OF BUS

2 ESAP trap

IF YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT GETS MONEY FOR AN EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM PROJECT, ALL SCHOOLS MUST FOLLOW RULES WHICH INSURE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION.

IF THESE RULES ARE NOT OBSERVED, THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION MUST CUT OFF ALL ESAP MONEY PAID INTO THAT DISTRICT.

IF YOU KNOW FOR A FACT THAT YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS AN ESAP GRANT THIS YEAR, CHECK TO SEE IF YOUR SCHOOL MEETS THESE REQUIREMENTS. IF IT DOES NOT, AND IF YOU CAN PROVE IT, WRITE ASSOCIATE COMMISSIONER HERMAN R. GOLDBERG, DIVISION OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C. Send a copy of your letter to us, the School Desegregation Project, Southern Regional Council, 52 Fairlie Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

TAKE CARE
INESS

CAN YOU DIG IT?
"...The funding of student initiated and operated projects..." means money for projects students organize and operate to assist in desegregation...money for your organization to put its ideas and abilities to work with!

Your school may not carry out any activity divided into racial groups or excluding members of either race. No practices or procedures in your school---including testing---may be employed by the school district so as to discriminate against members of a minority group, or to result in

ESAP GAP

3

COMMUNITY GROUPS ESAP IS SOMETHING ELSE...BREAD!

Community Groups ESAP has a good rap.

We quote from their Guidelines for Student Groups:

"The Emergency School Assistance Program has, as one of its major aims, provisions for the funding of student initiated and operated projects that could materially assist schools and communities in the overall desegregation effort."

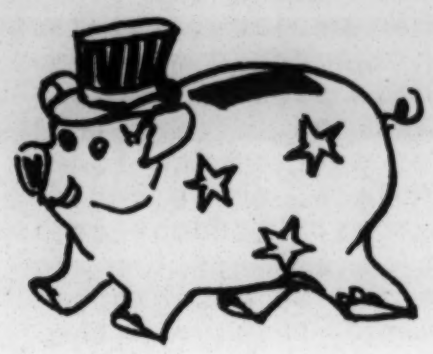
"...The overall emphasis...of the student and youth projects in this new desegregation effort is to fund a broad range of student initiated and operated programs which attempt, with a bi- or multi-racial composition, to improve existing school programs and/or policies or to create new activities that are not now being made available..."

"...Out of school projects provide opportunities for students who feel that school administrators are not sympathetic toward student initiated and operated programs within the school setting, or who feel that they can have a greater impact on improving educational services through extra-curricular or non-school projects...Student groups should...make an effort to consult with and secure the cooperation of local school officials and school administrators..."

But, one monkey don't start no show. Very few student ESAP projects have been funded and NO APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS FOR STUDENT GROUPS ARE BEING ACCEPTED JUST NOW BECAUSE ALL FUNDS ARE BEING ACCEPTED JUST NOW BECAUSE ALL FUNDS UNDER THE CURRENT ESAP HAVE BEEN EXPENDED. BUT

MAKE CARE
INESS

CAN YOU DIG IT?
"...The funding of student initiated and operated projects..." means money for projects students organize and operate to assist in desegregation...money for your organization to put its ideas and abilities to work with!



Your school may not carry out any activity divided into racial groups or excluding members of either race. No practices or procedures in your school---including testing---may be employed by the school district so as to discriminate against members of a minority group, or to result in separation of racial groups.

Your school must not have contributed in any way to white "segregation academies." It must not have sold, leased, or given any property or services, directly or indirectly, to a school which practices racial discrimination or which was set up as a private school so pupils could avoid desegregation.

ean cat, don't
It's a little

PIG,
GGY
GETS
IT
ACE!

Black teachers, principals, coaches and other staff may not be "pushed out." All staff members must be treated without regard to being members of racial minorities; they must be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race.

Teachers must be spread out so that there are no mostly black or mostly white faculties. Your school district must take action to insure that the ratio of black to white teachers in each school is the same as it is in the school system: that is, if the school system as a whole has 50 white teachers and 50 black teachers, each school must have 1 white teacher to every 1 black teacher.

COMMUNITY GROUPS ESAP IS SOMETHING ELSE...BREAD!

Community Groups ESAP has a good rap.

We quote from their Guidelines for Student Groups:

"The Emergency School Assistance Program has, as one of its major aims, provisions for the funding of student initiated and operated projects that could materially assist schools and communities in the overall desegregation effort."

"...The overall emphasis...of the student and youth projects in this new desegregation effort is to fund a broad range of student initiated and operated programs which attempt, with a bi- or multi-racial composition, to improve existing school programs and/or policies or to create new activities that are not now being made available..."

"...Out of school projects provide opportunities for students who feel that school administrators are not sympathetic toward student initiated and operated programs within the school setting, or who feel that they can have a greater impact on improving educational services through extra-curricular or non-school projects...Student groups should...make an effort to consult with and secure the cooperation of local school officials and school administrators..."

But, one monkey don't start no show. Very few student ESAP projects have been funded and NO APPLICATIONS FOR GRANTS FOR STUDENT GROUPS ARE BEING ACCEPTED JUST NOW BECAUSE ALL FUNDS UNDER THE CURRENT ESAP HAVE BEEN EXPENDED. BUT IF MORE ESAP MONEY BECOMES AVAILABLE (AND IT IS LIKELY TO) STUDENT GROUPS CAN SUBMIT PROJECT APPLICATIONS AND HOPE TO RECEIVE MONEY TO PAY FOR NECESSARY EXPENSES.

The Community Groups ESAP Office will establish an opening date and a deadline for accepting applications, when and if they receive more money (as a result of Congressional action). THEY ARE REQUIRED TO PUBLICIZE THE FACT THAT THEY ARE ACCEPTING APPLICATIONS.

Meanwhile, you can get an idea for a project together, utilizing an existing student group or organization.

Write the School Desegregation Project for details and assistance.

I'm going to write Washington about Coach Davis...I wonder if it'll do any good?

WE WONDER TOO!
BE SURE TO SEND
A COPY OF YOUR
LETTER TO THE
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
PROJECT.

the committees, except in a roundabout way. Half of the time, they explained the school's ESAP program to the committee, but never to the student body. The names they submitted to OE were 50-50 in racial composition. The one superintendent's overall, district committee in our sample was not functional. School officials did not consult student committees on "carrying out" the ESAP projects; mostly they asked what was happening among students as a result of desegregation.

(There were a few additional clues to how the committees have operated thus far; they appeared in reports from school superintendents to OE (about projects not in our sample). One superintendent reported the committee would be helpful in keeping students informed and as a tool for improving human relations. Another said the committee would be an effective way to relate student problems ing among students. The committees were unable to influence school policy on student affairs and activities affected by desegregation. They were not consulted with on policy matters relevant to their school's ESAP program.

Why were the student committees so powerless if ESAP, indeed, guaranteed student participation?

The answer, we believe, lies in the fact that it's a long, long way from Washington, D.C. to, say, Washington, Georgia, and traveling via ESAP-channels it's even longer.

At top-level, HEW clearly has defined student committee functions so as to insure a student voice in both ESAP and in school policy on student affairs and activities as schools desegregate. But by the time that mandate passes through lower officials and a com-

lations are the "law" about how ESAP is to operate--say this about student committees' function (in Section 181.8): "The local Educational agency shall consult with the student advisory committee <u>with respect to the carrying out of the project and the establishment of standards, regulations, and requirements regarding student activities and affairs."</u> (Emphasis added.)

There is no reason to doubt that "the project" means the school ESAP project; the last phrase could mean just those student activities and affairs that are part of the ESAP project, or it could mean all student activities and affairs affected by desegregation. This year the Regulations are looser: "Representatives of the local educational agency shall periodically consult with the student advisory committee concerning matters relevant to the program." "The program" still <u>has</u> to mean the

give their ideas" about things that affect students; to discuss things like dress codes, discipline, suspensions, the selection of cheer leaders. Students don't go into the operation of the ESAP project, they said.

We asked how student committees operated, in practice, under last year's Regulations. Most committees last year confined their activities to student problems and activities, we were told. Very few, if any, concerned themselves with ESAP project activities except in some cases where student-to-student components were included in the project.

What powers do the committees have? Any powers they have emanate from the school administration, the Office of Education said.

And what about last year's Regulations' requirement that LEAs

the committees, except in a roundabout way. Half of the time, they explained the school's ESAP program to the committee, but never to the student body. The names they submitted to OE were 50-50 in racial composition. The one superintendent's overall, district committee in our sample was not functional. School officials did not consult student committees on "carrying out" the ESAP projects; mostly they asked what was happening among students as a result of desegregation.

(There were a few additional clues to how the committees have operated thus far; they appeared in reports from school superintendents to OE (about projects not in our sample). One superintendent reported the committee would be helpful in keeping students informed and as a tool for improving human relations. Another said the committee would be an effective way to relate student problems to the faculty and administration. In one case there were detailed minutes from a student committee; we quote parts elsewhere as an example of the potential of student committees. One report noted that the student committee was very happy with the ESAP-funded purchase of equipment to start a marching band; another noted that the student committee had voiced approval of the school ESAP program.)

So, our check suggests student advisory committees have been partially operative during a year-and-a-half of ESAP funding, and that the officials who are required to make sure they operate have earned a grade of 50 on their performance.

But what have the committees done?

Answers to our questions suggest that often they have been used as school administrators' informants, whose purpose was to let the administration know what was happen-

unable to influence school policy on student affairs and activities affected by desegregation. They were not consulted with on policy matters relevant to their school's ESAP program.

Why were the student committees so powerless if ESAP, indeed, guaranteed student participation?

The answer, we believe, lies in the fact that it's a long, long way from Washington, D.C. to, say, Washington, Georgia, and traveling via ESAP-channels it's even longer.

At top-level, HEW clearly has defined student committee functions so as to insure a student voice in both ESAP and in school policy on student affairs and activities as schools desegregate. But by the time that mandate passes through lower officials and a committee meeting is called by the local principal, the chance for real student participation is long gone, watered down to nothing.

In practice, local school officials tell the student committees how they are supposed to function--the kind of things they are to discuss, the kinds of things they are supposed to advise on. Students are unfamiliar with ESAP and therefore they cannot make their own determination about the committees' function (and school officials are automatically in the position of power in their relationship to students). Students have no recourse to the federal government. No line of communication from government to student exists, except through the school administrators.

Here is the top-level guarantee of student participation (in last year's ESAP): the 1970-71 ESAP Regulations--and the Regu-

operate--say this about student committees' function (in Section 181.8): "The local Educational agency shall consult with the student advisory committee with respect to the carrying out of the project and the establishment of standards, regulations, and requirements regarding student activities and affairs." (Emphasis added.)

There is no reason to doubt that "the project" means the school ESAP project; the last phrase could mean just those student activities and affairs that are part of the ESAP project, or it could mean all student activities and affairs affected by desegregation. This year the Regulations are looser: "Representatives of the local educational agency shall periodically consult with the student advisory committee concerning matters relevant to the program." "The program" still has to mean the ESAP project; "revevant matters" could include student activities and affairs affected by desegregation.

But the top level directives from the HEW Secretary seem not to have made it South across the Potomac.

After setting an important, required function for student committees, the feds, frankly, have split.

THE FEDS

We questioned staff members of one of the Office of Education departments involved in review of ESAP programs to be sure the Regulations are observed. We wanted to see how their interpretation of the function of the committees compared with that of the LEAs, and with the paper definition in HEW Regulations (for last year and for this year).

They told us that the function of the school committees is to "just

fect students, to discuss things like dress codes, discipline, suspensions, the selection of cheer leaders. Students don't go into the operation of the ESAP project, they said.

We asked how student committees operated, in practice, under last year's Regulations. Most committees last year confined their activities to student problems and activities, we were told. Very few, if any, concerned themselves with ESAP project activities except in some cases where student-to-student components were included in the project.

What powers do the committees have? Any powers they have emanate from the school administration, the Office of Education said.

And what about last year's Regulations' requirement that LEAs consult with student committees about the "carrying out of the project"? (The Education Department employee, who, after all, takes directions from some other office, denied the existence of such a phrase in the Regulations and then, reading that section of the ESAP I Regulations aloud, said it wasn't there--didn't see it, was literally blind to it.) Here's the Education Office answer: because the Regulations specifically do not allow for a student committee during the first 30 days of the school year, when projects are being planned and funded, the Local Education Agency's responsibility to the student committee on the ESAP project "appears to be one of informing students about proposed projects or funded projects." (Emphasis ours.)

We didn't mention the kinds of policy decisions we thought automatically would rise during the year's project operation. And we didn't ask the very

WHEN ESAP CRANKED UP ITS MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR OPERATION, THERE WERE NO PRECEDENTS OR MODELS OF STUDENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS TO SUGGEST JUST WHAT THEIR FUNCTION SHOULD BE. USUALLY "ADVISORY COMMITTEES" IN DEMOCRATICALLY RUN ORGANIZATIONS ARE A SORT OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS, WITHOUT VETO POWER: THEY CONTRIBUTE ADVICE ABOUT MATTERS OF PROGRAM POLICY, ADMINISTRATION, AND COURSES OF ACTION.

nice and really very hip OE employee why HEW would require local education agencies to go to all the trouble of getting a committee together and meeting with it regularly during the year to inform a total of just 10 or 15 students about an ESAP project. But we enjoyed the neat OE table-turning trick that resulted in limiting the school administrators' responsibility to that of advising their advisory committees.

THE CASE OF THE MISSING PHRASES

Another employee at the Office of Education remarked to us that, after all, if OE required too much paper work of school officials, they might just pull their school districts out of ESAP entirely. That is

be selected by the student body or the student government. Another change is in the definition of function. ESAP I Regulations specifically required that committees be consulted with in the carrying out of the project and in matters of student activities and affairs. Last year LEAs ignored that kind of function. This year's Regulations have been changed so that they permit almost any function: they require periodic consultation "concerning matters relevant to the program." Nothing else.

The Office of Education seems to have concurred with this official weakening of student power

racial inequities in desegregated schools.

The potential for real student power in ESAP has been undermined, in our estimation, because of these influences on the over-all program administration. But, most of all, it is because of the traditional disinclination to give students a real voice in school matters.

BYE, BYE, AMERICAN PIE?

Finally, OE cannot require school administrators to give students a real voice in ESAP policy because only a few ESAP student projects have been funded. Most of the ESAP millions have gone into what educators call "general aid to education." A tiny percentage of ESAP money has financed new, desegregation-connected programs directly affecting students. The kind of school programs ESAP is financing simply are not the kind of programs students can be expected to have a knowledgeable advi-

ects of this kind would in fact be emphasized in the administration of the ESAP program," the study states.

Civil rights professionals, who knew what kind of needs accompany social transition, wanted "community and student projects, which would disseminate information about desegregation plans, bring students, teachers, and parents together to discuss desegregation problems, and establish mechanisms through which students could resolve potentially volatile issues arising out of the desegregation process..."

Instead, "general school aid" projects (sometimes with no connection to desegregation) have received most of the money; student programs "in their entirity accounted for less than two percent of all ESAP money allocated" in the 368 districts studied in THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL

OF STUDENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS TO SUGGEST JUST WHAT THEIR FUNCTION SHOULD BE. USUALLY "ADVISORY COMMITTEES" IN DEMOCRATICALLY RUN ORGANIZATIONS ARE A SORT OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS, WITHOUT VETO POWER: THEY CONTRIBUTE ADVICE ABOUT MATTERS OF PROGRAM POLICY, ADMINISTRATION, AND COURSES OF ACTION.

nice and really very hip OE employee why HEW would require local education agencies to go to all the trouble of getting a committee together and meeting with it regularly during the year to inform a total of just 10 or 15 students about an ESAP project. But we enjoyed the neat OE table-turning trick that resulted in limiting the school administrators' responsibility to that of advising their advisory committees.

THE CASE OF THE MISSING PHRASES

Another employee at the Office of Education remarked to us that, after all, if OE required too much paper work of school officials, they might just pull their school districts out of ESAP entirely. That is, school officials might just refuse to be bothered with taking their tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars in American Pie.

This casual statement typified an OE and HEW administrative policy of accommodation to school administrators which has seriously weakened ESAP's original purpose. One example affecting student participation may be found in changes in wording of 1971-72 Regulations, compared with the wording of ESAP I--1970-71--Regulations in Section 181.8. The 1970-71 Regulations required committee selection by the student body. In practice, in 1970-71 school administrators took the easy way and selected students from the student government. The current Regulations appear to have been influenced by that deviation from the required procedure: this year they require that each committee shall be selected by the student body or the student government. Another change is in the definition of function. ESAP I Regulations specifically required that committees be consulted with in the carrying out of the project and in matters of student activities and affairs. Last year LEAs ignored that kind of function. This year's Regulations have been changed so that they permit almost any function: they require periodic consultation "concerning matters relevant to the program." Nothing else.

The Office of Education seems to have concurred with this official weakening of student power despite the policy quoted to us: "OE will continue to encourage student participation in all school activities."

Our bafflement at the handling of ESAP is not directed at particular review or compliance departments: unimaginable political pressures exist; time pressures created by Congressional delay in appropriations are hardly conducive to imagination in formulating programs; there is always inadequate administrative money and insufficient staff; and all-around (and very hard) pressures operate against a real grab at the hot potato of school desegregation. All of these factors probably are influencing HEW and OE administration of ESAP. Another pressure, we believe, rises from a ubiquitous rigid allegiance to the notion that mere "quality education" will banish all possibilities of human relations hassles and

The potential for real student power in ESAP has been undermined, in our estimation, because of these influences on the over-all program administration. But, most of all, it is because of the traditional disinclination to give students a real voice in school matters.

BYE, BYE, AMERICAN PIE?

Finally, OE cannot require school administrators to give students a real voice in ESAP policy because only a few ESAP student projects have been funded. Most of the ESAP millions have gone into what educators call "general aid to education." A tiny percentage of ESAP money has financed new, desegregation-connected programs directly affecting students. The kind of school programs ESAP is financing simply are not the kind of programs students can be expected to have a knowledgeable advisory voice in: hiring new clerical help; workshops to improve teachers' skills; building an addition to a gym.

OE's inability to find a logical way in which students could advise in the "carrying out" of ESAP programs is because students have also been denied student programs and activities, the kind of programs and activities most people thought ESAP was going to be all about.

Last year, a group of six civil rights organizations published a study of the first months of ESAP. They recalled that in 1970, before Congress appropriated the first $75 million to help schools desegregate, civil rights advocates had urged federal officials to be sure that student projects and projects reaching parents be given highest priority. "HEW officials gave their assurances that projects ... emphasized in the administration of the ESAP program," the study states.

Civil rights professionals, who knew what kind of needs accompany social transition, wanted "community and student projects, which would disseminate information about desegregation plans, bring students, teachers, and parents together to discuss desegregation problems, and establish mechanisms through which students could resolve potentially volatile issues arising out of the desegregation process..."

Instead, "general school aid" projects (sometimes with no connection to desegregation) have received most of the money; student programs "in their entirity accounted for less than two percent of all ESAP money allocated" in the 368 districts studied in THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: AN EVALUATION. There were no student programs at all in 308 of the 368 districts covered by the study.

When the School Desegregation Project began its spot check of LEA programs a year-and-a-half into ESAP to try to learn about student power, our intention was not to try to determine what kinds of projects it has been financing in the schools. But while we explored factors affecting a strong student voice, the very small number of projects directly affecting students was so evident we could hardly ignore it. Our impression is that the earlier findings of THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: AN EVALUATION are probably unchanged.

Until school administrators begin---or are "required" to begin---formulating imaginative new student programs the requirement

ESAP Continued

for consultation with student advisory committees is a moot question. (That kind of program is suggested in a substantial portion of the Regulations' Authorized Activities: "assisting student groups to develop interracial understanding," "promoting greater understanding of the attitudes and interpersonal relationships of students and teachers..," "student to student programs concerning problems incident to desegregation..." and many others.)

As long as ESAP is permitted to concentrate on buying traditional educational needs--the niceties (and necessities) schools have been shorted on for years--there is no real need for a student voice in the programs' administration and students are not likely to be heard in LEA-ESAP.

So our investigation led us to conclude that real participation is being denied students in LEA programs and that LEA projects affecting students are rare, and we arrived at a grade of D-minus for the LEA-ESAP division.

Should we have flunked it?

There are some plusses working for the way advisory committees are being used. At their best, student advisory committees appear to have served as "bi-racial committees" on the school level, similar to city bi-racial commissions or state bi-racial commissions commonplace across the South.

To the degree that they provide a forum for communication across racial lines and, particularly, across the student-faculty and administrator line, student bi-racial committees have an important function and if advisory committees are being used in this way, they are worthwhile. A bi-racial committee must be permitted to recommend policy and action with knowledge that its recommendations will carry some weight, however, or it is useless. Ideally, a bi-racial committee should have direct lines of communication with the people it represents. Ideally, a bi-racial committee should be permitted some form of action.

Because of ESAP, the framework for bi-racial committees is being formed where otherwise it would not have. Now they must be made to work.

And, dig it, you may be the one who has to take care of business. Things you can do are suggested in another section of the Newsletter.

The Community Groups division of ESAP offers another story (our investigation in that area will appear in the next Newsletter). So far, students haven't fared much better in Community Groups, but it offers a potential for bread, direct to <u>your</u> organization's project.

Finally, a very important plus is a side effect of ESAP. If your school has an ESAP program, there are certain things it must do to stop discrimination within the school. You can play a role in making sure it really does so.

With a lot of help from you, ESAP can involve students more than it is now doing---and squeak by with a passing final grade!

Sandra Shirley and Bernice Jackson volunteered Christmas holiday hours to carry out our ESAP spot check. EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO ASK was written by Marge Manderson, SRC staff, and editor of this (and the preceding) issue of the Newsletter.

student advisory committees is a moot question. (That kind of program is suggested in a substantial portion of the Regulations' Authorized Activities: "assisting student groups to develop interracial understanding," "promoting greater understanding of the attitudes and interpersonal relationships of students and teachers...," "student to student programs concerning problems incident to desegregation..." and many others.)

As long as ESAP is permitted to concentrate on buying traditional educational needs--the niceties (and necessities) schools have been shorted on for years--there is no real need for a student voice in the programs' administration and students are not likely to be heard in LEA-ESAP.

So our investigation led us to conclude that real participation is being denied students in LEA programs and that LEA projects affecting students are rare, and we arrived at a grade of D-minus for the LEA-ESAP division.

Should we have flunked it?

There are some plusses working for the way advisory committees are being used. At their best, student advisory committees appear to have served as "bi-racial committees" on the school level, similar to city bi-racial commissions or state bi-racial commissions commonplace across the South.

To the degree that they provide a forum for communication across racial lines and, particularly, across the student-faculty and student bi-racial committees have an important function and if advisory committees are being used in this way, they are worthwhile. A bi-racial committee must be permitted to recommend policy and action with knowledge that its recommendations will carry some weight, however, or it is useless. Ideally, a bi-racial committee should have direct lines of communication with the people it represents. Ideally, a bi-racial committee should be permitted some form of action.

Because of ESAP, the framework for bi-racial committees is being formed where otherwise it would not have. Now they must be made to work.

And, dig it, you may be the one who has to take care of business. Things you can do are suggested in another letter.

The Community Groups division of ESAP offers another story (our investigation in that area will appear in the next Newsletter). So far, students haven't fared much better in Community Groups, but it offers a potential for bread, direct to your organization's project.

Finally, a very important plus is a side effect of ESAP. If your school has an ESAP program, there are certain things it must do to stop discrimination within the school. You can play a role in making sure it really does so.

With a lot of help from you, ESAP can involve students more than it is now doing---and squeak by with a passing final grade! ●

Sandra Shirley and Bernice Jackson volunteered Christmas holiday hours to carry out our ESAP spot check. EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO ASK was written by Marge Manderson, SRC staff, and editor of this (and the preceding) issue of the Newsletter.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

ATLANTA GA

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1085

Additional Information Department

More, and more, and more about ESAP:

THE EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: AN EVALUATION was prepared by the American Friends Service Committee; the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches; the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; and the Washington Research Project. It may still be available from the Washington Research Project,

EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM: COMMUNITY GRANTS, A Preliminary Report, was written by Barbara Campbell MacPhee for the Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia, 30308.

Both studies are described in our report on students in ESAP.

Dateline Southern Schools (cont'd.)

schools for alleged violation of federal regulations. The Broward County school system failed to maintain a proper ratio of minority teachers in each school and sold equipment to about 25 non-public schools... "We will ask the hearing examiner to determine that your district's 1971-72 ESAP Emergency School Assistance Program grant was obtained by a material misrepresentation of facts...and to order your district to repay all funds received under said grant... (Assoc. Commissioner Herman R.) Goldberg said in a letter..." (N.O. Times-Picayune.)

THE CARROT AND THE STICK...ESAP IS THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S ATTEMPT TO USE THE CARROT ON RACIALLY DISCRIMINATORY SCHOOL DISTRICTS, A TACTIC WHICH SAYS: YOU CAN NIBBLE THE CARROT OF FEDERAL MILLIONS (BUT THERE ARE THINGS YOU MUST DO TO CEASE DISCRIMINATION). THINGS BEING LIKE THEY ARE, EVERY CARROT NEEDS A STICK NEARBY. ESAP, IN OUR OPINION, COULD USE A HEAP OF THEM.

DID YOU KNOW THAT

Every student unable to pay must be served a free or reduced price lunch (in schools serving lunches at all)? Teachers may not "play favorites" with your right to a school lunch.

DID YOU KNOW THAT

Every student who gets a free or reduced price lunch must be protected from "public" embarassment." Your name must be kept secret, and you must not be singled out.

WRITE THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT, 52 FAIRLIE ST., N.W., ATLANTA, GA. 30303 FOR DETAILS.

DATELINE: SOUTHERN SCHOOLS winter '73...What's Happening?

DATELINE: Atlanta, Ga. - "To: Public and Non-profit Private Organizations; From: Regional Commissioner of Education; Subject: Tentative Funding Schedule for the Emergency School Aid Act...We plan to process two batches of applications as follows: 1. Batch I - Applications due no later than March 5, 1973; funding decisions no later than April 20, 1973...2. Batch II - Applications due no later than May 2, 1973, funding decisions no later than June 15, 1973..."

IN THIS LETTER ANNOUNCING THE PERIOD IN WHICH ESAA APPLICATIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED, THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION CAUTIONED THAT THE FUNDING SCHEDULE IS TENTATIVE AND SUBJECT TO CHANGE. IT HAS REMAINED UNCHANGED SO FAR: BATCH I APPLICATIONS ARE DUE BY MARCH 5, 1973; BATCH II APPLICATIONS ARE DUE NO LATER THAN MAY 2. FUNDED PROJECTS MUST OPERATE BETWEEN 7/1/73 and 6/30/74.

CHARTERED STUDENT GROUPS MAY APPLY FOR NON-PROFIT PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS GRANTS TO BE FUNDED UNDER ESAA. WE HAVE THE ASSURANCE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION'S OFFICE THAT STUDENT GROUP APPLICATIONS WILL BE HANDLED NO DIFFERENTLY FROM ADULT GROUP APPLICATIONS (AS LONG AS THEY ARE CHARTERED, NON-PROFIT GROUPS).

APPLICATIONS ARE VERY COMPLICATED, VERY LONG, AND REQUIRE DAYS OF WORK TO COMPLETE. IF YOU PLAN TO APPLY FOR E.S.A.A. FUNDS FOR YOUR (CHARTERED) STUDENT GROUP, SO THAT YOU CAN CONDUCT A HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT FOR THE PURPOSE OF ELIMINATING SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION, YOU CAN GET IN TOUCH WITH MARGE MANDERSON OR WITH JIMMIE SAMUELS, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GA. 30303 FOR HELP WITH YOUR APPLICATION. (404-522-8764.) DO SO IMMEDIATELY, FOR TIME IS SHORT.

Reading, 'Riting, and... (Racism or Representation?)

IT'S MULTIPLE CHOICE ON THE SCHOOL ACTIVITIES SCENE, STUDENTS SAY

Your name is Lewis Robinson. You're black, and you go to high school in Prattville, Ala.

"nothing." Or, if you attend one of Birmingham's desegregated schools (enrollment: 10% black, 90% white), you say: "There are no blacks in any office... no blacks on our school team." In Columbus, Georgia: "Since the Key Club is composed of an

Is your desegregated education equal when it comes to extra-curricular activities?

In too many Southern schools, the answer is No. Too often desegregation has been allowed

Student Rights and in South Carolina"

DATELINE-SOUTHERN SCHOOLS ⇒ ?OW-What's Happening?

DATELINE: Atlanta, Ga. - "To: Public and Non-profit Private Organizations; From: Regional Commissioner of Education; Subject: Tentative Funding Schedule for the Emergency School Aid Act...We plan to process two batches of applications as follows: 1. Batch I - Applications due no later than March 5, 1973; funding decisions no later than April 20, 1973...2. Batch II - Applications due no later than May 2, 1973, funding decisions no later than June 15, 1973..."

IN THIS LETTER ANNOUNCING THE PERIOD IN WHICH ESAA APPLICATIONS WILL BE ACCEPTED, THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION CAUTIONED THAT THE FUNDING SCHEDULE IS TENTATIVE AND SUBJECT TO CHANGE. IT HAS REMAINED UNCHANGED SO FAR: BATCH I APPLICATIONS ARE DUE BY MARCH 5, 1973; BATCH II APPLICATIONS ARE DUE NO LATER THAN MAY 2. FUNDED PROJECTS MUST OPERATE BETWEEN 7/1/73 and 6/30/74.

CHARTERED STUDENT GROUPS MAY APPLY FOR NON-PROFIT PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS GRANTS TO BE FUNDED UNDER ESAA. WE HAVE THE ASSURANCE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION'S OFFICE THAT STUDENT GROUP APPLICATIONS WILL BE HANDLED NO DIFFERENTLY FROM ADULT GROUP APPLICATIONS (AS LONG AS THEY ARE CHARTERED, NON-PROFIT GROUPS).

APPLICATIONS ARE VERY COMPLICATED, VERY LONG, AND REQUIRE DAYS OF WORK TO COMPLETE. IF YOU PLAN TO APPLY FOR E.S.A.A. FUNDS FOR YOUR (CHARTERED) STUDENT GROUP, SO THAT YOU CAN CONDUCT A HIGH SCHOOL PROJECT FOR THE PURPOSE OF ELIMINATING SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION, YOU CAN GET IN TOUCH WITH MARGE MANDERSON OR WITH JIMMIE SAMUELS, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GA. 30303 FOR HELP WITH YOUR APPLICATION. (404-522-8764.) DO SO IMMEDIATELY, FOR TIME IS SHORT.

Reading, 'Riting, and... (Racism or Representation?)

IT'S MULTIPLE CHOICE ON THE SCHOOL ACTIVITIES SCENE, STUDENTS SAY

Your name is Lewis Robinson. You're black, and you go to high school in Prattville, Ala. A desegregated school.

That means you're getting an equal education, doesn't it? Didn't the Supreme Court say segregated education is inherently unequal for whites and blacks?

Observe the situation (as the Brothers say). Suppose in class all your teachers treat black and white students fairly, just alike. Beautiful. But school doesn't end with classes. Every Monday the student council meets to establish school policies. And the football team is pushing on to Anniston Friday night--with the band, and the cheerleaders. And your home room just elected "superlatives." Pure Caucasian. Not a touch of color, anywhere.

How equal is your desegregated education? If you go to high school in Prattville, Alabama (3 whites to 1 black), your observation is: "My school have no blacks in nothing." Or, if you attend one of Birmingham's desegregated schools (enrollment: 10% black, 90% white), you say: "There are no blacks in any office... no blacks on our school team." In Columbus, Georgia: "Since the Key Club is sponsored by an adult local club, Black members are not allowed in this club as members."

LIKEWISE...

Your name is Carolyn Smith. You're white, and you go to the desegregated high school in Lumpkin, Georgia. A predominantly black school, with four black students to every one white student. Take a look around the activities scene. Verdict: Afro-American. "We have a black president...a black homecoming queen...our band is 'T-total' black," is what you have to say. Or in a "racially isolated" desegregated school in Atlanta (99 black students to every 1 white student), you say: "Most of our school is black, so we always get a black Queen." And in Savannah, the story is the same.

Is your desegregated education equal when it comes to extra-curricular activities?

In too many Southern schools, the answer is No. Too often desegregation has been allowed to decrease the minority race student's chances for some educational dividends, such as first-hand experience in self-government (through student government); participation in the kind of team activities that (they say) contribute to personality development; an opportunity for the honors and activities that look so good on job or college applications.

The reason? Students vote for their friends. Teachers appoint their favorites. Prejudice, black or white, or chauvinistic racial "loyalty," sways choices. Until black and white students--and their teachers--really get to know one another and race "fades away" as a factor, the usual "democratic" methods of electing or selecting activities participants and honors recipients may not work.

Drawing adapted from "Student Rights and Responsibilities in South Carolina"

A Newsletter check with students on the fairness of selection procedures in their desegregated schools suggests, above all else, that these procedures now vary widely from school to school.

Many schools have

CONTINUED

rip off this newspaper!

keep it, and use it as a resource for action!

Is the school activities program putting you down?

IF SO, DO IT TO IT

1 PUT THESE THINGS IN WRITING:
a) A specific statement of facts about the discriminatory activities situation in your school; b) Your suggestions for change; c) Factual information about ideas and approaches used in other schools (use articles contained in this newspaper, for example).

RACISM OR REPRESENTATION? (continued)

accepted the likelihood of unfairness as unfortunate fact, and have changed their procedures. They have changed from majority-rule elections to alternative systems, such as proportional representation, or co-officers, or co-positions, or alternating officers. They have changed club and team membership criteria so that the minority can not be left out.

In some schools, the procedures have been changed, but new procedures seem bothersome or unfair, and they are resented. In Olive Branch, Mississippi, black students think a half black,

were before desegregation. A student from Mozell, Mississippi, reports: "I think it handles itself very well in our school. Our athletic teams are very united; the best man gets the job; the others back him 100 per cent... Even though there are more whites in our school, we, as a unit, are about as equal as I believe it can be... We have many blacks in high office and even class favorites...We vote for the best person no matter the color." In Abingdon, Virginia, students say: "Popularity rules, not skin pigmentation."

In some schools, officials pushed the self-destruct button: they cancelled all extra-

school student presented the school board with a petition signed by about 165 black students and 550 white students asking that one black maid be added to the ten member Homecoming Court.

One hundred black students at Abbeyville, S.C., High School walked out following the election of class officers. Proportional black representation for class officers and student council and all clubs, and an end to discrimination in the school band were among demands presented to the Arkansas High school board by Texarkana parents, following a student boycott. Discontent over the administration's way of handling student government elections

are fair? Would it have been fair to refuse white students the right to vote for a black Homecoming Maid at East Ascension High? Texarkana students called for proportional representation; how fair would that procedure be if a school's racial minority was small?

In East Baton Rouge, when students asked permission to add a black girl to the all-white Homecoming Court, they met this objection: "Schools are teaching the will of the majority should rule," a white school official said, "and having black representatives necessary in school activities is an alien philosophy." And some of the pro-

Is the school activities program putting you down?

(1) PUT THESE THINGS IN WRITING:
a) A specific statement of facts about the discriminatory activities situation in your school; b) Your suggestions for change; c) Factual information about ideas and approaches used in other schools (use articles contained in this newspaper, for example).

RACISM OR REPRESENTATION? (continued)

accepted the likelihood of unfairness as unfortunate fact, and have changed their procedures. They have changed from majority-rule elections to alternative systems, such as proportional representation, or co-officers, or co-positions, or alternating officers. They have changed club and team membership criteria so that the minority can not be left out.

In some schools, the procedures have been changed, but new procedures seem bothersome or unfair, and they are resented. In Olive Branch, Mississippi, black students think a half black, half white student government requirement cheats them, since 91 per cent of the student body is black. In Laurel, Mississippi, a member of the majority group says: "It doesn't matter if they have the ability or not, they are given the post by the board or principal, who are trying to preserve racial harmony, and this is what causes the disturbance."

In some schools, no change has proved the best policy. Some Southern schools---Down Home Deep South schools---appear to have good interracial activities participation even though selection procedures remain just as they were before desegregation. A student from Mozell, Mississippi, reports: "I think it handles itself very well in our school. Our athletic teams are very united; the best man gets the job; the others back him 100 per cent... Even though there are more whites in our school, we, as a unit, are about as equal as I believe it can be... We have many blacks in high office and even class favorites...We vote for the best person no matter the color." In Abingdon, Virginia, students say: "Popularity rules, not skin pigmentation."

In some schools, officials pushed the self-destruct button: they cancelled all extra-curricular activities. And in some schools, when desegregation came, the principal went in his office and locked the door, and nothing at all has been done to assure minority representation even though the student body and faculty choose all-white or all-black. In such schools, minority students are excluded, and they are resentful.

Resentment boiled into student protest this fall. Because no black senior girls were on the Homecoming Court, about 70 black Newnan, Georgia, students dashed onto the football field during Homecoming game halftime and held their own crowning ceremony. In East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, a black high school student presented the school board with a petition signed by about 165 black students and 550 white students asking that one black maid be added to the ten member Homecoming Court.

One hundred black students at Abbeyville, S.C., High School walked out following the election of class officers. Proportional black representation for class officers and student council and all clubs, and an end to discrimination in the school band were among demands presented to the Arkansas High school board by Texarkana parents, following a student boycott. Discontent over the administration's way of handling student government elections sparked fights, then a black walk-out in Asheville, N.C. A boycott followed a dispute over election policies for senior class officers in Zebulon, N.C.

In Gonzales, La., some 200 black East Ascension High School students held a peaceful demonstration because they wanted black students only to vote to fill a newly created position for a black Homecoming maid. The need for a fair method of selecting a Homecoming Court headed a list of grievances black students presented Baton Rouge school administrators.

FAIR'S FOUL?

But just what methods are fair? Would it have been fair to refuse white students the right to vote for a black Homecoming Maid at East Ascension High? Texarkana students called for proportional representation; how fair would that procedure be if a school's racial minority was small?

In East Baton Rouge, when students asked permission to add a black girl to the all-white Homecoming Court, they met this objection: "Schools are teaching the will of the majority should rule," a white school official said, "and having black representatives necessary in school activities is an alien philosophy." And some of the protests this fall were by black students who asked for procedures that would re-segregate within the school. (Pep rally seating by race, not class, was the black demand in Hopewell, Va. Is that demand fair, in a desegregated school?)

GET IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE...

The Newsletter recently questioned a group of black and white students about their ideas on fair selection procedures. We asked them to tell us just how they think two kinds of schools should handle these procedures: schools with a very small racial minority (ten per cent or less, for example), and schools with a substantial size minority

continued on page 3

Drawing p. 2 & 3 from "Student Rights and Responsibilities in South Carolina"

(2) SOLICIT STUDENT SUPPORT (BOTH MAJORITY AND MINORITY STUDENTS) FOR THE CHANGES YOU WANT. CIRCULATE A PETITION, FOR EXAMPLE.

(3) PRESENT THESE MATERIALS TO THE STUDENT COUNCIL (OR OTHER VEHICLES FOR STUDENT COMMUNICATION TO THE PRINCIPAL).

(4) IF THERE IS NO CHANGE, PRESENT THE MATERIALS (TOGETHER WITH EVIDENCE OF STUDENT SUPPORT) DIRECTLY TO THE PRINCIPAL.

(5) IF THERE IS STILL NO SATISFACTORY CHANGE, PRESENT THE SAME MATERIALS TO YOUR SCHOOL BOARD. IF THEY DO NOT ACT FAVORABLY, PRESENT THEM TO: (a) The PTA; (b) Other parents' groups; (c) Adult groups concerned about discrimination; (e) The local newspaper; (f) Minority (and other) elected officials; (g) The civil rights division of the state board of education; (h) The Civil Rights Department of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Write us for addresses.)

in activities WHAT'S BLACK AND WHITE AND FAIR ALL OVER? students say:

MACON, GA.: "The primary organization of any school should be a well rounded, good integrated student council, and it should also have the responsibility of over-seeing selection of other extra-curricular activities on a non-bias basis."

MACON, GA.: "Nobody likes the way things are ran in a desegregated school system, but filling out this questionnaire I have found that it will only cause trouble, because all you are concern about is black & white. If you put too much effort in trying to put two races together against their will it will only cause trouble."

BELZONI, MISS.: "I think that each teacher both black and white should try to encourage all students both black and white that they want all of them to have an equal opportunity in everything they try to accomplish."

VICKSBURG, MISS.: "I think that the student body should have more voice in such procedure."

LUMPKIN, GA.: "You should make it your business to be involved. If you think you can play an important role in some activity don't sit back and complain but put forth effort. In putting effort you'll get some sort of result. Keep on keeping on!"

LAUREL, MISS.: "I don't think that a person should be put into a position if they don't deserve it. Many times a person of the minority will be given a better chance just because he is in the minority."

OLIVE BRANCH, MISS.: "I am sorry that race enters in so much with so many activities. I wish we could elect leaders because they were leaders, have band members because they could play, have teachers because they could teach, and have sports fiends because they were that. I know it will be a long time till this happens though."

PRATTVILLE, ALA.: "On the student-teacher planning committee all minority groups should be represented equally so when the outcome is to come in effect so every party will know what is going on."

ALABAMA: "Busing of students almost always eliminates the students bussed from extra-curricular activities."

▶ (7) DETERMINE IF YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS RECEIVED MONEY FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT (Public Law 92-318). IF SO, IT IS SPECIFICALLY REQUIRED TO OBSERVE SECTION 185.43 (d)(1) OF THE ACT'S REGULATIONS, WHICH FORBID "ANY PRACTICE, POLICY, OR PROCEDURE...LIMITING CURRICULAR OR EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES (OR PARTICIPA-

(8) KEEP ON TRICKING

activities on a non-bias basis."

MACON, GA.: "Nobody likes the way things are ran in a desegregated school system, but filling out this questionnaire I have found that it will only cause trouble, because all you are concern about is black & white. If you put too much effort in trying to put two races together against their will it will only cause trouble."

BELZONI, MISS.: "I think that each teacher both black and white should try to encourage all students both black and white that they want all of them to have an equal opportunity in everything they try to accomplish."

VICKSBURG, MISS.: "I think that the student body should have more voice in such procedure."

LUMPKIN, GA.: "You should make it your business to be involved. If you think you can play an important role in some activity don't sit back and complain but put forth effort. In putting effort you'll get some sort of result. Keep on keeping on!"

LAUREL, MISS.: "I don't think that a person should be put into a position if they don't deserve it. Many times a person of the minority will be given a better chance just because he is in the minority."

OLIVE BRANCH, MISS.: "I am sorry that race enters in so much with so many activities. I wish we could elect leaders because they were leaders, have band members because they could play, have teachers because they could teach, and have sports fiends because they were that. I know it will be a long time till this happens though."

PRATTVILLE, ALA.: "On the student-teacher planning committee all minority groups should be represented equally so when the outcome is to come in effect so every party will know what is going on."

ALABAMA: "Busing of students almost always eliminates the students bussed from extra-curricular activities."

▶ (7) DETERMINE IF YOUR SCHOOL DISTRICT HAS RECEIVED MONEY FROM THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT (Public Law 92-318). IF SO, IT IS SPECIFICALLY REQUIRED TO OBSERVE SECTION 185.43 (d)(1) OF THE ACT'S REGULATIONS, WHICH FORBID "ANY PRACTICE, POLICY, OR PROCEDURE...LIMITING CURRICULAR OR EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES (OR PARTICIPATION BY CHILDREN THEREIN IN ORDER TO AVOID THE PARTICIPATION OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IN SUCH ACTIVITIES." (Get in touch with us for help in reporting any violations.)

(8) KEEP ON TRUCKING

RACISM OR REPRESENTATION? (continued)

(around 35 per cent, we said). Racial minority we defined as black or white--the racial group with the smaller number of students in a school. Thirty-two students gave us their opinions. All but four of them are from schools in Deep South states--Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina.

We asked about methods of selection that would guarantee everyone a fair chance for these kinds of activities and positions: student government; officers; homecoming queens, courts, or similar positions; cheerleaders, majorettes, etc.; athletic teams and band members; honorary or leadership organizations; and the selection of bands for school dances.

Again and again, open elections were urged (or "majority rule," "popular vote," or "the Democratic way"). Our students appear to think open election and selection methods can work in desegregated schools, and they prefer them, when possible. But, they say, these methods must be made to work. School officials, faculty, and student leaders must make it clear to the student body that fair and representative selections are number one priority when votes are cast. "The point of fairness should be stressed," as one student says, "then, the student body should select what they like, keeping in mind the fairness of their selections."

The students we questioned foresee the impossibility of fair open elections and selections in many situations, however. One Mississippi student says: "I am sorry that race enters in so much with so many activities. I wish we could elect leaders because they were leaders, have band members because they could play, have teachers because they could teach, and have sports fiends because they were that. I know it will be a long time till this happens, though."

Students warn that special procedures are necessary in situations in which students "have animosities toward each other," and in most situations in which one race is an extremely small percentage in the total student body.

When open elections simply will not work fairly, what procedures do they suggest? For student government and officers (the traditionally elective positions), an "allotment" for the minority is most frequently suggested--that is: set aside ("allot") a significant number of positions to be filled only by students of the minority race.

This chart breaks down suggestions from the students we questioned, in order of the number of times "allotments" and other methods were mentioned.

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Student Government Elections	
Allotment	14
Open elections	5
Half and half	5
No answer	5
Faculty select 50-50 group, then students elect from them	2
Separate elections	1
	32

Officer Elections	
Allotment	12
Open elections	7
Half and half	3
Alternating races	2
Co-positions	1
Faculty appoint	1
No answer	6
	32

continued on page 7

WASHINGTON CHALLENGE

BY

Roscoe Glover

Last fall, a group of SDP students went to Washington, D.C., to present to the Office of Education SDP Institute recommendations on administration of the new ESAA program. This is a report from one of the group.

The committee meeting of students and Southern Regional Council staff members in Washington concerning summarizing of recommendations developed from SDP to the U.S. Office of Education was indeed a most challenging and unforgettable experience.

All committee members arrived in Atlanta on Wednesday night preceding the Friday of the meeting. The purpose of the Atlanta stop was for briefing for the planned meeting. This briefing in itself was not only inspiring and enthusiastic, but also really had its imput as related to the effectiveness of the meeting in Washington.

The highlights of information gathered at the briefing centered around the atmosphere in which we would be dealing and an elaborate and accurate description of the suggestions we wanted to implement through the Office of Education. The forehand knowledge and insight gained from this effective procedure proved to be successful. Furthermore, the setting of the briefing gave myself and others the opportunity to visit other staff

Super Cool Super Fly Dynamic School EAST HIGH

BY

Rufus Washington

Charlotte, N.C.-Fighting between blacks and whites at East Mecklenburg High School dis-

On Wednesday, blacks claimed that a black student's car had been torn up by whites. Whites claimed that blacks had thrown a trash can on "their side" of the patio. Later news articles spoke of blacks reporting that some white students had brought weapons to school.

However, by the end of the disruptions, several of the rumors vanished. The following week the students (both blacks and whites) alleged that whites from other

any of the rumors.

The following week students and administrators joined in an effort to restore order in a positive manner. Students attended school on a staggered schedule. Seniors attended Monday, Juniors on Tuesday, and Sophomores on Wednesday. Students and teachers wore student-prepared tags saying "I Care About You and East." Each day students discussed the situations in homeroom and sent two representatives to

(1) A NAACP chapter in the school;
(2) Staff development workshops;
(3) Human relations workshops;
(4) Grievance committee formed.

State Department of Public Instruction officials worked with both the students and central office staff in setting up the above stated programs.

ED. NOTE: A priority suggestion from East students was that an antirumor council be

BY
Roscoe Glover

Last fall, a group of SDP students went to Washington, D.C., to present to the Office of Education SDP Institute recommendations on administration of the new ESAA program. This is a report from one of the group.

staff members in Washington concerning summarizing of recommendations developed from SDP to the U.S. Office of Education was indeed a most challenging and unforgettable experience.

All committee members arrived in Atlanta on Wednesday night pre-

stop was for briefing for the planned meeting. This briefing in itself was not only inspiring and enthusiastic, but also really had its imput as related to the effectiveness of the meeting in Washington.

The highlights of information gathered at the briefing cen-

rate description of the suggestions we wanted to implement through the Office of Education. The forehand knowledge and insight gained from this effective procedure proved to be successful. Furthermore, the setting of the briefing gave myself and others the opportunity to visit other staff

Super Cool Super Fly Dynamic School EAST HIGH

BY
Rufus Washington

Charlotte, N.C.-Fighting between blacks and whites at East Mecklenburg High School disrupted classes on Friday, October 27, 1972. The major confrontation came after a week of high tension and sporadic fighting. One of the indirect causes of fighting was the wildfire spreading of rumors.

On Wednesday, blacks claimed that a black student's car had been torn up by whites. Whites claimed that blacks had thrown a trash can on "their side" of the patio. Later news articles spoke of blacks reporting that some white students had brought weapons to school.

However, by the end of the disruptions, several of the rumors vanished. The following week the students (both blacks and whites) alleged that whites from other schools had come on campus and instigated the trouble. Students from one school did admit being on the campus, but cleared themselves of any involvement in the disruptions. There is still much question about the factuality of any of the rumors.

The following week students and administrators joined in an effort to restore order in a positive manner. Students attended school on a staggered schedule. Seniors attended Monday, Juniors on Tuesday, and Sophomores on Wednesday. Students and teachers wore student-prepared tags saying "I Care About You and East." Each day students discussed the situations in homeroom and sent two representatives to a "general council" that came up with recommendations for working with the East Mecklenburg situations.

Since those three days of meetings several new things have evolved, to name a few:

(1) A NAACP chapter in the school;
(2) Staff development workshops;
(3) Human relations workshops;
(4) Grievance committee formed.

State Department of Public Instruction officials worked with both the students and central office staff in setting up the above stated programs.

ED. NOTE: A priority suggestion from East students was that an antirumor council be formed to trace down rumors and find out whether they are true or not. Another of their main concerns was "keeping clear channels of communication open." A third element reportedly was "Getting the perception of teachers."

In Greenville, integration works fine "if they'd just let us do it"

Reprinted from the Delta Democratic Times, Greenville, Mississippi, Sept. 15, 1972, by-line: Cordelia Cottingim.

Greenville High School student body leaders voiced high expectations at a recent informal interview session that a unitary school system would increase the performance of the state economically and in race relations.

Senior class student council representative Bill Hammett, 18, predicted statewide industrial growth would be an outcome of a successful unitary school system.

"Mississippi's education standards are moving up," Hammett said. "Integration has standardized education, making better lives for everyone."

The opportunity to learn about others was listed as a major advantage of public school education by junior class student council representative Laurie Alexander, 16. "Sure, there are differences in the way we've grown up, but we will be prepared to live with all races."

Glenda Monroe, 17, blamed the lack of widespread support of public schools on the "superstitions of parents--black and white parents."

"If the last generation had done what we are doing now, the schools wouldn't be like they are today," she said. "They would have learned that integration is not bad."

She echoed the remarks of several others, "If they would just let us do it."

Referring to the 1971-72 school year, the seven students...said it was a trial year of "getting used to each other." Most of the alleged problems were only rumors, they said.

The student leaders complained that the athletic program, football in particular, is the only means of sparking student unity. Arousing school spirit through football is easy, they said, because of the team's winning season last

members of SRC.

Although the briefing was exciting, the climax and challenge of our entire purpose was indeed the meeting itself in Washington. And these challenges, in simplicity, were to keep cool with the high level officials represented at the meeting and to express our desires and opinions freely and productively to our purpose. And although simple as they were, this was no easy challenge, although we overcame them. It was only natural for us to be skeptical in our dealings with people such as S. O. Marland, Jr. (Commissioner of Education), Dr. William C. Rock, and even Dorothea Perkins, Student and Youth Affairs.

In a nutshell, the experience and insights gained from this meeting were: (1) being able to meet with high level officials in the federal government, who were capable but insensitive to students' needs as related to monetary allotments; (2) being able to share and express a real purpose as related to the necessities and the present situations of students; and (3) the information, knowledge, and experience that one gains in preparing and participating in such situations.

Undoubtedly, the forward move, as related to SRC's goals, gained from the commitments made by the Office of Education (communications to state officials, and a positive approach toward our needs) and the insights gained by the meeting's participants will be everlasting and are most notable to our cause.

"Together Power" Scores

By **RANDOLPH ROBINSON**

Black students who have organized themselves to combat racism in their schools have found in many instances that faced intolerance of longer hair, long shirt collars and multi-colored shoes.

The new alliances of white and black students in combatting intolerance of the unusual are facing school administrators with new questions. How do you deal with such alliances? How do they come about, when the black kids and white kids come from families who wouldn't even speak this, young people are taking the leadership that society has so long denied them, just as society has denied women and Chicanos and black people a part in the decisions that change their lives.

It may be also that here is the start of alliances of other groups such as poor blacks and poor whites, a thing hoped for in these last 20 years, and a thing which could change the caps in school. But the large combs are necessary. And the knit caps are a part of the new identity of the black male.

School principals, on the other hand, are under pressure from white parents who see "picks" and "rakes" only as convenient potential weapons, and who are bound to the tradition of "A gentleman always removes his hat in the house."

as exciting, the climax and challenge of our entire purpose was indeed the meeting itself in Washington. And these challenges, in simplicity, were to keep cool with the high level officials represented at the meeting and to express our desires and opinions freely and productively to our purpose. And although simple as them. It was only natural for us to be skeptical in our dealings with people such as S. O. Marland, Jr. (Commissioner of Education), Dr. William C. Rock, and even Dorothea Perkins, Student and Youth Affairs.

In a nutshell, the experience and insights gained from this federal government, who were capable but insensitive to students' needs as related to monetary allotments; (2) being able to share and express a real purpose as related to the necessities and the present situations of students; and (3) the information, knowledge, and experience that one gains in preparing and participating in such undoubtedly, the forward move, as related to SRC's goals, gained from the commitments made by the Office of Education (communications to state officials, and a positive approach toward our needs) and the insights gained by the meeting's participants will be everlasting and are most notable to our cause.

"Together Power" Scores

By **RANDOLPH ROBINSON**

Black students who have organized themselves to combat racism in their schools have found in many instances that they are able to confront administrators with the one-sidedness of the rules which are being applied to dress codes, facial hair and hair styling. The students have found also that they have unsuspected allies among white students, who themselves have faced intolerance of longer hair, long shirt collars and multi-colored shoes.

The new alliances of white and black students in combatting intolerance of the unusual are facing school administrators with new questions. How do you deal with such alliances? How do they come about, when the black kids and white kids come from families who wouldn't even speak to each other a few years ago?

It may be that young people are confronting the "system" in new ways, challenging their elders to handle their differences in new ways. It may be also that in doing this, young people are taking the leadership that society has so long denied them, just as society has denied women and Chicanos and black people a part in the decisions that change their lives.

It may be also that here is the start of alliances of other groups such as poor blacks and poor whites, a thing hoped for in these last 20 years, and a thing which could change the South into something much better.

Black students see as "racist" the rules against the large combs and picks that are necessary to keep an Afro hairdo at its best, and the rules against wearing knit caps in school. But the large combs are necessary. And the knit caps are a part of the new identity of the black male.

School principals, on the other hand, are under pressure from white parents who see "picks" and "rakes" only as convenient potential weapons, and who are bound to the tradition of "A gentleman always removes his hat in the house."

It will be interesting to see how these issues are resolved. My opinion is that the best solutions will come from the free association of black and white students together, each understanding the difficulties that the other faces.

---

year.

"We're ready now to go back to school-sponsored dances and activities like we had at our schools before integration," Jefferson said. (Gerald Jefferson, 17, student body president. Ed.) "The schools cut it out because they were afraid there would be trouble. Several of us have talked about it and I'm going to bring it up at our first student council meeting."

Miss Hubbard added, "The parents are afraid of us getting together. But if we can get along during the whole day without the parents, we can do it for a couple of hours at night at a dance or a party."

"We have student support for the social activities," Miss Monroe said. "So I feel they would be successful."

Other means of uniting the students are the school clubs, weekly assembly programs and pep rallies, but there is no real communication in these activities, they said...

Hammett reminded the others, "Don't underestimate students getting together in classes. We've gotten to know each other there. There is work among students in the classroom. We are doing things together."

The students do not plan gatherings outside school "because of the parents," Miss Monroe said. "But at least we are friendly when we see each other away from school and say hi."

Hammett, Christian, and Miss Alexander agreed that the loss of many of their white friends to the local private schools has hurt friendships.

"A lot of things have changed since we don't get to see these friends as much," Miss Alexander said. "And it makes us made to see some of them so prejudiced. But there are a lot whose parents are making them go to private school and they don't really want to."

...Contrary to current predictions that many state high school and college graduates will settle in other parts of the country, several of the students said they expected to live in Mississippi after completing their education..."We've got a lot of things to change," Hammett said. "The school system can do some of that. But there has to be a combined effort by both communities--black and white. Mississippi has been No. 50 in everything for too long."

WHAT'S BLACK AND WHITE AND FAIR ALL OVER?

would north carolina's answer be effective in your school?

This fall, the Greensboro, N.C., school system reorganized all junior and senior high student activity programs to make them fairer to all students. Students and administrators developed the plan jointly.

The first step of the reorganization plan called for establishment in each school of an "interim committee," with these functions: (1) Assist the principal in the reorganization of student organizations, student government, student affairs, etc.; (2) assist in conducting student elections; (3) assist in conducting student orientation programs; (4) serve in an advisory capacity to students, teachers, and administrators.

The "interim committee" in each school had to have bi-racial representation from a cross section of the existing student body as well as incoming students. It was to be terminated after the school's student government was elected.

All student organizations had to hold elections for the 1972-73 school year, according to the reorganization plan. The interim committee was charged with the responsibility of ensuring bi-racial representation in school organizations. It was given these suggestions forstudent election procedures:

...The interim committee of each school should devise a plan which ensures bi-racial representation in school and class level organizations. Some election patterns that might be considered are as follows:

1. Homeroom - Representatives are elected from the members of a homeroom. This system is

Greensboro's activities reorganization plan was taken, in part, from a list of "Recommendations for Positive Student Involvement" written by a sixteen-member committee of North Carolina high school students (called the N.C. Task Force on Student Involvement). Here are the Task Force's suggestions about cheerleader selection:

Cheerleader selection has been and will continue to be a potential trouble spot in high schools. Selection procedures must be fair to all students and justly allow cheerleaders to serve as leaders of all students. Hence the following policy is recommended in cheerleader selection:

1. Cheerleaders should be selected, not elected. The position of cheerleader, like that of the football player, should be one which is gained by ability, not popularity. Judgment should be made upon the characteristics necessary for a good cheerleader: poise, leadership, personality, physical ability to do cheers well, coordination, creativity, and ability to work well with other girls and with large crowds.

2. No grade requirements, activity records, or conduct requirements should be made of any prospective cheerleader. (After a student is selected to the squad, perhaps she should be required to maintain the same academic standing that students on the football squad must hold - the passing of three academic subjects.) By eliminating these requirements before selection is made, any and all students may try out for the squad.

Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total ...e by requesting a copy of the booklet. No charge. ..., 27602. Ask for the revised edition of

would north carolina's answer be effective in your school?

This fall, the Greensboro, N.C., school system reorganized all junior and senior high student activity programs to make them fairer to all students. Students and administrators developed the plan jointly.

The first step of the reorganization plan called for establishment in each school of an "interim committee," with these functions: (1) Assist the principal in the reorganization of student organizations, student government, student affairs, etc.; (2) assist in conducting student elections; (3) assist in conducting student orientation programs; (4) serve in an advisory capacity to students, teachers, and administrators.

The "interim committee" in each school had to have bi-racial representation from a cross section of the existing student body as well as incoming students. It was to be terminated after the school's student government was elected.

All student organizations had to hold elections for the 1972-73 school year, according to the reorganization plan. The interim committee was charged with the responsibility of ensuring bi-racial representation in school organizations. It was given these suggestions forstudent election procedures:

...The interim committee of each school should devise a plan which ensures bi-racial representation in school and class level organizations. Some election patterns that might be considered are as follows:

1. Homeroom - Representatives are elected from the members of a homeroom. This system is probably the most commonly used in student councils. Minority groups usually become smaller minorities within this smaller unit and often are not adequately represented.

2. Petition - To become a representative a student must acquire a set number of signatures on a petition. Each student should be allowed to circulate a petition and, following the principal of one-man one-vote, a student can sign only one petition. The petition plan requires individual initiative to circulate a petition and get support, and minorities are able to gain representation by block voting.

3. Precinct or Zone - The school district is divided into geographical precincts or zones, and representatives are elected from each zone. Another similar method is the selection of representatives by school buses. Minorities become majorities within their zones, thus obtaining more equal representation.

4. Guarantee - According to the percentage of particular groups within a student body, those groups receive an assigned number of representatives.

5. Appointment - The president or executive group appoints additional representatives from groups not adequately represented through other selection processes.

6. At-large representation - Representatives are elected at large by classes (freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors).

The professional in charge of specific skill groups (bands, choirs, etc.) has full responsibility for the selections. However, such professionals should give consideration to bi-racial composition of the group.

Greensboro's activities reorganization plan was taken, in part, from a list of "Recommendations for Positive Student Involvement" written by a sixteen-member committee of North Carolina high school students (called the N.C. Task Force on Student Involvement). Here are the Task Force's suggestions about cheerleader selection:

Cheerleader selection has been and will continue to be a potential trouble spot in high schools. Selection procedures must be fair to all students and justly allow cheerleaders to serve as leaders of all students. Hence the following policy is recommended in cheerleader selection:

1. Cheerleaders should be selected, not elected. The position of cheerleader, like that of the football player, should be one which is gained by ability, not popularity. Judgment should be made upon the characteristics necessary for a good cheerleader: poise, leadership, personality, physical ability to do cheers well, coordination, creativity, and ability to work well with other girls and with large crowds.

2. No grade requirements, activity records, or conduct requirements should be made of any prospective cheerleader. (After a student is selected to the squad, perhaps she should be required to maintain the same academic standing that students on the football squad must hold - the passing of three academic subjects.) By eliminating these requirements before selection is made, any and all students may try out for the squad. Thus, more interest will be created, more students will be involved in tryouts, and less dissatisfaction will occur because certain students were "discriminated" against.

3. The judging panel should be made up of impartial people, preferably from outside the school staff. The panel should represent fairly all races and cultural groups. Selection of panel members should be based on ability to judge cheerleading styles, to evaluate personality and leadership, and to be fair in appraising all strong and weak points of each student trying out for the squad.

4. Judgment should be made on merit; hence, the use of a scoring sheet is highly recommended. This sheet should allow each judge to score independently each student on several different categories (see 1, above) with points being used in the manner of five - excellent, four - good, three - satisfactory, two - poor, and one - unsatisfactory. Tabulation should be done by an impartial person, witnessed by students. (The tabulator should be neither a student nor a judge.)

5. Cheers used for selection proceedings should be truly reflective of all cheers liked in the school. Difference between white and black cheers do exist, as do differences for other cultural groups. Utilization of all types of cheers will eliminate any subtle discrimination. Practice sessions for all types of cheers should be held before tryouts.

6. Practices and tryouts should be well announced to all students, with the area for tryouts and selection procedures outlined well in advance.

You can obtain copies of the complete recommendations of the N.C. Task Force by requesting a copy of "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education," from the State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N.C., 27602. Ask for the revised edition of the booklet. No charge.

RACISM OR...? Continued from 3

SCHOOLS WITH A LARGE MINORITY

Student Government Elections

Allotment- - - - - -	11
Open elections - - -	8
Half and half- - - -	6
Faculty appoint- - -	3
No answer- - - - - -	4
	32

Officer Elections

Open elections - - -	7
Alternating offices-	7*
Allotment- - - - - -	6*
Half and half - - -	3*
Let 50-50 student council elect- - - -	3
Co-positions - - - -	1
No answer- - - - - -	5
	32

*NOTE: "Alternating offices" and "Half and half" and "allotment" are almost the same thing in officer elections, since there are usually only 4 positions.

A-WHAT-MENT?

An "allotment" of a given number of positions can be achieved in many ways, of course.

the minority," is one approach.

Several students note that an allotment reflecting ratio in the school is unfair in a school with a very small racial minority; it is insufficient. Here, they think, "at least one in every six," or some allotment that gives the minority more weight, should be used.

Allotments can be unfair, students say, when the minority is limited to the alloted number of positions; instead, they should be assured of "at least" the alloted number. Then student electors may exceed the minority allotment if they wish.

•

Who is to be on athletic teams and in school bands is not usually decided by elections. For these activities, which require skills and talents that are more or less measurable, [illegible] is suggested

and civic work," one said. "These persons should be elected by scholastic ability and not by popularity," said another. A few students think: "Equal representation should be sought," in organizations. If one racial group should be behind because of inferior educational background, the top scholastic achievers from each racial group could receive honors, several students suggest.

This chart ranks student ideas about selection for non-elective positions such as band and athletics, and for honorary and leadership organizations:

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Band and athletics

Ability - - - - - -	25
Ratio allotment - -	1
Half and half - - -	1
Officials select -	1
No answer - - - - -	4
	32

Honorary and Leader-

tion scene probably are the choice of cheerleaders and majorettes, and the selection of Homecoming Queens and Courts and Beauty Queens. Sometimes these positions are elective, and voted on by the student body; sometimes they are judged by outsiders, or by the football team, or the band, or the faculty. Then too, cheering styles often differ from race to race, and black and white (or other races') standards of beauty often are not the same.

This chart shows what our 32 student advisers think about such selections:

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Homecoming and Beauty Queens, Courts, etc.

Open elections - - -	8
Allotment- - - - - -	7
Teams select - - - -	3
Co-positions - - - -	2
If majority queen, then minority court-	2
Half and half- - - -	2
[illegible]	1

SCHOOLS WITH A LARGE MINORITY

Student Government Elections

Allotment	11
Open elections	8
Half and half	6
Faculty appoint	3
No answer	4
	32

Officer Elections

Open elections	7
Alternating offices	7*
Allotment	6*
Half and half	3*
Let 50-50 student council elect	3
Co-positions	1
No answer	5
	32

*NOTE: "Alternating offices" and "Half and half" and "allotment" are almost the same thing in officer elections, since there are usually only 4 positions.

A-WHAT-MENT?

An "allotment" of a given number of positions can be achieved in many ways, of course.

Many students say they think the allotment should reflect the school population racial ratio: "I think the fair way would be to have a ratio of government members equal to the ratio of students (race to race) in the school," one puts it. A ratio favoring the minority was suggested several times: "You should have at least three of the minority to every nine of the majority," is the suggestion of one student. Some are not specific about ways of setting up an allotment: "The election ballot should be set up in a way that a minority is represented," is one suggestion. Another is: "In each school there should be a fair amount of blacks, if it's minority or majority."

Some suggested allotment procedures are more complicated: "Majority rule should be used for 3/4 of the members, and if the minority is not properly represented, 1/4 should be decided on by the members elected and chosen from

Several students note that an allotment reflecting ratio in the school is unfair in a school with a very small racial minority; it is insufficient. Here, they think, "at least one in every six," or some allotment that gives the minority more weight, should be used.

Allotments can be unfair, students say, when the minority is limited to the alloted number of positions; instead, they should be assured of "at least" the alloted number. Then student electors may exceed the minority allotment if they wish.

•

Who is to be on athletic teams and in school bands is not usually decided by elections. For these activities, which require skills and talents that are more or less measurable, "ability" is suggested most often as the important factor in selection. "No difference. Anyone who makes the team," students say, and, "They should be selected by their ability and discipline." "Race is not the question here. It is a matter of performance," one student puts it.

Several specify, however, that "Officials should be encouraged to choose minority members." For both small and large minority schools, students apparently think talent and ability must (and somehow will) triumph over prejudices.

Similarly, while a few students suggest half majority, half minority memberships in honorary and leadership organizations, and a few suggest allotments for minorities in these groups, more students suggest scholastic achievement as membership criteria. "The people should be chosen on their scholastic achievement, personalities, should be elected by scholastic ability and not by popularity," said another. A few students think: "Equal representation should be sought," in organizations. If one racial group should be behind because of inferior educational background, the top scholastic achievers from each racial group could receive honors, several students suggest.

This chart ranks student ideas about selection for non-elective positions such as band and athletics, and for honorary and leadership organizations:

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Band and athletics

Ability	25
Ratio allotment	1
Half and half	1
Officials select	1
No answer	4
	32

Honorary and Leadership Organizations

Qualifications	18
Half and half	4
Allotment	3
Faculty select	2
No answer	5
	32

SCHOOLS WITH A LARGE MINORITY

Band and Athletics

Ability	24
Allotment	2
Officials select, try for minority	1
Half & half, with playing position on basis of ability	1
No answer	4
	32

Honorary and Leadership Organizations

Qualifications	18
Half and half	5
Allotment	2
Faculty select	2
No answer	5
	32

MIRROR, MIRROR

The stickiest spots on the activities selec- cheerleaders and majorettes, and the selection of Homecoming Queens and Courts and Beauty Queens. Sometimes these positions are elective, and voted on by the student body; sometimes they are judged by outsiders, or by the football team, or the band, or the faculty. Then too, cheering styles often differ from race to race, and black and white (or other races') standards of beauty often are not the same.

This chart shows what our 32 student advisers think about such selections:

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Homecoming and Beauty Queens, Courts, etc.

Open elections	8
Allotment	7
Teams select	3
Co-positions	2
If majority queen, then minority court	2
Half and half	2
Special judges	1
Faculty select half & half group, then students elect	1
No answer	5
	32

Cheerleaders, Majorettes, etc.

Ability	10
Allotment	7
Half and half	4
Open elections	2
Faculty select	2
Elect from 50-50 group	1
Use everyone who tries out	1
Cheerleaders: 50-50; majorettes: ability	1
Majorettes: 50-50; Cheerleaders: ability	1
No answer	3
	32

SCHOOLS WITH A LARGE MINORITY

Homecoming and Beauty Queens, Courts, etc.

Allotment	8
Open election	7
Teams select	3
Half and half	3
Judges select	2
Elect from a half and half group	2
Faculty select	1
Half & half court, alternate race of queens each year	1
50-50 student group make selection	1
No answer	4
	32

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

RACISM OR...? continued from 7

Cheerleaders, Majorettes, etc.

Ability- - - - - - -	10
Allotment- - - - - -	7
Half and half- - - -	5
Faculty select - - -	4
Elect from 50-50 group- - - - - - - -	1
Use everyone who tries out- - - - - -	1
Cheerleaders:50-50; majorettes: ability-	1
Cheerleaders: ability; majorettes: 50-50- - - - - - - -	1
No answer- - - - - -	2
	32

There is no real consensus of opinion. "Open elections," "ability," "allotment," and "half and half" are mentioned most often, but students gave a mixed bag of possible approaches. Given the difficulties, maybe there are advantages in the method hit upon by the (male) student who says: "...Be sure that these girls are above average because you wouldn't want a dumb girl to be homecoming queen or homecoming court. How many attractive girls have brains? That should narrow it down to a small number. (Smile.)"

dislikes differ greatly between the races," and, "It is obvious that there will be a difference in style for each race..." to, "If push come to a shove both can eventually dance off the music."

Student opinion about dance band selection procedures is ranked in this chart:

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Majority select- - -	6
Best available - - -	4
Alternate each dance-	3
Integrated, that can play for both- -	2
One that can play for both - - - - - -	2
Integrated - - - - -	1
Alloted number of dances for minority band - - - - - - - - -	1
Two bands- - - - - -	1
50-50 group choose -	1
No answer- - - - - -	11
	32

SCHOOLS WITH A LARGE MINORITY

Majority select- - -	6
Best available - - -	4
Alternate each dance-	3
Integrated - - - - -	2
Integrated, that can play for both- -	1

dance off black music then they can't dance."

ANSWERS AND QUESTIONS

In sum, perhaps our survey suggests some of the many different ways of selection, more than it shows agreement on the fairest procedures. Minority "allotments" do seem to dominate the suggestions somewhat for the usually elective offices, and "ability" predominates in advice about filling positions that call for demonstrable talents and abilities. For positions usually determined by subjective standards, students suggest a variety of possible procedures.

Student comments raise as many questions as they answer. What can be done when pressures from one's own racial group militate against participation in activities with "the other race"? What about parental opposition to students' participation in integrated activities? Should special minority caucuses be recognized

tion in activities? What if school officials cancel activities programs? How can selection procedures be adjusted when there are two minority groups in a school? (Cuban, or Indian or Puerto Rican or Chicano, as well as black and white.)

On a very fundamental level, student suggestions reveal a new sensitivity to "cross-sections" and "representativeness"--the not too familiar concept that all of the variety of humanity might find its place in the sun: rich and poor, female and male, street blood and scholar, as well as black and white and other racial and ethnic groups.

How to assure both representativeness and at the same time, equality, is a problem with no simple answer (as the Democratic Party and national groups lately concerned about "quotas" can attest).

Ability- - - - - - - -10
Allotment- - - - - - 7
Half and half- - - - 5
Faculty select - - - 4
Elect from 50-50 group- - - - - - - - - 1
Use everyone who tries out- - - - - - 1
Cheerleaders:50-50; majorettes: ability- 1
Cheerleaders: ability; majorettes: 50-50- - - - - - - - - 1
No answer- - - - - - 2
32

There is no real consensus of opinion. "Open elections," "ability," "allotment," and "half and half" are mentioned most often, but students gave a mixed bag of possible approaches. Given the difficulties, maybe there are advantages in the method hit upon by the (male) student who says: "...Be sure that these girls are above average because you wouldn't want a dumb girl to be homecoming queen or homecoming court. How many attractive girls have brains? That should narrow it down to a small number. (Smile.)"

PUSH COME TO SHOVE

The last question we raised was about the selection of bands to play at school dances. Many of the students we questioned don't seem to think racial differences in musical styles pose a problem; some do. Comments range from, "Since most students like mostly the same music it shouldn't be too much controversy..." to, "Musical likes and that there will be a difference in style for each race..." to, "If push come to a shove both can eventually dance off the music."

Student opinion about dance band selection procedures is ranked in this chart:

SCHOOLS WITH A SMALL MINORITY

Majority select- - - 6
Best available - - - 4
Alternate each dance-3
Integrated, that can play for both- - 2
One that can play for both - - - - - - 2
Integrated - - - - - 1
Alloted number of dances for minority band - - - - - - - - - 1
Two bands- - - - - - 1
50-50 group choose - 1
No answer- - - - - -11
32

SCHOOLS WITH A LARGE MINORITY

Majority select- - - 6
Best available - - - 4
Alternate each dance-3
Integrated - - - - - 2
Integrated, that can play for both- - 1
One that can play for both - - - - - - 1
Allot number of dances to minority band-1
Two bands- - - - - - 1
50-50 group choose - 1
Student ratio in band composition - - 1
Get a black band - - 1
No answer- - - - - -10
32

Who said "Get a black band?" It was the dude who said (of large minority schools): "In this case get a black band because if whites can't

ANSWERS AND QUESTIONS

In sum, perhaps our survey suggests some of the many different ways of selection, more than it shows agreement on the fairest procedures. Minority "allotments" do seem to dominate the suggestions somewhat for the usually elective offices, and "ability" predominates in advice about filling positions that call for demonstrable talents and abilities. For positions usually determined by subjective standards, students suggest a variety of possible procedures.

Student comments raise as many questions as they answer. What can be done when pressures from one's own racial group militate against participation in activities with "the other race"? What about parental opposition to students' participation in integrated activities? Should special minority caucuses be recognized as extra-student government representative bodies? Should the goal of student activities be a winning team, or should activities be geared toward students' personal growth?

And, on a practical level: what should be done when uniform fees or other expenses exclude poorer students from activities participation? Should officials let low grades bar participities programs? How can selection procedures be adjusted when there are two minority groups in a school? (Cuban, or Indian or Puerto Rican or Chicano, as well as black and white.)

On a very fundamental level, student suggestions reveal a new sensitivity to "cross-sections" and "representativeness"--the not too familiar concept that all of the variety of humanity might find its place in the sun: rich and poor, female and male, street blood and scholar, as well as black and white and other racial and ethnic groups.

How to assure both representativeness and at the same time, equality, is a problem with no simple answer (as the Democratic Party and national groups lately concerned about "quotas" can attest). Perhaps solutions will surface in the crucible of Southern, integrated schools. For, as a Georgia high school student commented about school activities selections: "I have no definite solution for any of the questions. If there were any obvious solution, these questions would not have to be asked. At least many are earnestly trying. Live and learn!" ● M.M.

Editor of this issue: Marge Manderson.

MISSING: Butch Wright, who founded the Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project, has cut out, temporarily, to work for the Black Appalachian Commission for one year.

Additional Information Dept.

"ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN MISSISSIPPI SCHOOLS: A STUDY OF STUDENT HANDBOOKS" by the Academic Freedom Coalition. Write Charles Harwitz, 128-1/2 N. Gallatin St., Jackson, Miss., for a copy.

"The Academic Freedom Coalition undertook this study to determine the extent of infringements upon personal liberty within Mississippi schools...The body of this analysis of student handbooks summarizes the printed policy of school boards as provided students in the following areas: dress and hair codes, discipline procedures, absences and miscellaneous policies..." Findings are, in brief: 1) handbooks lack consistency; 2) handbooks tend to restrict students, seldom enunciating their rights; 3) districts are overly concerned with personal appearance; 4) many school districts fail to clearly spell out restrictions and their corresponding disciplinary penalties; 5) there is no consistent attendance policy; 6) many districts continue devotionals; 7) extra-curricular activities are limited in most districts and there is an apparent prohibition of any "controversial" associations.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

ATLANTA GA.

Bulk Rate
U. S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 1085

Southern Regional Council

Move to Fine Reserve

1974 ANNUAL REPORT

ATLANTA, GEORGIA / MAY, 1975

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1974

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
(404) 522-8764

MAY, 1975

GEORGE H. ESSER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

1975 SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL OFFICERS

President . . . . . Dr. Vivian Henderson
(Atlanta, Ga.)

Immediate Past President . . . . . Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
(Charlotte, N.C.)

Vice President . . . . . Patt Derian
(Jackson, Miss.)

Executive Director . . . . . George H. Esser, Jr.
(Atlanta, Ga.)

Executive Committee

Monica K. Appleby (Dungannon, Va.) ✓
J. Bill Becker (Little Rock, Ark.)
Hodding Carter, III (Greenville, Miss.)
Joan Cashin (Huntsville, Ala.)
Julius L. Chambers (Charlotte, N.C.)
Gwendolyn Cherry (Miami, Fla.) ✓
Elizabeth Fryer (Brentwood, Tenn.)
Paul Gaston (Charlottesville, Va.)
Charles Grigg (Tallahassee, Fla.) ✓
Joseph F. Haas (Atlanta, Ga.)
(Legal Counsel)
Donald L. Hollowell (Atlanta, Ga.)
(Treasurer)
Marjorie F. Knowles (Tuscaloosa, Ala.) ✓
Dorothy Jo McDuffie (Columbia, S.C.)
Henry Marsh (Richmond, Va.)
Helen Mervis (New Orleans, La.) ✓
John Wheeler (Durham, N.C.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page Number
INTRODUCTION	1
I. THE COUNCIL	4
II. STAFF AND ADMINISTRATION	5
III. PROGRAM	6
Economic Development	6
Education	7
Health Care	9
Housing	11
Community Relations	12
Research and Information	14
IV. SPECIAL PROJECTS	16
School Desegregation Project	17
Black Women Employment Project	18
Clearinghouse for Technical Assistance	18
Southern Governmental Monitoring Project	19
Leadership Development Program	21
Task Force on Southern Rural Development	21
V. PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLIC INFORMATION	23
Public Information	25
SOUTHERN VOICES	26
Southern Investigative Research Project	28
VI. OTHER 1974 SRC ACTIVITIES	29
AUDIT REPORT, BALANCE SHEET & COMBINED STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES, DECEMBER 31, 1974	30

INTRODUCTION

As a change agency with the mission of improving the quality of life within the region, with particular emphasis on minority groups and the poor, the activities of the Southern Regional Council inevitably reflect conditions in the South -- and to a somewhat lesser degree -- the nation itself. From our own work over the past two years, for instance, we know that:

- The South with 25 percent of the nation's population contains 38 percent of its poor population and that the region's poverty rate is twice that of the remaining 39 states.
- Six out of ten poor family heads are working, but do not earn enough to raise their families from poverty.
- The incidence of poverty is higher among families headed by black females than among any other race/sex grouping.
- In the five Southern states examined by the Ten State Nutrition Survey, 58 percent of those surveyed had deficient or low nutritional values in at least one of the six biochemical tests.
- Food stamp participation in none of the eleven Southern states exceeds more than a third of those eligible.

- There are powerful barriers to attaining higher income for people residing in rural areas. Nine of the eleven Southern states exceed the national rate of 26 percent rural residence.
- Federal decentralization of public service programs through revenue sharing has proven to be of questionable value as a means to provide adequate services for the region's poor.

As 1974 began the Council was committed to launching significant new projects related to many of these issues, including poverty, health, rural development, governmental monitoring, policy and issue analysis, as well as to continuing important programs already begun in the fields of economic development, health, education, hunger and malnutrition, state and local taxes.

Toward year's end it began to grow increasingly evident that the Council's capability to sustain so varied a program across so wide a range of issues would soon be affected by the deepening national recession. Unemployment in the region climbed during the year as did the cost of living, raising the issue of where Council priorities should be during a time of economic crisis. At the same time foundations which have supported the Council over the years announced major cutbacks, portending decreased support from such sources for the Council in 1975 and a likely slash in the basic budget of the organization.

Against such a background then, as the year closed, the Council's leadership sensed the need for re-trenching of staff, for sharpening of program focus and for more efficiently using diminishing resources. Reorganization, partially begun in the fall of 1974, was anticipated to continue into 1975. We emphasize, however, that regardless of decreased staff size and regardless of adversity, we face the future with increased commitment to our role as an agency seeking to bring about changes essential to the well being of all Southerners and confident that such a role remains the proper one.

George H. Esser, Jr.
Executive Director

I. THE COUNCIL

Twenty-five new members of the Southern Regional Council were added in 1974 strengthening the organization's membership in many states and continuing efforts begun in 1973 to bring about a broader representation by age, sex, race and geographical location.

In addition, seven new Executive Committee members were elected at the annual meeting in November, bringing the Executive Committee membership to full numerical strength.

The Council notes with regret the deaths in 1974 of two outstanding Southern leaders who played important roles in the development of the organization. Lucius Pitts, a Southern educator with great breadth of understanding of the region and its problems, served on the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council for many years. He was a man of immense compassion and commitment to the Council's goals and exerted wise and reasoned influence on Council directions.

Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist church, one of the incorporators of SRC when it was founded in 1944, helped promote the fledgling organization in an era when white supremacy, legal segregation, and harsh, unyielding discriminatory practices were accepted as immutable verities within Southern society.

II. STAFF AND ADMINISTRATION

During 1974 the unifying of some administrative functions that had previously been dispersed in individual units of the organization was undertaken, including education, research, information and resources, and publications. With the likelihood of more stringent budgetary restraints, further reorganization was left open at year's end pending decisions on various proposals before funding sources.

Two appointments, approved by the Executive Committee at its September meeting, were the creation of a development division and the creation of the position of office administrator. David Bergmark, formerly of the Race Relations Information Center, has been employed to fill the development role. Sandra Flowers has been named office coordinator with the responsibility of the office secretarial pool, mail room and related administrative functions.

III. PROGRAM

Three years ago the Council defined the essential problems facing the region as being centered around economic development, health, education and housing. Task forces composed of board members and staff were organized around these four problem areas. Today the Council's program remains focused in these four general areas although other special projects have been added to complement the design of the task forces.

The following summary illustrates the scope of Council program during 1974.

Economic Development

- A statistical analysis of poverty in the South entitled *The Other Twenty Percent*, initiated under the auspices of the research department, analyzed the structural and functional factors which contribute to the high incidence of poverty in the region.
- Complementing this publication were efforts of the Economic Development Task Force to develop strategies for dealing with the problems defined in the publication and also those defined in a 1973 Council report, *State and Local Taxes in the South: 1973*.

Other activities in Economic Development centered on:

1) research into the impact of large-scale land ownership on economic development and public services in a sample of Southern rural counties;

2) an analysis of structural influences in agriculture, their effect on small farmers and an assessment of alternative policies;

3) continued work with a coalition of regional agencies and local community organizations in areas adjacent to the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project for the purpose of establishing a recruitment placement center for the Project which would locate and place workers in construction employment in the waterway area;

4) continued efforts to encourage the enforcement of laws regulating employment discrimination.

Education

The Southern Regional Council's dual concerns of attaining racial and socio-economic integration in public education and delivering quality education to all children were evidenced in Education projects and publications during the year. These included:

- working with local organizations in Alabama and Tennessee on school finance reform following the publication of *The Cost of Neglect, The*

Value of Equity: A Guidebook to School Finance Reform by Virginia Fleming.

- serving as a catalyst in the formation of a citizens coalition in North Carolina to bring about reform of textbook selection; the publication of a citizen-action handbook on textbook issues; and the development of a working paper on "Textbook Policies and Practices."
- working with the National Committee for Citizens in Education on a public hearing held in Atlanta in August at which SRC's Executive Director presented testimony concerning the need to strengthen community participation in public education in the region.
- preparing a comprehensive survey of 895 school districts in seven Southern states on the extent to which ability grouping and tracking is being practiced and the extent to which these practices cause classrooms within schools to become racially identifiable. Through publications, consultations and training programs, the SRC developed strategies for change and alternative approaches.
- analyzing media coverage of public education in several states and beginning to develop a strong network of public education reporters in the region.
- providing information and assistance to Southern school officials seeking to strengthen desegregated education.

- continuing programs of support to students in desegregated schools and implementing programs to help selected schools take advantage of recommendations in the School Desegregation Project's pushout study.
- continuing to provide current information on school desegregation in the region including: the docket of Justice Department school cases across the South, a list of FY 1975 ESAA grant-receiving school districts, and a list of school districts with problems under Adams v. Weinberger.

Health Care

The purpose of SRC's activities in the field of health care is to focus attention on the plight of disadvantaged Southerners through research on health care delivery problems and monitoring health delivery systems in the region, publicizing the findings, and supporting local health care projects. These activities in 1974 included:

- publishing the document *Health Care in the South: A Statistical Profile*, which was distributed to a specialized list of health community groups, health professionals and interested governmental officials.
- documenting the effects of malnutrition on infant health.

- providing assistance to projects dealing with the implementation of federal food programs in the region. SRC staff participated in a south-wide Hunger Conference and began preparing a "how to" handbook based on models of successful food programs operating in several communities throughout the region.
- serving as a resource on health care issues to various agencies, community groups, educational institutions and church groups interested in the delivery of health services.
- completing an analysis of the effectiveness of existing agencies delivering health services for the Southern Growth Policies Board's Commission on the Future of the South.
- publishing an *Analysis of the Ten-State Nutrition Survey* which was distributed to state planning agencies, agencies such as departments of health and selected U.S. Congressmen. The analysis outlines the findings of the survey and sets forth public policy implications in the area of nutrition.
- designing a proposal to develop a demonstration project focused on innovative uses of health manpower in underserved areas in the region.
- designing a proposal to fund representatives of Vanderbilt's Center for Health Services to explore the potential in other regional medical

schools for student involvement in outreach programs of health services. Funding was not secured for this project, but the staff continues an interest in pursuing it.

Housing

Over the last several years, the Southern Regional Council has had a growing interest in housing and the quality of life in both the urban and rural South. Priorities for Council efforts have been determined on the basis of where the least activity is underway to correct inequities, where the major problems seem to arise in the region, and where limited resources might most effectively be placed.

Housing activities during 1974 included the following projects:

- commissioning research for the "Background Paper on Housing in the South" -- a basic document for evaluating the housing problems in the region. The analysis for this document was a part of SRC's role as technical consultant on human resources and public services for the Commission on the Future of the South. It will be modified for publication as a pamphlet in 1975.
- continuing cooperation with the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing by holding a regional conference on open housing

in September. This was the second annual SRC-NCDH conference.

- planning a series of three conferences on inequality of delivery of urban and municipal services to minority and low-income sections of the city. Funding which was anticipated for this project has been delayed, but planning continues. SRC was represented at a national conference held to determine strategies on this issue.
- completing research on the municipal incorporation of minority communities and providing technical assistance to community organization efforts in such unincorporated black communities as New Town, Georgia.
- continuing analysis and monitoring of discrimination in housing in Southern cities and examining steps which can be taken to open access to housing.
- initiating research on regional growth policies and their impact on the availability of housing, in cooperation with SRC's Task Force on Southern Rural Development.

Community Relations

In accordance with the Council's goal of establishing a two-way information flow with community organizations, state Councils on Human Relations and other groups working in the

South, a separate staff to work with community groups was established in 1973.

This team undertook the following projects during 1974:

- sponsoring a four-day training conference for public and private human relations staff personnel in state and local agencies across the region.
- conducting three, two-day workshops for the same personnel in different states in the region.
- monitoring the expenditure of grants channeled through the SRC to other organizations in the region, such as one grant to the South Carolina Council on Human Rights and others to several community and economic development organizations.
- providing technical assistance to community groups and public officials seeking to deal with critical social problems. They included the Martin L. King, Jr. Center for Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia; state and local public officials in Florida and Alabama seeking to expand the delivery of effective technical assistance to community groups; the Dallas, Texas Chamber of Commerce; the United Memorial National Bank seeking to create the first black-owned bank in Montgomery, Alabama; CBS commentator Walter Cronkite; the Martin Luther King Memorial Day Care Center in McComb, Mississippi; the

Concerned Mothers Club of Augusta, Georgia; and the Children's Foundation in Atlanta, Georgia.

- planning special consultations with selected groups of businessmen and public officials to explore further how new support can be mobilized to help deal more effectively with problems of discrimination and services to the poor in Southern cities.
- preparing a detailed analysis of the causes of racial conflicts in the Hickory, North Carolina public schools system at the request of the school board. The team also assisted the school board in the implementation of SRC recommendations.

Research and Information

Essential to the successful programmatic work of the Council is Research and Information. Since its inception, the Council has distinguished itself as a reliable source of factual data about the region.

During 1974, the library subscribed to over 58 magazines, 22 daily and 23 weekly newspapers, and 44 newsletters. Many studies, working papers, state agency reports and up-to-date reference materials, as well as over 220 books, were added to the library collection in 1974. In early October, several staff members attended a seminar on race relations information resources and retrieval to learn about collections elsewhere and

to establish with similar organizations a common set of category headings to facilitate retrieval and exchange of information.

Over 1000 requests for information from outsiders were handled by library staff members during the calendar year, including substantive assistance to two national television networks for three major documentaries. A major objective of the library staff during 1974 was working to establish a resource file of persons and organizations whose interests are related to those of the Council.

Research and information staff conducted the analysis of poverty and spent the major part of the year assisting in the research for the Council's activities relating to the Commission on the Future of the South. In addition, the staff also assisted other staff and task forces in their various projects.

IV. SPECIAL PROJECTS

Complementing the Council's basic program during 1974 were six special projects.

- Clearinghouse for Technical Assistance, which provided business and management assistance to Community Development Corporations (CDC's) in the region;
- Southern Governmental Monitoring Project, a program designed to monitor the impact of governmental decentralization in the South;
- Black Women Employment Project, a two-year demonstration program designed to assist black women in finding technical, skilled, professional, and managerial jobs in the Atlanta Metropolitan area;
- School Desegregation Project, which completed its fourth year of involving high school and college students in effectively dealing with the problems of school desegregation.
- Leadership Development Program, which selects and trains rural Southerners for leadership roles in the region.
- Task Force on Southern Rural Development, an autonomous 18-month project organized under the auspices of the Council, to review and make recommendations concerning policies affecting development in the rural South.

A. School Desegregation Project

The Project was organized in response to a need throughout the South for students of both races to become involved in the decision-making process of school systems and increase understanding across racial lines. SDP staff identified high school and college students, and community respresentatives, who were willing to work together in monitoring, evaluating and assisting their public schools as they undergo the deseggregation process.

During 1974, the School Desegregation Project continued programs of support to students in desegregated schools and implemented programs to help selected schools take advantage of recommendations in the Pushout Study which was published with the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial in 1973 and reprinted in 1974. Other pushout activities included:

- a conference early in the year to begin formulating a strategy to attack the pushout problem;
- testimony on the pushout problem by Leon Hall before such groups as the U.S. House Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity relating to a juvenile justice bill, the Governor's Task Force on Disrupted Youth in Florida, a mini-convention of NEA and other groups.
- continued efforts to have HEW-OCR take affirmative steps toward solving the pushout problem.

SDP also began planning for a national pushout task force. In its role as a students' rights advocate, SDP provided technical assistance to many groups and organized pilot projects on a number of Southern college campuses for the purpose of providing students an opportunity to work on special community projects for college credit.

B. Black Women Employment Project

This project was an experimental expansion of the "outreach" concept which has been used effectively in other job areas to break employment barriers. The BWEP focus was determined by an analysis of the Atlanta labor market which indicated both a special need for quality jobs for black women, and a serious under-utilization of their talents in certain industries and jobs.

The success of the Black Women Employment Project was confirmed by action of the U.S. Department of Labor which made the project a national program involving seven major cities, an action which spun off the project staff into a national organization.

C. Clearinghouse for Technical Assistance

Responding to the needs of Community Development Corporations (CDC's), the Southern Regional Council developed the Clearinghouse for Technical Assistance (CTA) in cooperation with the directors of four Southern CDC's,

the Irwin-Sweeney-Miller Foundation and the Ford Foundation. The purpose of the CTA was to enable community-based economic development corporations secure and develop managerial talent and sound business practices, and to provide other business/management assistance as may be required on a contractual basis.

During 1974, the CTA, provided technical assistance to: Delta Foundation, East Central Committee for Opportunity, Southeast Alabama Self-Help Association, and United Durham, Inc. This assistance was in the form of reviews of accounting systems, refinement of internal controls, securing resources and employment personnel.

Termination of this project was necessary at the end of the year due to lack of funding.

D. Southern Governmental Monitoring Project

The purposes of the Monitoring Project are to determine the impact of federal program changes on poor and minorities in the South, to determine how states, cities, and counties are responding to these changes and to help local groups understand and take advantage of these developments and of resources from state and local governments.

During 1974, the project organized and administered the first of its two planned summer intern programs, placing 40 law and graduate students in cities and town throughout the region to examine local implementation of and citizen participation in assorted federal programs in human resources

and related areas. The interns completed surveys, designed by the SGMP staff, in nine major federal, state and local program areas. The information developed through the surveys provided the basic data that is being analyzed for potential reports on the following issues: school food, county health departments, Supplemental Security Income, manpower, mobile home survey, Appalachian Regional Commission, revenue sharing, food stamps, Hill-Burton hospital program, and mass transit.

In November, 1974, a staff member of the monitoring project testified before the U.S. Senate Health Subcommittee on the widespread abuse of HEW regulations and denial of medical treatment to indigents at Hill-Burton facilities. He based his testimony on research conducted by the monitoring project on access by the poor to health care in Southern Hill-Burton hospitals.

SGMP also began a public access project which involved writing and distributing a series of reports evaluating open meetings and public document laws for each of the eleven Southern states.

During the year, the monitoring project took an active role in Council efforts to reverse USDA decisions regarding higher prices of food stamps.

E. Leadership Development Program

In February, 1974, the Executive Committee approved the incorporation of the Leadership Development Program as a special project of the Council. The LDP, which was initiated in 1967 as a project of the Ford Foundation, has played a vital role in the training and development of young Southerners concerned with the improvement of educational opportunities in the South.

The LDP identifies men and women in the non-metro South who have demonstrated a potential for leadership and a commitment to the improvement of educational opportunities and quality of life in their communities and in the region.

Under SRC sponsorship, LDP has expanded its activity from four to ten states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia) and has implemented a policy of short-term as well as year-long fellowships.

During 1974, 34 fellows were chosen from over 500 applications. 1 7

F. Task Force on Southern Rural Development

The Task Force on Southern Rural Development, an 18 month special project sponsored by the Council and funded by several foundations, was launched during 1974 after months

of careful preparation, including meetings with rural people and policy-makers from all over the South. The Task Force's concerns will focus on policies affecting development in the rural South. Some of the more important subjects with which the Task Force will deal include: incentives for creating a better balance between industry and agriculture in rural areas; policies in education and manpower development which will increase opportunities for low-income residents to obtain gainful employment; identifying ways in which health care problems in the rural South differ from problems in other areas, evaluating food policies; determining how governmental health programs can be better designed to meet the special needs of rural residents. A major part of the Task Force's mission also is to develop (and implement) strategies to make the most effective use of the various policy studies that will emerge from the Task Force's deliberations.

Ray Marshall and Lamond Godwin were secured in the spring of 1974 as director and associate director of this special project. A 24 member Task Force Team was selected with Dr. Alexander Heard, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, and Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, serving as chairman and co-chairman, respectively. The Task Force held its initial meeting in Atlanta on October 4-5, 1974. Its studies of development policies in the region are scheduled to be released throughout 1975, with a final and comprehensive set of recommendations by year's end.

V. PUBLICATIONS AND PUBLIC INFORMATION

Several special publications of major importance and impact were produced during 1974. These publications reflected the wide range of Council program interests including education, health, nutrition, and poverty. All represented cooperative efforts between special publications staff and appropriate program officers.

The Cost of Neglect, the Value of Equity: A Guidebook to School Finance Reform, by Virginia Fleming was released by the Council in January, 1974. This publication, which is a guidebook for school finance reform, analyzes the problems and inequities of school financing in the South and suggests alternative approaches to this problem. The report urges that equity in financing public education be a major priority of state governments. It points to significant advances already being made in Florida, but shows, too, that in other Southern states tremendous differences exist from district to district in the money being spent on each child. A listing of agencies already active in the field of school finance is included to assist emerging community groups with interest in this important issue.

Copies of the report were distributed to state legislators, state and local school superintendents and various organizations and individuals working on education issues or with special interest in school finance.

Health Care in the South: A Statistical Profile. This document, a product of the Health Task Force, catalogued 29 health-related categories including infant mortality rates, doctor-patient ratios, and hospital utilization rates in all 1105 Southern counties. It was distributed to specialized lists of health community groups, professionals, and interested government officials. The document has received high praise from health care planners, media representatives and federal officials, and overall has added immeasurably to the Council's credibility as a commentator in this vital field of human development.

The Distribution of Southern Black Population, by C. Jack Tucker and Everett S. Lee. Authored by two of the region's better known demographers, this report examines black population trends in the region between the census years 1960 and 1970. Initiated by the research department, it describes the increasing concentration of Southern blacks in the region's metropolitan areas and includes maps showing percentage gains and losses in Southern counties.

The Ten State Nutrition Survey: An Analysis, by James Carter, M.D. This report, by one of the region's foremost maternal and child care specialists, examines HEW's controversial Ten State Survey launched in 1968. The original report of some 800 pages was released by HEW in 1972 with virtually no fanfare, and was not a document easily comprehensible to the lay reader. This report sets forth the findings, their national policy significance and

recommendations for action. It has received considerable attention among the nation's nutritionists and policy-makers following a favorable review in the authoritative Community Nutrition Institute newsletter.

The Other Twenty Percent: A Statistical Analysis of Poverty in the South, by Gretchen Maclachlan. Published in December, 1974 and released in early January, 1975, this comprehensive alanysis of Southern poverty, based on Census Bureau poverty data, in part is drawn from some previously unpublished Census materials. The material in the report has formed the research basis for SRC proposals and for staff speeches; it has aided program thrusts of the Council including work done for the Southern Growth Policies Board's Commission on the Future of the South. Its basic findings were such as to lead that prestigious group of Southerners, largely conservative in its socio-economic views, to such major recommendations as: improved minimum wage coverage, support of food stamp outreach efforts and support of AFDC payments at no less than 100 percent of state defined needs.

Public Information

The Council's public information function was continued during the year by publicizing significant SRC activities. Contacts, both personal and in the form of news releases, were made periodically with local, regional and national radio, television and print media. News releases dealt with special SRC publications and events. News conferences were held, for

example, on SDP's work on the student pushout, the announcement of the formation of the Task Force on Southern Rural Development, and a statement by Robert Weaver at the Council's second annual housing conference.

The response from the media and public officials was generally good during the year. In addition to numerous requests for publications, editorial comments, newspaper coverage, and coverage by radio and television, one SRC publication, *Health Care in the South: A Statistical Profile*, was the subject of a U.S. Senate floor speech by Sen. Edward Kennedy, chairman of the Senate Health Subcommittee.

Public Information also worked with CBS news on two separate stories: Southern counties without a single physician and the concept of comprehensive health care in the region.

Southern Voices

Southern Voices, which replaced the quarterly *New South* and the monthly *South Today*, was conceived in part as a means of continuing to serve the Council's long time readership and also as a vehicle to reach a broader audience of concerned Southerners needed to understand current issues and support changes implicit in the Council's program and goals.

The first issue was published in March/April, 1974. The critical reception was most encouraging. Comments from readers and from professional writers confirmed our belief that the

Council had launched one of the nation's more exciting publishing ventures.

Some of the articles which we feel have had the effect of raising the reader's consciousness of the deeper meanings of Southern culture and trends have dealt with such subjects as:

- the tentative moving toward one another of white and black leadership in rural, black-belt Greene County, Alabama;
- a court suit in Alabama against the holder-in-due course credit law which could completely reverse national credit law;
- how experience in fighting discrimination in Southern governments gave one Southern lawyer a headstart in understanding the criminality of Watergate;
- the plight of the South's independent cattleman facing ruin because it costs more to raise cattle than they can be sold for.

Yet although there was a positive reception to these and other articles and, indeed, the magazine itself, the crisis in the national economy also created a grave situation for *Southern Voices*. Despite careful planning and preparation in which we relied on some of the country's more successful magazine consultants, *Southern Voices* toward the end of 1974 was operating at a deficit at a time when a modest profit had been projected. Rather than incur a larger deficit, publication

was postponed, pending the results of a subscription renewal campaign and the acquisition of more capital. By December renewals were running at approximately the level of what we set for continued operation. Efforts toward finding new capital, in a period of economic recession, have not been as successful. At year's end, it was uncertain as to whether the necessary funds could be found to resume publication.

Southern Investigative Research Project

In its first year and a half of operation the Southern Investigative Research Project (a special project under the publications and information division) funded 21 proposals and marketed 13. Stories funded by the Project have appeared in the *New York Times* and *New Times*, but they have mostly been published by smaller periodicals with more localized circulation.

Because it has been felt that articles have not been given as wide distribution as possible, the Advisory Committee of the Project, which is composed of some of the South's leading journalists, met in August, 1974 to review and evaluate the project to that point. Several policy revisions emerged. The principle change will be a shift from an essentially passive role in receiving topics from potential writers to a more active one of selecting topics that need to be examined and matching them up with writers who have the interest and expertise to produce them. While still responding to unsolicited proposals, the Project will in the future work in closer relationship with grantees, impose more editing on the finished product, and work to broaden the circulation market.

VI. OTHER 1974 SRC ACTIVITIES

From March, 1974, through November the Council was involved as technical consultant on Human Resources and Public Services in preparation of a report and recommendations for the Southern Growth Policies Board's Commission on the Future of the South. A team of staffers from every section of the organization worked to produce the report, drawing upon the experience and knowledge of top consultants, reports, and research already done -- as well as on SRC's own research -- in the fields of health, housing, manpower, income maintenance and social services. The Technical Committee and the staff met together four times during the spring and summer of 1974 and informal contact was frequent during intervals between meetings.

The final report of the Technical Committee, accepted in large measure by the Commission, reflected the Technical Committee's sensitivity, experience with, and concern for the problems of the poor and minorities in the South and that Committee's strong stand that these problems must be faced realistically and forthrightly.

Further work is planned by SRC itself with the publication, strategic distribution and field use of a series of working papers in a number of areas investigated during the course of our work with the Commission.

NATHAN T. GARRETT
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
1071 E. PARRISH STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701
TELEPHONE (919) 688-6253

DEWITT SULLIVAN
Principal Associate

Member
American Institute Of
Certified Public Accountants

February 26, 1975

Members
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

We have examined the balance sheet of Southern Regional Council, Inc. (a Georgia Nonprofit Corporation) as of December 31, 1974 and the related statements of revenue and expenditures and changes in fund balances for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances. We did not audit the expenditures from Ford Grant #730-0404A in the amount of $110,000 to the South Carolina Council For Human Rights. This grant is being audited by other independent certified public accountants.

In our opinion, the accompanying balance sheet and the related statements of revenues and expenditures and changes in fund balances present fairly the financial position of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. at December 31, 1974 and the results of operations for the year then ended, except the grant to the South Carolina Council For Human Rights mentioned above, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Nathan T. Garrett
Certified Public Accountant

EXHIBIT I — BALANCE SHEET DECEMBER 31, 1974

ASSETS			
CURRENT ASSETS			
Cash on Hand and in Bank		$ 25,862.76	
Loans and Advances to Organizations	$25,413.72		
Less, Estimated Uncollectible	12,200.00	13,213.72	
Accounts Receivable	$ 6,559.73		
Less, Estimated Uncollectible	1,641.35	4,918.38	
Travel Advances		4,398.16	
Inventory- Supplies		10,383.38	
Contracts Receivable		50,314.52	
Grants Receivable- Ford Foundation		550,000.00	
Other Grants Receivable		594,112.00	
Total Current Assets			$1,253,202.92
Furniture and Equipment (Note 2)		$ 61,626.98	
Less, Valuation Reserve		61,626.98	-
TOTAL ASSETS			$1,253,202.92
LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES			
CURRENT LIABILITIES			
Notes Payable- Equipment		$ 25,269.67	
Accounts Payable		90,324.86	
Accrued Payroll Taxes and Retirement		31,670.89	
Grants Payable- Investigative Journalism		6,587.40	
Unearned Subscriptions- Southern Voices		48,905.46	
Total Current Liabilities			$ 202,758.28
Note Payable- Ford Foundation (Recoverable Grant)			150,000.00
FUND BALANCES - (Note 1)			$ 900,444.64
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES			$1,253,202.92

STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES AND DEFERRED REVENUE
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1974

EXHIBIT II

	TOTAL	FUND BALANCES	DEFERRED REVENUE-GENERAL SUPPORT	DEFERRED REVENUE-SPECIAL PROJECTS	DEFERRED REVENUE-GRANTS, AWARDS & CONTRIBUTIONS
Balance at 1/1/74	$1,771,650.29	$10,899.34	$1,001,899.02	$ 758,851.93	$ -
Amount Defunded	(198,779.26)	-	-	(198,779.26)	-
Transfer	-	-	30,000.00	(30,000.00)	-
Grants, Contributions, and Income	1,985,120.37	1,245.00	493,690.17	1,244,660.11	245,525.09
Total Available	$3,557.991.40	$12,144.34	$1,525,589.19	$1,774,732.78	$245,525.09
Expenditures	2,657,546.76	-	1,451,932.91	985,890.39	219,723.46
Balance at 12/31/74	$ 900,444.64	$12,144.34	$ 73,656.28	$ 788,842.39	$ 25,801.63

EXHIBIT III

COMBINED STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1974

REVENUES (Note 1)	TOTAL	SRC GENERAL SUPPORT	SRC SPECIAL PROGRAMS & PROJECTS	GRANTS, AWARDS & CONTRIBUTIONS
Grant- Ford Foundation	$ 928,242.75	$ 928,242.75	$ -	$ -
Grants- Other	1,523,613.85	318,000.00	985,890.39	219,723.46
Other Income	205,690.17	205,690.17	-	-
Total	$2,657,546.77	$1,451.932.92	$985,890.39	$219,723.46
EXPENDITURES				
Salaries and Benefits	$1,064,650.14	$ 708,285.04	$356,365.10	$ -
Travel and Meetings	263,035.33	130,595.28	132,440.05	-
Office Costs	238,291.54	153,338.16	84,953.38	-
Contracted Services	166,664.96	94,960.09	71,704.87	-
Furniture and Equipment	44,836.47	36.650.17	8,186.30	
Stipends to Interns	69,706.51	29,160.66	40,545.85	-
Promotion & Printing	272,220.61	252,519.01	19,701.60	-
Bad Debts	14,091.35	14,091.35	-	-
Other Operating Expenses	147,206.31	26,183.16	121,023.15	-
Grants and Awards	376,843.55	6,150.00	150,970.09	219,723.46
Total	$2,657,546.77	$1,451,932.92	$985,890.39	$219,723.46

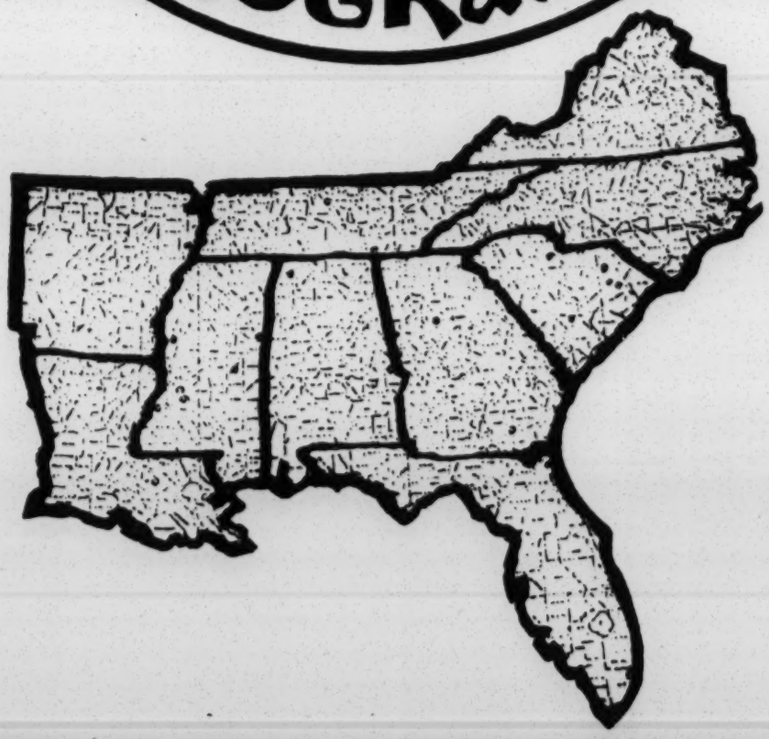
Note 1: The Corporation has adopted the accounting policy of recognizing grant revenue at an interim date only to the extent of related expenditures. As a result of this policy, all funds for future operations are reflected in the balance sheet as Deferred Revenue.

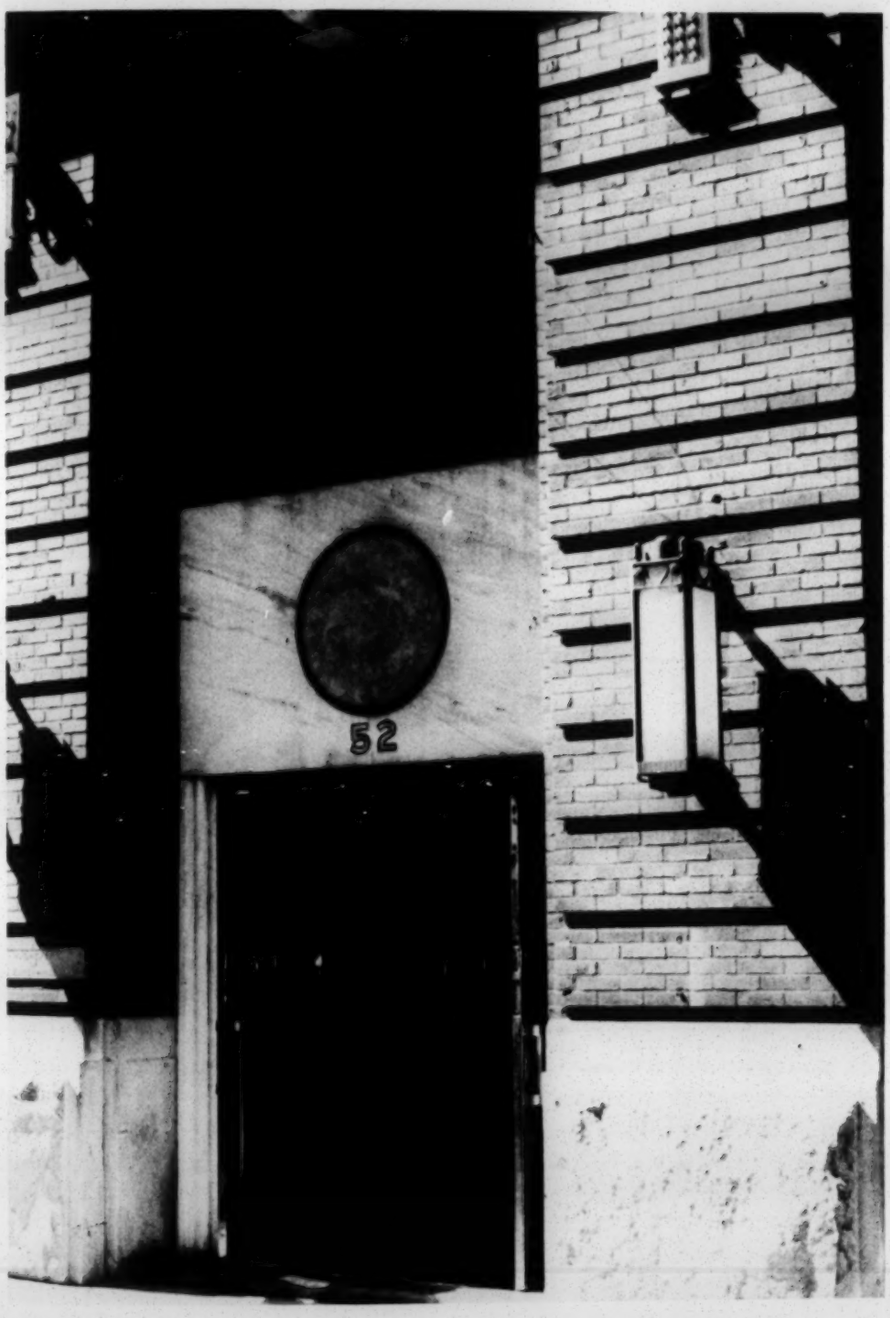
Note 2: During the calendar year 1973, the Corporation adopted the policy of maintaining control records of furniture and equipment. The furniture and Equipment shown represent purchases made during the calendar years 1973 and 1974.

The

eLDeePean

1974 - 75





ELDEEPEAN
1975

Leadership Development Program
Atlanta, Georgia

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH PARTICIPATION

Orientation of the Current Fellows at the 1974 Sixth Annual LDP Conference

Development is all encompassing, which includes: dinner, chitchatting, and attending lectures.

Mid-Year Conference Activities

1. When Mr. Chavis speaks, everyone listens attentively

2. Dr. Groomes explains some interesting facts to Vanessa and James

3. Fellows take a break at Mid-Year Conference

4. Hazel and Willie check agenda

5. Janye Clement, Sister Julian, and Randy Lockett share a laugh

1. Mrs. Mary Allen Jolley, Consultant, pauses briefly to make telephone call between sessions

2. Clockwise, Dexter Montgomery, Dorothy McDuffie, Evelyn Miller, Marjorie Brandon, Zola Leonard, and Cheryl Smith - all listen as Zola tells interesting story

3. Irma Jimmie, Emma Barnes, Beverly Nichols, Sister Julian, and Hazel Wood - Mid-Year Conference

4. William Grant, John Askew and Juanita McAdory smile after attending the last session of the conference

5. Mr. K. Z. Chavis, my work is never done

It is indeed fitting that Joe Poston should be recognized and honored by this yearbook dedication, as he recognizes and responds to the best in each of us, for he renders a tremendous service of permanent value to the Leadership Development Program.

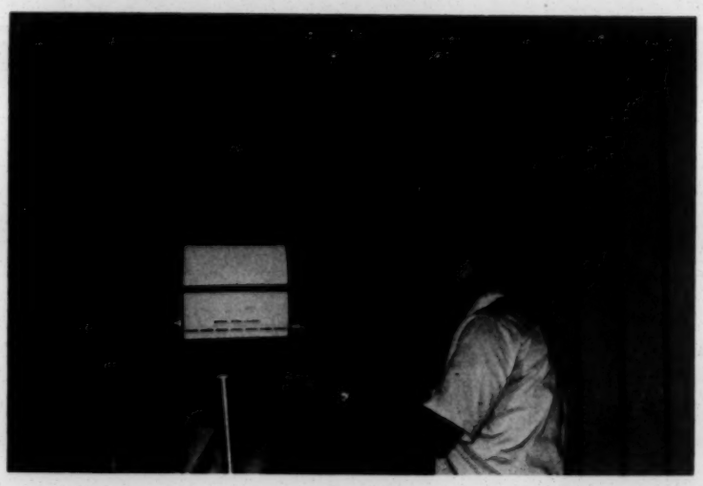
Joe Poston has learned that no lesson in life building needs greater emphasis than the need of vision as to what one can do with his life. Coming from a very humble background as a member of a large family of poor sharecroppers in west Tennessee, he was able to visualize a great possible future for himself and others like him.

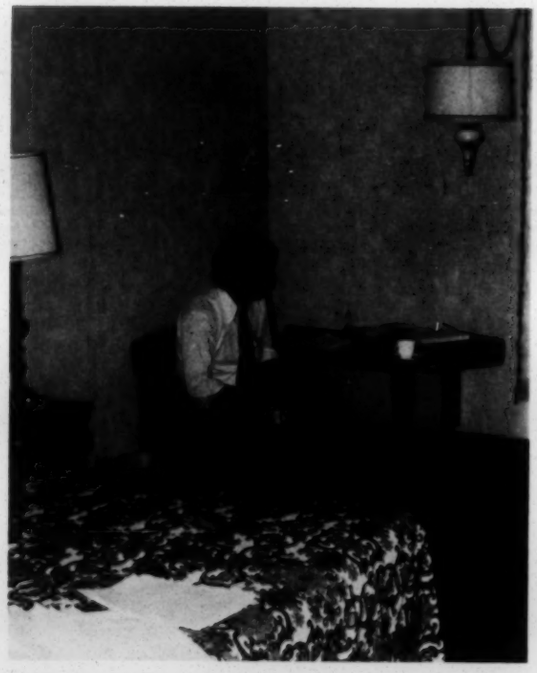
He has seen the need to place himself before others and keep in the mind of others the growing necessity for the improvement of human conditions. He is constantly striving to share his vision, not only of the hidden potentials of humankind, but the marvelous uses that one can make of one's life.

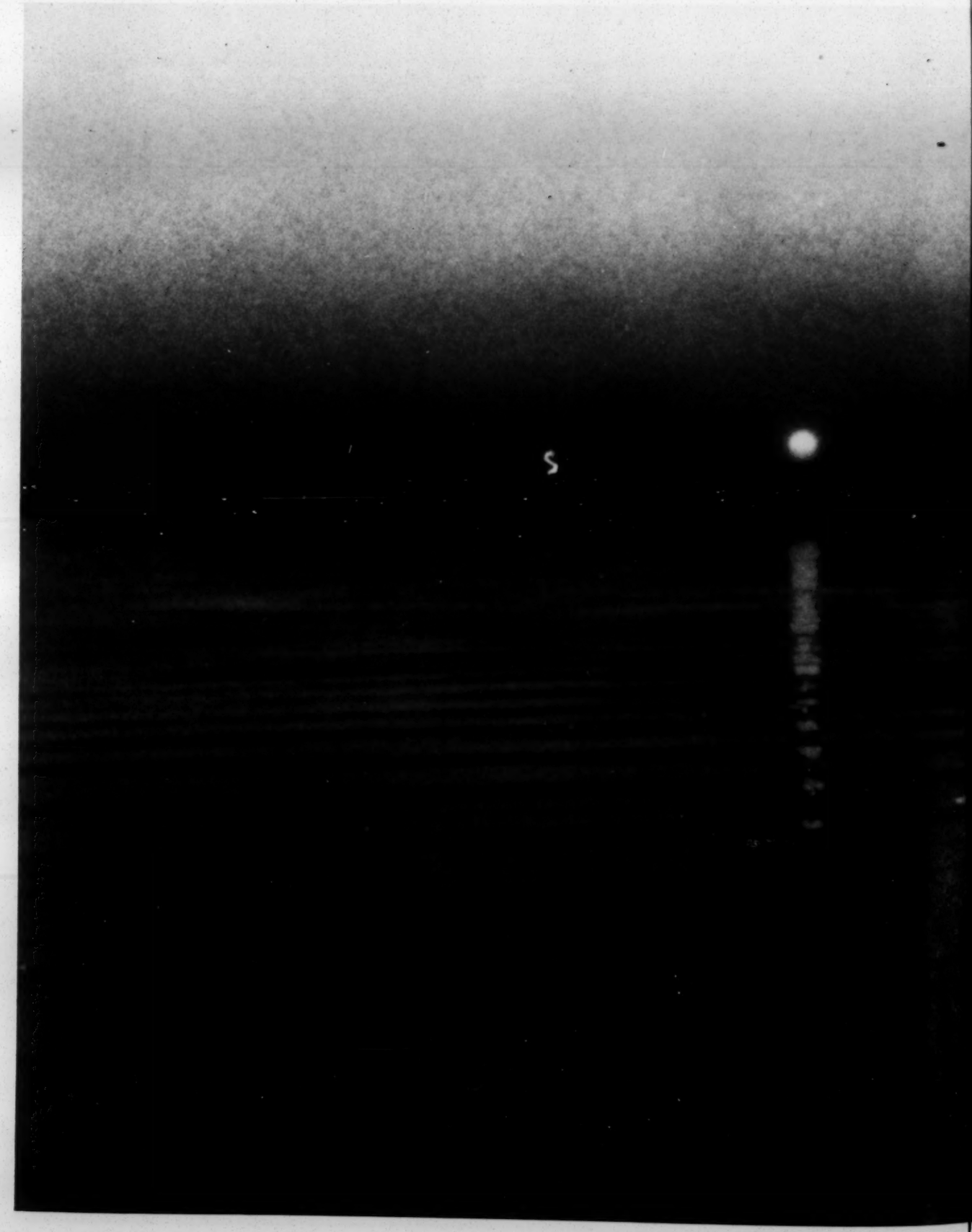
No greater power comes to a man like Joe Poston than his passion for service to other human beings. I personally know that this is the value and essence of his existence. Whenever others come into contact with Joe Poston, there is a growing passion to serve others. As this passion for service grips the lives of all who are associated with him, even the romantic, menial, or ugly things come to hold a fascination and delight, because of his great objectivity.

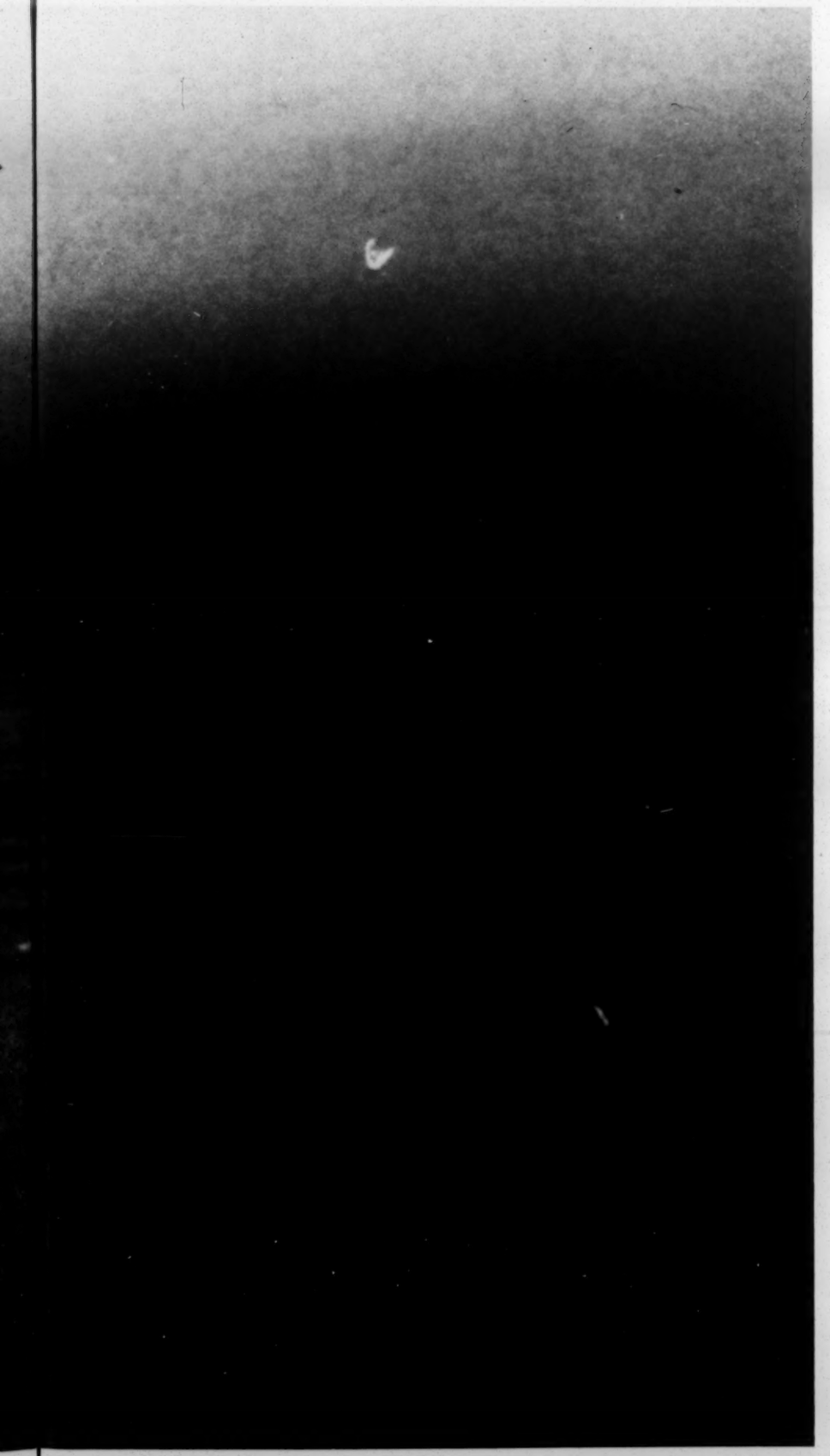
Our civilization would be incomplete without leaders such as Joe Poston, for he surveys the field, becomes thoroughly enthused over the work, and prepares carefully not only to teach but to overcome indifference.

Joe Poston gives sympathy and empathy to those in need, time and effort to community and human improvement, and encouragement and guidance to those he finds struggling on the pathways of life, regardless of their station. He has earned the respect of intelligent men and women, and has won their affection as well. Joe Poston lives life to the fullest extent, laughs freely and often, and loves much.







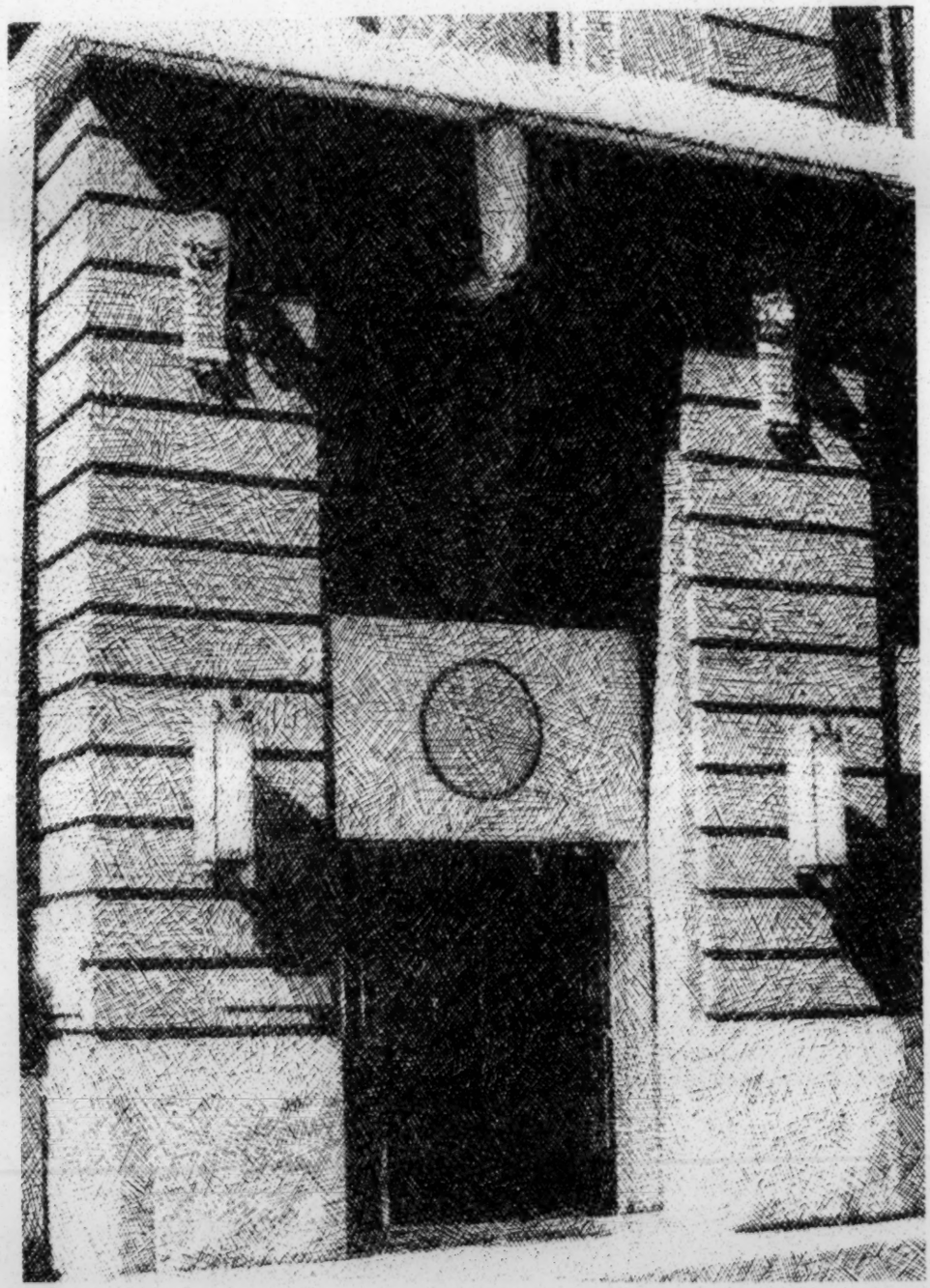


DEDICATION
to
MR. JOSEPH LEWIS HARRIS

In dedication to Mr. Joseph Lewis Harris, who during his short but purposeful life, gave more than his full measure of devotion and dedication to the cause of human development and civil rights and who at the time of his death yearned to do more.

Mr. Harris, known to many as "Joe," believed that all men possessed worth and dignity and in his own humble way demonstrated his worthiness and emitted to many a dignity that was unsurpassed.

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT — HISTORY



I'd like to be the sort of friend that you have been to me,
I'd like to be the help that you've been always glad to be,
I'd like to mean as much to you each minute of the day
As you have meant, old friend of mine, to me along the way.

Edgar A. Guest

The history of the Leadership Development Program is rich in its help and assistance to many people. Because of this program we are much better people, so let us now share what it is with you and what it has done and is doing for the Southeastern part of the United States.

There are many individuals in the rural areas of the South who are unobtrusively struggling to improve their educational systems and communities. Products, themselves, of the isolation and inadequate services, they have defined the many problems in education, health, housing, economics, and politics, but are frustrated in their efforts to find solutions. Yet, they are committed to trying, and to remaining in their home communities, and to searching for effective approaches to developing their home land and to bettering the lives of their neighbors and, most important, the lives of the next generation.

The Leadership Development Program seeks to identify and develop this often hidden talent in the rural South. Begun in 1967 under the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Leadership Development Program has awarded over 200 Fellowships. Originally conceived to find and fund public elementary and secondary teachers in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the Program has expanded its outreach to include individuals more broadly involved in educational reform and community development, recognizing the significant impact of the entire community system on educational efforts and outputs.

Administered directly by the Ford Foundation for its first seven years, the Program in 1974 became a special project of the Southern Regional Council and has expanded its geographical area to more closely coincide with that organization's boundaries, and has included the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and the boot heel of Missouri.

1. Mr. Chavis addresses fellows and guests at Annual Conference

DONALDSON BROWN CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION, VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY, THE SITE OF ANNUAL AND MID-YEAR CONFERENCES

Leadership Development Program efforts are based on the belief that the most valuable agents of change are those individuals who understand the intricacies, mores, and norms of their particular system, and who have a vested interest in improving that system because it is their home and the home of their children. The fellowship program is based on offering these individuals exposure and first hand experience with organizations and individuals throughout the country, and in some instances, throughout the world who are involved in reform efforts. Thus, established leaders of innovation agree to serve as Mentors, and welcome the LDP Fellow as an intern and apprentice in their organization. A typical Fellow would intern at five or six different locations during his Fellowship year, gaining exposure to various leadership styles, and different strategies and approaches to development, as eclectically he seeks to develop his own plan, program and style, appropriate to his own personality and the needs and particularities of his home community.

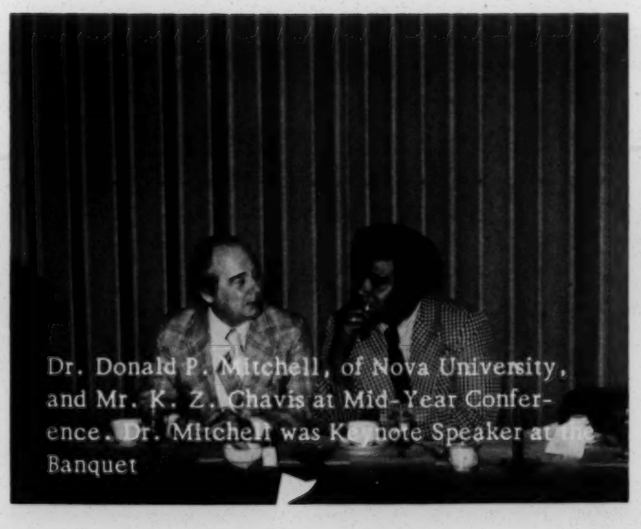
While not designed as a degree oriented program, a number of Fellows have profited also from course work and independent study at various universities throughout the country. The Leadership Development Program is unique in that there are no educational requirements for entry into the program. Many applicants have been deprived of early educational opportunities, victims of the tenant farm system and no compulsory school attendance laws, but are self-educated through their experience. One such LDP Fellow came in the program with only a sixth grade education and returned to his community to become the first black county commissioner ever elected to his county. On the other hand, another LDP Fellow was able to complete his Masters degree at a leading school of educational administration while on the program, and returned to his community as a key administrator in the school system.

Working toward achieving non-discrimination in the Region, the Program's selection criteria and process reflect that goal. While an emphasis has been placed on recruiting individuals in the age range of 25-35, many individuals older and younger have been selected. Men and women have been selected in equal proportion, throughout the seven years, as the program pioneered in recognizing the rights and outstanding leadership potential of women. The color of one's skin has never been a deterrent to one's selection, as the Program has sought to develop a coalition of black and white leadership efforts, cognizant of the importance of unity in developing a truly new South.

Rather, selection has been based on that often elusive quality to define - "leadership potential." A panel of leading Southerners in their respective fields, from university deans to grass roots community organizers, have served as the Selection Committee, and each year grappled with the difficult decisions of selecting Fellows. Interviewed a total of five different times, a candidate is queried regarding his past involvements and commitments, his proposed program, and his vision, as efforts are made to select tomorrow's future leaders. The rigor of selection has proven invaluable, as LDP Fellows, often enticed by lucrative job offers outside the region, have returned home at increasingly high rates, so that ninety-five percent of those awarded fellowships are now actively involved in reform efforts within the region, or are pursuing further education with plans to return. Working at many different levels, LDP Post Fellows can be found throughout the South, quietly and effectively trying out their new skills and knowledge, developing and implementing programs and plans to improve situations in the rural areas.

In the business of developing new leadership in the South, the Leadership Development Program, itself, has developed over the past seven years, as it has successfully adjusted to changing strategies, priorities, and programs in the region. Each individual has been recognized as possessing a unique set of needs, skills, hopes, and fears, as his Fellowship Program was developed and modified accordingly. As an adult education program, through the utilization of staff input, information and experience, individualized programming and experience-based learning have been proven to be viable approaches to developing leaders.

Begun as an experimental program, the Leadership Development Program has continuously guided the development of its Fellows, and through them, numerous reform and development efforts throughout the South, and looks forward to many years of continued service and intervention wherever there is a need for the development of new leadership.



Dr. Donald P. Mitchell, of Nova University, and Mr. K. Z. Chavis at Mid-Year Conference. Dr. Mitchell was Keynote Speaker at the Banquet

Chamber[illegible] havis, Al Robert[illegible] Mel Scurlock

Mary P. Rafferty
Assistant Program Officer

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
PUBLIC EDUCATION

Dear Friends,

I would like to congratulate the whole Leadership Development Program--staff, Post Fellows and particularly the 1974-75 LDP Fellows--on this first full year of leadership development under the Southern Regional Council.

I have been associated with the program since 1972 and have been privileged to be able to participate in some of your activities and to meet many of you. The changing structure of my relationship with the program now that it has passed from direct Ford Foundation administration leaves me fewer opportunities to make direct contact with all of you. However, be assured that I keep up to date with your activities through the SRC/LDP office, that I continue to have an interest in what is happening in the region, and that I wish you all success in your current and future activities.

Sincerely,

PA Rafferty

Mary P. Rafferty
Assistant Program Officer

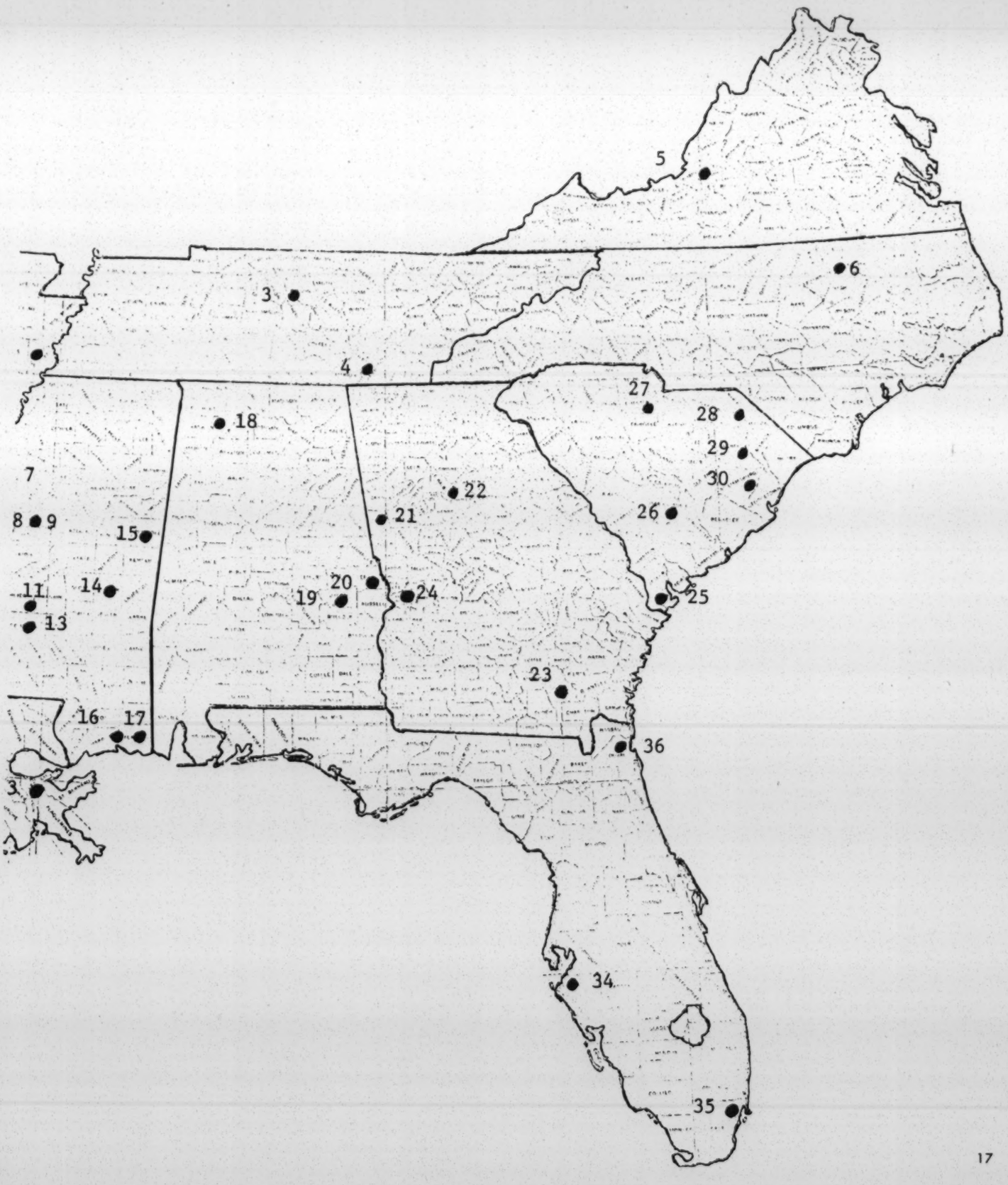
For over thirty years, the Southern Regional Council has been advocating and working for the ideals and practices of equal opportunities for all peoples in the South. During this time, the Council's efforts have been to alert, sensitize, educate and mobilize Southerners on the issues which will determine how well this region develops and produces opportunity and a better quality of life for its people. It was particularly appropriate, therefore, that the sponsorship of the Leadership Development Program was assumed by the Council in 1974, for to a large degree any effort to improve the lives of the South's poor and minorities requires a cadre of dedicated and talented leaders working for the realization of equal opportunity within a local community.

There are numerous talented people throughout the South, but a large proportion of them will never emerge among the ranks of the region's leadership. The Leadership Development Program, because it has a vision and because it recognizes young people of vision, is able to bring into its program those talented Southerners who will most benefit from exposure and first hand experience with others involved in reform efforts. Within the framework of each individual's personal vision, your Fellowship experiences thus produce spiralling effects for those in your communities because the qualities you originally brought into the program -- talent and dedication-- have been sharpened and strengthened. The future of the South depends upon the leadership of those Southerners who will fix the policies and the directions of the future, and upon whether those directions elevate justice and opportunity to positions of real priority. The Leadership Development Program, through its Fellows, gives me cause to be optimistic.

Fellows were selected from the

1. Otto Bishop, Jr. - Winslow, AR
2. Rev. Joseph Brown - Gilmore, AR
3. Mike Blackmon - Mt. Juliet, TN
4. Claude Swafford - Jasper, TN
5. Harvey Shelton - Roanoke, VA
6. Robert Myatt - Manson, NC
7. David Washington - Pace, MS
8. Barbara McCoy - Greenville, MS
9. Charles McLaurin - Indianola, MS
10. Bennie Thompson - Bolton, MS
11. Jeanell Kidd - Jackson, MS
12. Marjorie Brandon)
    Evan Doss)Port Gibson, MS
    James Miller)
13. Juanita McAdory - Utica, MS
14. Irma Jimmie - Philadelphia, MS
15. John Askew - West Point, MS
16. Bernard Barnes - Pascagoula, MS
17. Tom Hewlett - Moss Point, MS
18. Charles Carter - Muscle Shoals, AL
19. Beverly Nichols - Tuskegee, AL
20. Doris Dickerson - Opelika, AL
21. Donald Nixon - Carrollton, GA
22. Bill Chamberlain - Atlanta, GA
23. Harry Hamm - Waycross, GA
24. Sister Julian Griffin - Columbus, GA
25. William Grant - Burton, SC
26. Jayne Clement) Orangeburg, SC
    Joseph Rice)
27. Hazel Wood - Chester, SC
28. Byard Stone - Bennettsville, SC
29. Dorothy McDuffie) Florence, SC
    Evelyn Miller)
30. Robert Graham - Lake City, SC
31. Emma Barnes - Palmetto, LA
32. Willie Hawkins - Baton Rouge, LA
33. Robert Ferris - New Orleans, LA
34. Zola Leonard - St. Petersburg, FL
35. Bernard Dyer - Miami, FL
36. Randy Lockett - Jacksonville, FL

following states in the southeastern region:

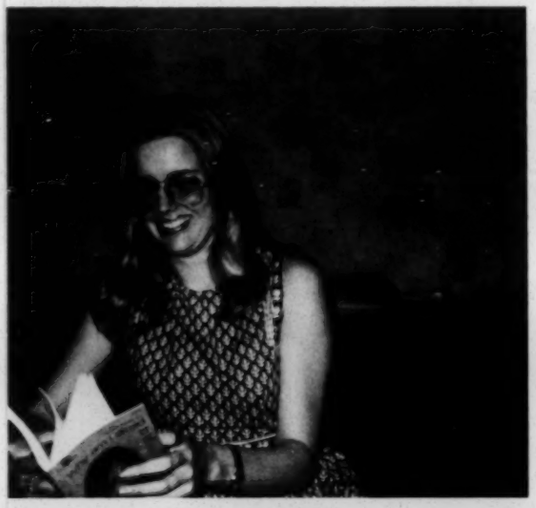


Did you know you were brave, did you know you were strong?
Did you know there was one leaning hard?
Did you know that I waited and listened and prayed,
And was cheered by your simplest word?
Did you know that I longed for that smile on your face,
For the sound of your voice ringing true?
Did you know I grew stronger and better because
I had merely touched shoulders with you? . . .

Unknown

You, the staff of the Leadership Development Program, are an efficient organization, competent, highly trained, and thorough. We salute you and thank you for allowing us to touch shoulders with you.

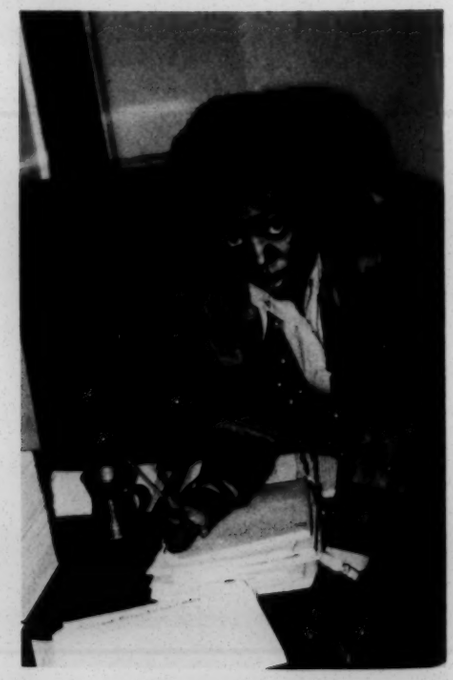
Dorothy Wright



Dot Routh

Mel Scurlock

Left to right. Mel Scurlock, Dorothy Wright, Joe Poston, Dot Routh, Mr. K. Z. Chavis



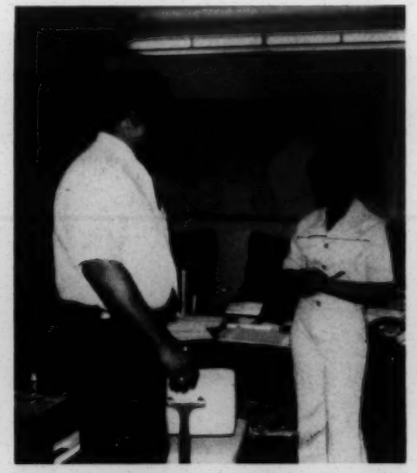
Al Roberts

K. Z. Chavis - The warmth of a smile is always welcome

The LDP staff is constantly striving for the wealth of personality, seeking new knowledge, and increasing their capacity for achievement. Their recognition that they are indeed "a part of all whom I have met" is reflected not only in their professional commitment to the Program, but in their hopes and best wishes for every Fellow - "so friend, of me, you are a wholesome part." J. J. Bailey best describes the LDP staff when he says they

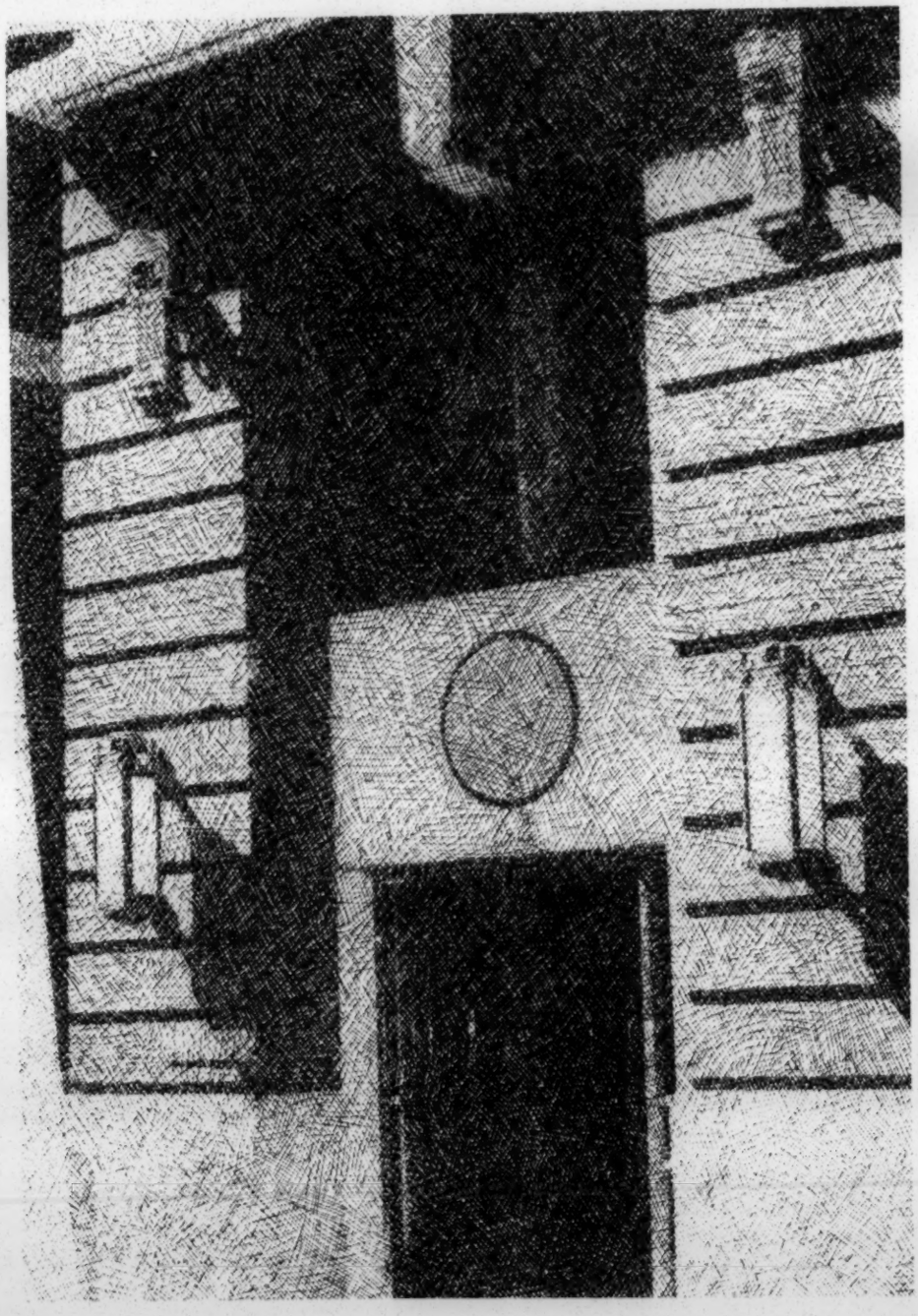
"live in deeds, not in years; in
thoughts, not breaths;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial . . ."

Herbert Link, K. Z. Chavis, Dr. Bill Flowers - sharing a funny story



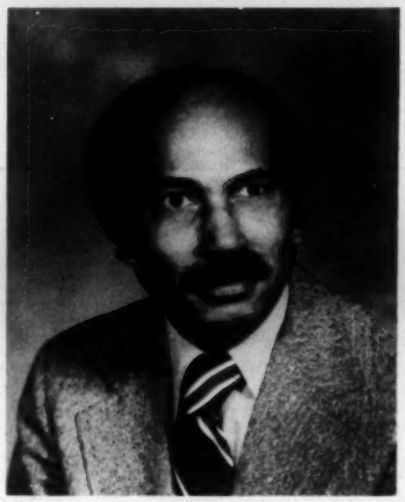
K. Z. Chavis, Dorothy Wright - Mr. Chavis explains details to secretary Dorothy Wright

SELECTION COMMITTEE MEMBERS



Without you this year would not have been possible for us.
"There may have been someone who could have done more
To help me along, though I doubt it;
What I needed was cheering, and always before
They had let me plod onward without it.
You helped to refashion the dream of my heart,
And made me turn eagerly to it;
There were others who might have
But, after all, they didn't do it! . . .

DR. WILEY S. BOLDEN, Professor of Educational Foundations and Member of the School of General Studies Advisory Faculty, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia; Consultant for Southern Education Foundation, The Technical Assistance Consortium to Improve College Services, National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, the Academy for Educational Development, Inc., University Associates, and Kent State University Center for Educational Development and Strategic Services.



JOAN FIRST, Director of Consumer Information, Arkansas Health Systems Foundation (AHSF). Technical writer on design team for statewide, federally funded Emergency Medical Services System; assisted the Arkansas Health Statistics Center in writing technical reports from data gathered by a statewide health care needs survey; and has been engaged in the design and implementation of a multi-media information program for health care consumers.

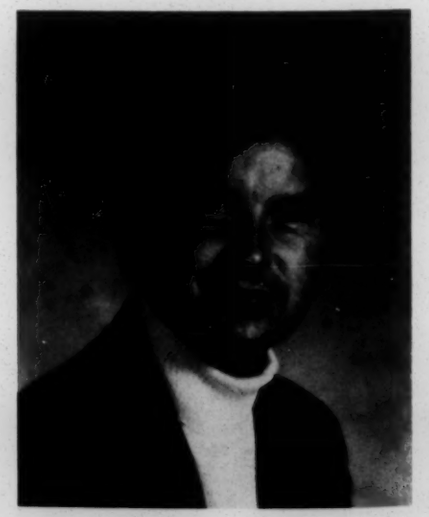
WINIFRED GREEN, is director of the Southeastern Public Education Program of the American Friends Service Committee. From her Atlanta based office, she carries on a program in quality education that reaches into five states - Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

RUFUS HUFFMAN, Southeast Educational Field Director, NAACP; Board of Directors, Southern Poverty Law Center; Member of Board, Alabama Coalition for Better Education; Chairman, Bullock County Recreation Association; Member, Advisory Committee, Union Springs, Alabama; LDP Post Fellow; Chairman, Western Division Post Fellows Association.

PHILLIP MARTIN, Tribal Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; President of the Board of Directors, Chata Development Company, Philadelphia, Mississippi; President of the Board of Regents, Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, Kansas; former Executive Director, Choctaw Community Action Agency; former President of the Board of Directors, United Southeastern Tribes, Inc., Sarasota, Florida; ex-officio member of Regional Mental Health Committee; member of the National Tribal Chairmens Association of Washington, D.C.; member of the Board of Directors, National Training and Research Center, Arizona State University.

FATHER A. J. McKNIGHT, Served on the OEO Task Force to advise Donald Rumfield, the new director of OEO; served on the Goals for Louisiana Task Force on economic development; founder of Southern Consumers' Cooperative; organized Peoples' Enterprise, a small loan company and has served on its Board of Directors for five years; Director, Southern Cooperative Development Fund.

VIDALIA McTEER, Speech Pathologist, Meharry Medical College's Children and Youth Program, Nashville, Tennessee; Clinical coordinator; Chairperson, Comprehensive Health Services - Children and Youth Program Staff Committee; Faculty Resource Person, Leadership University, Florence, South Carolina; LDP Post Fellow.



HOWELL G. MIMS, LDP Post Fellow; coordinator of Federal Programs, Okolona Public Schools, Okolona, Miss.; Member, Mississippi Education Association, AASA, Phi Delta Kappa.

DR. T. J. PINNOCK, Director, Human Resources Development Center, and Associate Professor, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; President, Multi-Racial Corporation, and Environmental and Recycling Foundation; Director and Co-Producer of Film, "Close to Home;" Consultant to HEW, OEO, USAID in rural development; National Advisory Board Member, Community Education.

MARTHA L. WASHINGTON, Display Supervisor, Army and Air Force Exchange Service, Wetumpka, Alabama; Candidate for Elmore County Board of Education; Substitute Elementary Teacher; Member of Board of Leadership University; Elmore County's Civic and Voters League, Wetumpka's P.T.O., Elmore County NAACP, Wetumpka Concerned Citizens and Millbrook Improvement Association; LDP Post Fellow.

LUCY R. WATKINS, Program Officer in Charge of Research and Information, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia; Staff Member, SRC Consultancy for Technical Committee on Human Resources and Public Services for the Commission on the Future of the South, Southern Growth Policies Board; Staff Member, Education Task Force, and Program Committee.

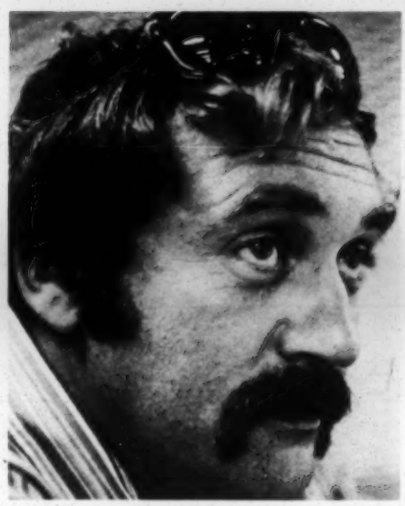
MILDRED M. WILLIAMS, Assistant Supervisor of Elementary Education and Follow Through Coordinator, Mississippi State Department of Education, Jackson, Mississippi; Member of Trustee Board of Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; Chairman of Minority Affairs, Mississippians for Educational Television; Member of the Boards of Operation Shoe String, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, and Jackson Education Task Force; LDP Post Fellow.

LINDA BULLOCH, formerly Coordinator of Community Relations, Columbia, South Carolina Public Schools; Author and Researcher, educational materials, drama, and poetry; LDP Post Fellow and Consultant for LDP Regional Study; Research Specialist, Center for Research and Social Change, Emory University, Atlanta.

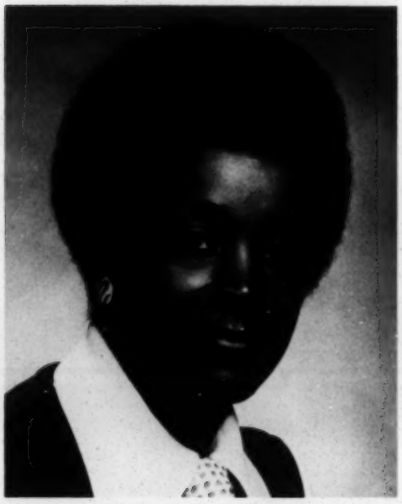
CALLIE B. COAXUM, on leave from Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina, is presently pursuing the Ph.D. in Higher Education at Southern Illinois University. Her area of concentration is Academic Administration with allied emphasis on Adult and Continuing Education.

DR. WILLIAM FLOWERS, JR., Associate Dean, Extension Division, Director, Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia; National Chairman of Legislative Policies Committee, Adult Education Association of U.S.A.; Member of the Board, Human Resource Development Center, Tuskegee Institute; Institutional Representative, Virginia Personnel Advisory Committee on Programs.

DR. MARGUERITE S. FRIERSON, retired Chairman of the Department of Education and Director of Placement, Fayetteville State University, Fayetteville, North Carolina; Consultant, Secondary School Study of Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Member of the N.C. State Committee on the Reorganization of Teacher Education, and N.C. State Advisory Committee on Vocational Education.



LUKE GILL, Head, Department of Social Work, LaGrange College; Title III Director for the Crisis Center, Volunteer Services, and Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Program; Selection Committee Member, Senator Sam Nunn's Washington Interns; Advisory Council Member, Troop County Mental Health Council; Advisory Board Member, Chattahoochee Area Health District; LDP Post Fellow.

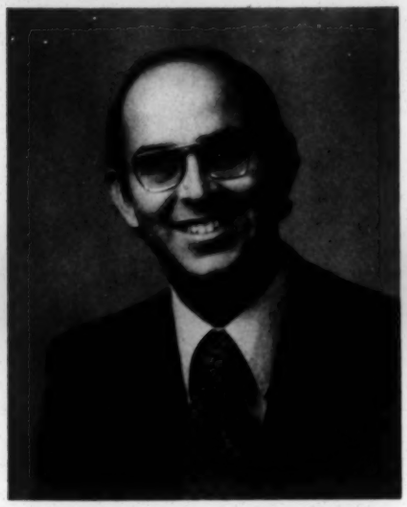


DR. FREDDIE GROOMES, member, Administrative Council, Florida State University's Affirmative Action Program; Assistant to the President at Florida State University, responsible for the University's Human Support Program; United States Delegate to the Fourth International Conference of Science and Society; member of American Association of Higher Education, American Personnel Guidance Association, National Education Association, American Vocational Association, Kappa Delta Pi, and the National Association for Minorities.

DR. BARBARA JACKSON, Associate Professor of Educational Administration; Director, Doctoral Program in Educational Administration, Department of Administration, School of Education, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia; Atlanta University Chairman, Spencer Foundation Research Grant Committee; Member, Professional Development Committee, School of Education; Local Coordinator, Danforth Foundation; School Administrator Program of the Atlanta Public Schools; Board of Directors, Consortium for Educational Leadership, Chicago, Illinois.

Picture
Not
Available

HAWK LITTLEJOHN, Advisor to Area Health Education; Traditional Medicine Man for the Cherokee Indians, Cherokee, North Carolina; Member of the Board, Southern Regional Council; Member of the Board, Highlander Research and Education Center, Knoxville, Tennessee; Quarry (or Qualler) Boundary Cherokee Traditional; Key to the City, Cleveland, Tennessee; LDP Post Fellow (Region-at-Large).



HAYES MIZELL, Director, South Carolina Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee; Member of Board of Directors, ACLU of South Carolina, and Penn Community Services; Member, Richland County District No. 1 Board of School Commissioners, 1971-74.

JAMES C. TAYLOR, South Carolina Department of Mental Retardation, Education and Developmental Disabilities Director; National Education Association, American Personnel and Guidance Association, Phi Delta Kappa, South Carolina Personnel and Guidance Association, South Carolina Education Association, South Carolina School Psychological Association, American Psychological Association, Pee Dee Retardation Foundation; LDP Post Fellow.

Picture
Not
Available

FRED L. WILLIAMS, Program Developer and Director of Neighborhood Services of the Florence County OEO; Chairman of S.C. Post Fellows Association; Co-Founder of Leadership University; Member of Boards of Pee Dee Vocational Rehabilitation Facility; S.C. Human Resource Development Corp. and Board of Education and Vocations of the Presbyterian Synod of the South; President of S.C. Equal Opportunities Officers Association; LDP Post Fellow.

Joe Poston, Dr. Freddie Groomes, Tom Hewlett

COLLIE COLEMAN, former Peace Corps Volunteer in Nigeria; Staff Member of Peace Corps Training Program, Director of Peace Corps Training Programs for Somalia and Kenya - both in U.S. and in the countries mentioned; Assistant to the Dean for Technical Training at Medical School, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Director of Upward Board, School of Education, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and former Program Officer for the U.S. Office of Education, Atlanta Regional Office.

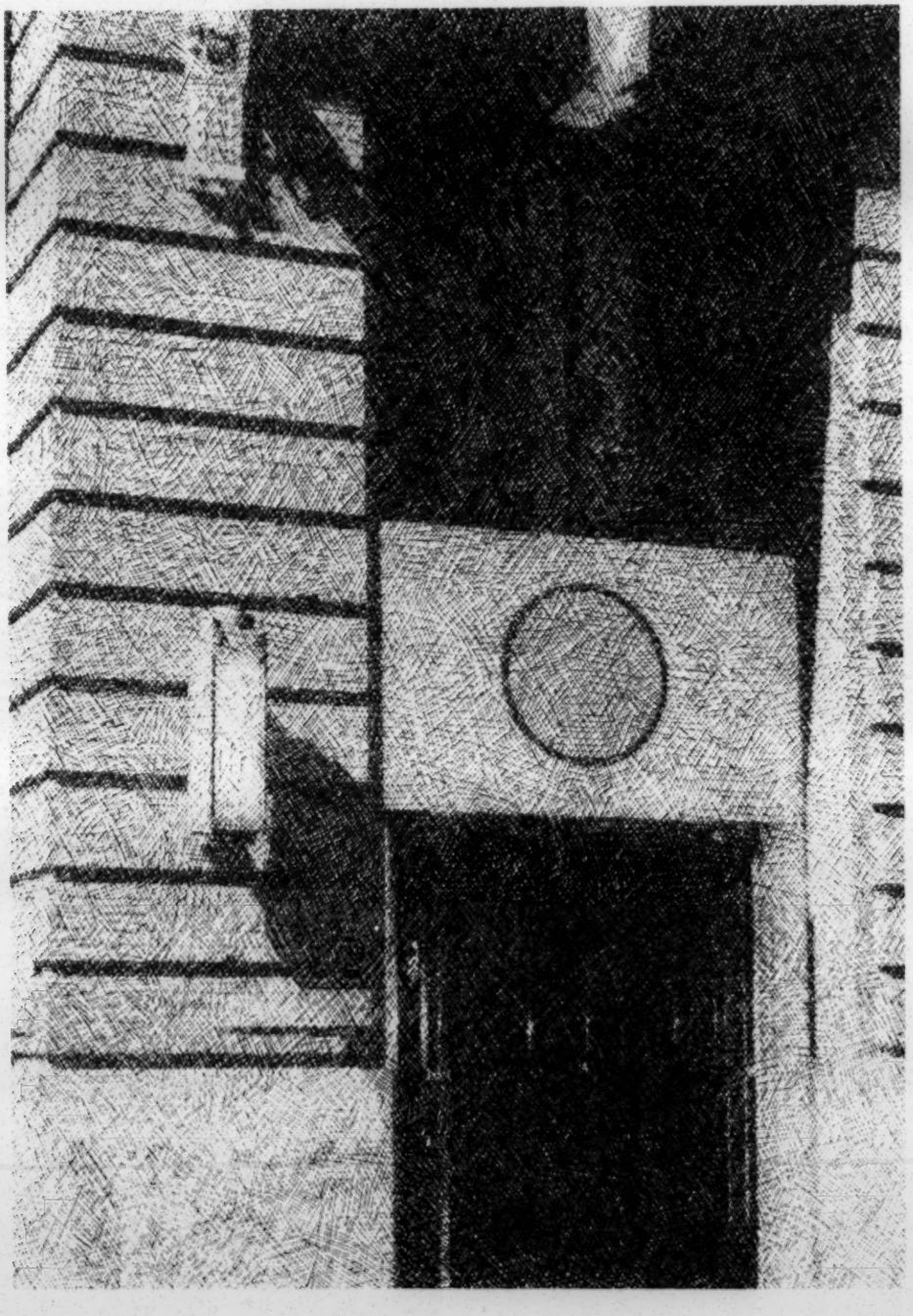
JOE T. POSTON, Independent Training Specialist and Consultant, General Learning Corporation, Resources for Management and Education, Civil Service Commission Regional Training Center, Federal Aviation Administration, and U.S. Department of Labor; LDP Post Fellow; President, Southeast LDP Post Fellows Association.

Jim Taylor, Freddie Williams

Rufus Huffman, Collie Coleman

Hawk Little-John, Mel Scurlock

1974-75 FELLOWS



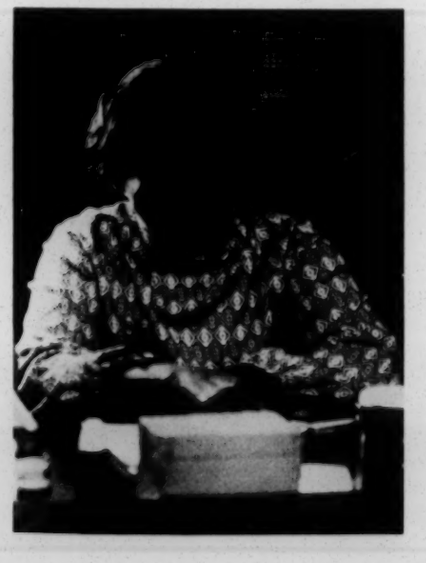
"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep . . .
We intend to continue seeking opportunities, development and new visions through participation.

JOHN ASKEW is Academic and Assistant Director of the Community Education Extension and Director of the CEE Head Start Training Program, Mary Holmes College, West Point, Mississippi.

With a tenacious disregard for apparent obstacles, John seeks to overcome the difficulty of filling the informational and experiential gaps to improve and expand rural extension services at Mary Holmes College. His Program year was designed to allow him to observe and assess program and proposal development oriented toward efforts in education, social services, and development so that they might be implemented in rural Clay County, Mississippi, through Mary Holmes College.

BERNARD BARNES is a Junior Engineer, Ingalls Shipbuilding Division, Pascagoula, Mississippi.

Bernard seeks to encourage small business development in the Moss Point-Pascagoula area. Aware of some of the pitfalls in economic development, he sought a Program that afforded him an opportunity to explore various options and alternatives in terms of future trends and ongoing efforts in the South. Since dissemination of information is a crucial point in effective community involvement, he has been able to observe efforts to provide information, as well as technical assistance, as a form of adult and continuing education, to current and potential minority entrepreneurs.



EMMA E. BARNES is a Community Organizer of the Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Palmetto, Louisiana.

Concerned with housing and other rural development issues, Emma seeks ways and means of making quality low-cost housing available through a local minority contracting firm. Her year has been devoted to acquiring information concerning relevant legislation, federal/state/local resources, legal aspects of housing development, technical assistance programs, and small business management, so that she might benefit the poor and disadvantaged in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana.

MICHAEL L. BLACKMON is Associate Director of the Southern Prison Ministry, Mt. Juliet, Tennessee.

Empathetic to the plight of inmates and ex-offenders, Mike hopes to provide social and educational services as well as meaningful rehabilitation for the incarcerated poor in the South. This year has been an attempt to expand his perspective, increase his knowledge of existing programs, and enhance his own ability to plan and implement service programs that relate to the alienation of the "crime of punishment," in a constructive way.

MARJORIE W. BRANDON is a Justice of the Peace for Claiborne County, Port Gibson, Mississippi.

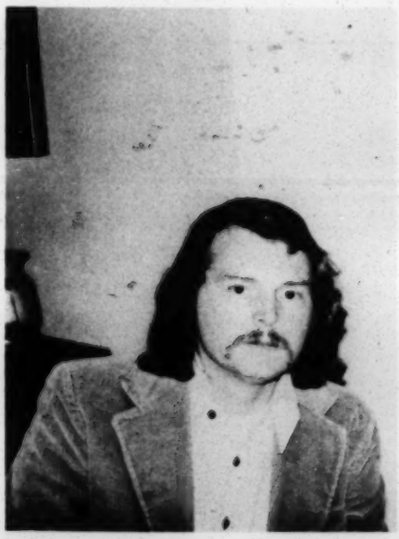
Marjorie has an acute perception of the inadequacies of public education, social service agencies and federal assistance programs in Port Gibson and rural Claiborne County. She sought an academic background in social welfare and on-site experience with a comprehensive rural outreach program. Along with her duties and responsibilities as Justice of the Peace, she believes that these activities will best prepare her to serve the disadvantaged.

JOSEPH B. BROWN is a Minister in Gilmore, Arkansas.

Motivated by a desire for effective change in Gilmore, Arkansas, Reverend Brown realizes it will not come as long as a sewage system is non-existent there. With a dream of a future Gilmore with local employment opportunities and improved municipal, educational and social services, Reverend Brown made on-site visits throughout the state to meet and confer with directors and staffs of agencies and organizations engaged in community development. Hopefully, his expertise will result in the improvement of education, health care, and over-all economic development in rural Gilmore and Crittenden County.

CHARLES L. CARTER is Principal of Avalon Middle School, Muscle Shoals, Alabama.

With a characteristic determination to affect innovation in the educational arena of Muscle Shoals, Alabama, Charles hopes to explore innovative ideas in educational administration and supervision, race relations, and community education. After two summers of intensive study and internships, he will be able to observe and assess the leadership styles of capable and innovative administrators while gaining information and expertise in problem-solving that can be successfully applied to Avalon Middle School.

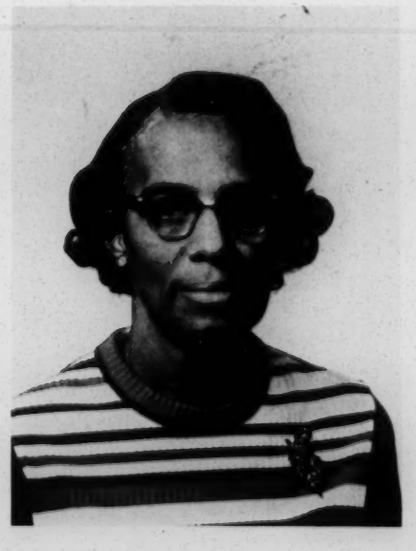


WILLIAM A. CHAMBERLAIN is Director of Health and Welfare of the Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia.

Recognizing the need in the South for a centralized source to provide technical assistance to rural communities for social services delivery systems and rural economic and community development, Bill is committed to correlating effective and comprehensive information and services dissemination and coordination in the areas of economic, social and educational services, including rural housing and health care. He hopes to be able to provide technical aid to rural communities where once-prevalent federal programs are now practically non-existent.

JANYE M. CLEMENT is a teacher at Mellichamp Elementary School, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Concerned about community education and youth development programs, Jayne hopes to develop skills and expertise to effectively administer the Whittaker Youth Development Program in Orangeburg. By attending relevant conferences, seminars, institutes and workshops, she has gained administrative skills and flexibility needed to continue to teach and yet remain active in other community efforts. By coordinating education and community participation, she has the potential to elevate the self-concept of both young children and their parents, while increasing their educational opportunities.



DORIS M. DICKERSON is a Speech Therapist with the Lee County Head Start, Opelika, Alabama.

Doris seeks to break the persistent cycle of inadequate medical services, poor academic performance and dormant human resources indicative of rural Lee County, Alabama. As a speech therapist, she teaches young children to overcome learning handicaps of all kinds. As a result of her year's experiences, however, she can maximize her exposures to eradicate pathological and diagnostic deficiencies in children whose medical problems go unnoticed and result in failure in school.

BERNARD N. DYER is a Technical Assistant for the Human Resources Development Center, Opa Locka, Florida.

Bernard's experience in community organization and economic development makes him aware that rent strikes, welfare rights organizations, and coops are symptomatic of the plea of the disadvantaged and minority people. His internships have exposed him to viable and on-going efforts in the South that include community involvement as a basic and integral component of development programs and strategies. He hopes to utilize his proficiency to educate the poor in the crucial necessities of decision-making and implementation strategies.

ROBERT L. GRAHAM is a Junior High Teacher in Lake City, South Carolina.

Robert's expectations are to bring about improvement in the quality of education for all children in rural Lake City and Florence County, South Carolina. He has interned with superintendents, principals and coordinators of teacher training and has been enrolled in a nationally recognized training program for innovative school administrators. He hopes now to return to Florence County and implement viable and creative approaches to curriculum development, non-graded classrooms, school and community relations and alternatives involving community participation.

WILLIAM W. GRANT is a Beaufort County Councilman, Burton, South Carolina.

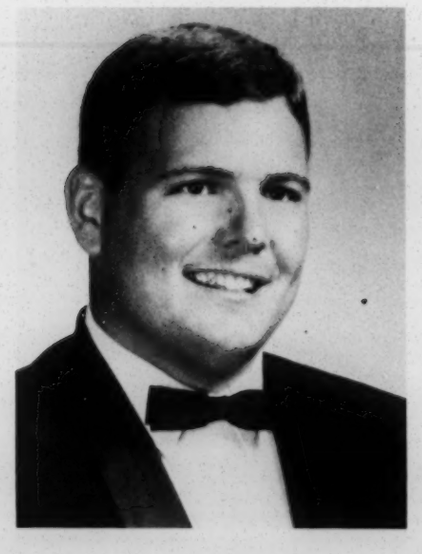
William knows that citizen education and participation in rural education, economic and community development is the only answer to the malady of unresponsive county government. He has observed the methods of rural and municipal development efforts of areas with conditions similar to those of Beaufort County. He hopes now to be a catalyst in efforts to provide productive educational alternatives involving citizen participation and cooperation.

SISTER MARY J. GRIFFIN is Coordinator, Self-Help Program, Diocesan Social Apostolate, Savannah, Georgia.

Sister Mary Julian has consistently been a catalyst in community outreach work. She has been instrumental in developing a health clinic in Savannah and planning a model basic education program for cane plantation workers in rural St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana. Her year's experiences have expanded her skills in proposal writing and human resource development, so that she can implement beneficial basic adult and citizenship education programs and rural manpower development.

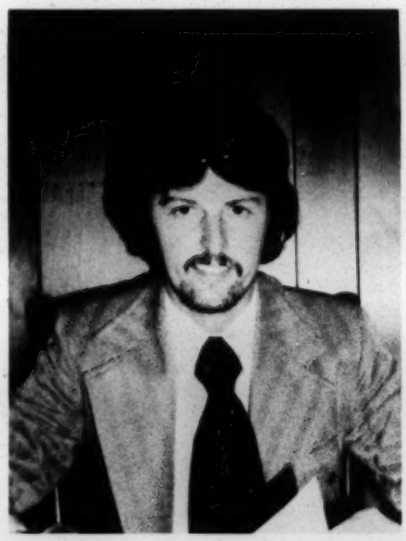
HARRY A. HAMM is Associate School Psychologist in Waycross, Georgia.

During his Program year, Harry has inspected creative school psychology training programs, and projects in diagnosis, remediation and program planning and development in special education. He will return with the theoretical and experiential base he needs to improve special education services in his rural eight-district area of operation.



WILLIE F. HAWKINS is Assistant Director of the Community Correction and Rehabilitation Center, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Willie is sensitive to the frustrations of ex-offenders who seek to "find a place in the community." As a counselor, he has worked with juveniles and adults originally from Baton Rouge and surrounding rural counties. He knows that educational and social services for inmates and the incarcerated poor are a necessity to combat the indifference of communities. His Program year has provided him with expertise in the criminal justice field, such as pre-trial release and work-release programs. He looks forward to implementing meaningful solutions to the mounting rate of recidivism in Louisiana and throughout the South.



MARSHALL T. HEWLETT is a teacher and Director of the Activities and Public Relations Program of Moss Point Public Schools, Moss Point, Mississippi.

Tom envisions amiable and constructive working relationships between and among administrators, faculty, students and the community of Moss Point. His internships provided information and experience relating to integrated curriculum development and innovative secondary school administration and the development of full participation of all segments of his community to enhance the relevance and success of public school education in Moss Point.

IRMA A. JIMMIE is School Counselor and Community Health Worker for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians of Philadelphia, Mississippi.

Improving mental health and counseling services for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians is Irma's mission. She has sponsored health outreach service programs in the past. During the past year, she has been scheduled in training programs and internships that effectively serve both federal and non-federal Indians. She hopes to now have a causal effect on existing programs in Philadelphia, as primary resource person in her field for the entire tribe.

JEANELL E. KIDD is an Area Nurse for Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc., Jackson, Mississippi.

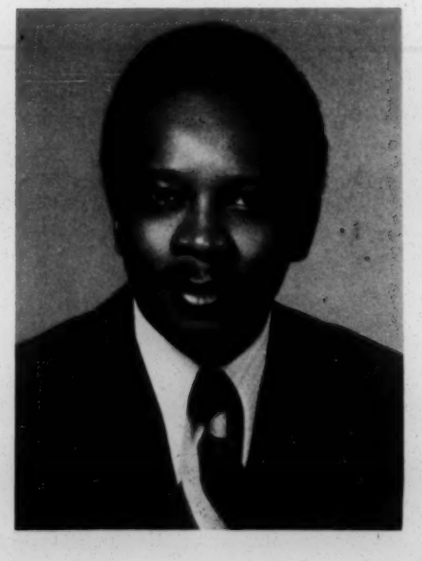
Jeanell knows firsthand the need for nurses and paraprofessionals, as well as doctors, to serve the rural poor and has sought the training required. With an indefatigable concern for the development and delivery of primary health services in rural Mississippi, she has pursued a year of study and internship that encompasses formal study at Meharry Medical College in Nashville and supervised clinical experiences in the Family Nurse Practitioner role.

ZOLA M. LEONARD is a teacher with the Pinellas County Head Start, St. Petersburg, Florida.

With her perspectives on the planning, implementation, administration and operation of viable programs for pre-school children, Zola has constructively augmented the efforts of the Head Start Program in Pinellas County, Florida. To facilitate the needed changes, Zola is now armed with various approaches to theoretical frameworks and procedures for utilizing parent aides and paraprofessionals that can be translated into an improved curriculum design for the improvement of child development opportunities in her area.

C. RANDY LOCKETT is Assistant Director of Admissions, Florida Junior College, Jacksonville, Florida.

Randy's position at the community college level sharpened his awareness of the need for improved personnel services and special programs designed for the poor and disadvantaged student. Seeking information and insights that would equip him to assist community colleges in meeting these needs, Randy pursued formal coursework in community college administration and internships at the federal and local level that acquainted him with both theory and practice concerning TRIO and other relevant approaches.



JUANITA McADORY is Chairman of the Home Economics Department and a teacher at the Hinds County Agricultural High School, Utica, Mississippi.

Juanita wants to "teach adults the basic skills of home and family living" and develop a model program at Utica Junior College to meet the diverse needs of the rural poor. Her Program was designed in accord with her desire to observe and analyze on-going programs in these areas. She has acquired experience in proposal and program development. Coupled with the theoretical framework gained through academic training, the information gained from observing programs in operation will assist her in bringing viable educational approaches to Utica.

DOROTHY JO McDUFFIE is a teacher in Florence County School District #1, Florence, South Carolina.

Dorothy's experiences as a teacher have convinced her that current counseling efforts do not meet the needs of the students who need sensitive and appropriate counseling the most, and that a large percentage of the pushout and dropout population can be reached. Her Program was therefore designed to allow her to acquire the necessary theoretical background through coursework, and the experiential base through internships with schools and organizations utilizing a variety of approaches in meeting the counseling needs of the disadvantaged secondary student.

CHARLES McLAURIN is Director of Purchasing and Inventory, Sunflower County Progress Head Start Program, Indianola, Mississippi.

To counteract ineffective methods of personnel recruitment, interviewing, and management, Charles sought to better serve the poor through a formal academic structure, including courses in sociology and public administration, to complement his exposure to personnel management in operation. His assessment of affirmative action programs and knowledge of legal redress for the poor will hopefully enable him to return to Indianola, able to deal effectively with the implications of discrimination and social service delivery systems for the rural poor.

EVELYN H. MILLER is a teacher and Chairman of the Language Arts Department, Williams Junior High School, Florence, South Carolina.

Children in Florence are frequently hampered in their educational development because of reading problems. A dedicated teacher, Evelyn seeks ways of developing reading skills that will be of particular help to the poor and disadvantaged. She hopes to translate her exposure to academic training, clinical experience, and on-site observations cf options and approaches to reading instruction into improved testing, diagnosis, and remediation of reading problems at the elementary and middle school levels in Florence.

JAMES E. MILLER is Deputy Tax Assessor and Collector of Claiborne County, Port Gibson, Mississippi.

James has become increasingly aware of the need for accurate information in the areas that are crucial to intelligent decision-making on key issues and the need to disseminate this information to citizens in order to improve economic, social and educational conditions and opportunities for the rural poor of Port Gibson and Claiborne County, Mississippi. After this year's internships, he hopes to identify key problems and issues as they relate to tax structures and tax reform, effective land usage and development, federal and state resource programs for rural development and their actual impact upon the South.

ROBERT MYATT is a farmer at Andamule, Inc., Manson, North Carolina.

Bob sought a Program designed to provide him with the academic and experiential framework he will need to assist minority farmers and farm cooperatives in rural Warren County, North Carolina. The major need, as elsewhere in the South, is for available technical assistance in the areas of management and marketing skills so that small minority farmers can be successful in their efforts to retain and/or acquire and develop their own land. He hopes to enhance and expand activities in this direction and to continue approaches toward improving the economic and educational opportunities of migrant workers.

BEVERLY A. NICHOLS is Food and Nutrition Specialist, Alabama Extension Service, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

Beverly's primary concern as a nutritionist is tied to the realization that it is the paraprofessional in the health service agency who delivers the majority of health information to the patient, and that the paraprofessionals are neglected in training programs for the role they actually assume. In order to better serve the rural poor in the ten-county area including Macon, Dallas, Hale and Chambers counties in Alabama, she has gained exposure to and contact with micro-teaching efforts utilizing video-replays and internships with nutrition experts.

DONALD L. NIXON is a Secondary Science Teacher, Carrollton, Georgia.

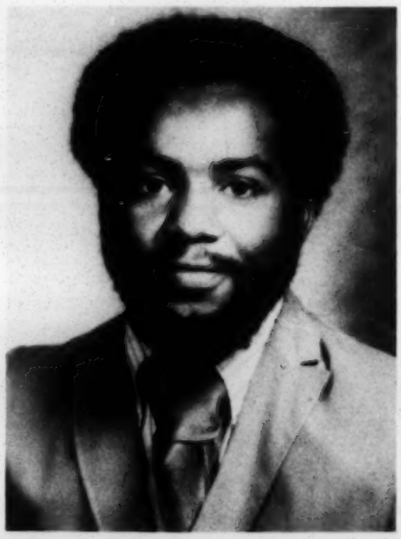
Donald has tried everything from open classrooms to the Farmers Almanac to motivate his students and counteract the rising dropout rate. He sought a Program schedule which would acquaint him with viable approaches to improving classroom instruction, provide him with the opportunity to gain expertise in administrative roles and responsibilities at various levels, and allow him to pursue internships and formal study related to the implications of community education for a rural school district similar to Carroll County, Georgia.

HARVEY W. SHELTON is Program Leader for the Resource Division of the Virginia Extension Service, Roanoke, Virginia.

Harvey knows that the "honeymoon period" of interagency cooperation in the coordination of services and service delivery in rural Virginia never exists, or is soon over. Sensitive to the needs of the poor, he sought a Program that would expose him to adult education and social service delivery systems, manpower training and human and community resource development techniques. He hopes to return to Virginia and adequately explore, assess and give new direction to the methods and techniques that now perpetuate the organizational isolationism that fragments service delivery in rural Virginia.

CLAUDE G. SWAFFORD is a School Board Member for the Marion County School System, Jasper, Tennessee.

Seeking innovative approaches to middle schools, comprehensive high schools, and vocational school programs, Claude hopes to establish working liasons between and among boards, committees and organizations to improve educational opportunities and the quality of education in rural Tennessee. In addition to formal coursework, her Program allowed her to make on-site visits to confer with superintendents, principals, curriculum directors, teachers, students, and parent organizations in order to facilitate effective educational planning and community participation in educational decision-making in Marion County.



DAVID W. WASHINGTON is Vice Mayor of Pace, Mississippi.

The rural community of Pace is plagued with deficient and/or non-existent firefighting equipment, health care, recreational facilities, and programs for senior citizens. David has sought ways to discover and utilize methods and resources that are applicable to planning and providing comprehensive municipal services for a rural setting with limited resources of its own. He hopes to be able to share with city administration officials and the community strategies and techniques for development and implementation of municipal service programs.

HAZEL WOOD is Administrative Assistant, TRAIN (Technical Research and Innovation Corporation), Chester, South Carolina.

Hazel is concerned about the need for effective and constructive approaches to teacher, in-service and paraprofessional training programs in the field of early childhood education. Her Program year provided her with training skills, academic background, and on-site experiences that would equip her to respond to this need in rural South Carolina. She now seeks to return to South Carolina to assist in educating and familiarizing parents and other lay people in developing a model program of alternatives to conventional early childhood education development.

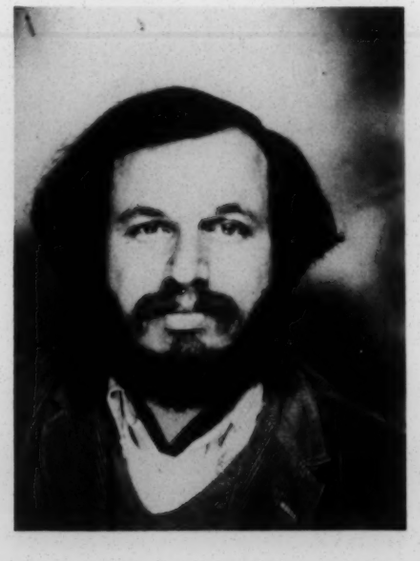
Picture
Not
Available

OTTO H. BISHOP, JR. is a self-employed farmer and Washington County School Board Member, Winslow, Arkansas.

With the desire to be productive for his family and his community, Otto wants to initiate a pilot project for farm and home industry that would provide an income subsidy for the rural poor and marketable goods to furnish access to the agricultural dollar. His Program was designed to help him gain information and expertise from university agricultural extension programs that could also be incorporated into vocational education programs at the secondary level and provide meaningful training for the youth of nearby Boyland of Arkansas. He will now be able to assess and evaluate potential rural agri-business and cooperatives and secondary and post secondary extension services for Washington County.

EVAN DOSS, JR. is Tax Assessor and Collector for Claiborne County, Mississippi, Port Gibson, Mississippi.

Now that the tax reappraisal referendum has passed in Claiborne County, Evan has the gargantuan task of developing an equitable tax evaluation and assessment system for the county. His Program was designed to enable him to intern with agencies and organizations currently involved in the planning and development of such evaluation and assessment systems to acquire information that could be utilized in Claiborne County. With his expertise and the support of the community, he hopes to be able to retrieve the estimated $200,000 lost annually through the present system and achieve full financial support for the public schools.



ROBERT M. FERRIS is a teacher at the New Orleans Free School, New Orleans Public School System, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Only one other public school in New Orleans is operating as an open school, and Robert is conscious of "working in a vacuum" in terms of exposure to methods of disseminating educational innovations and developing alternative approaches to education that are focused upon the needs of the rural, suburban, and urban child. Through the information and insights gained from his Program year, he hopes to improve educational opportunities, not only for the 50 disadvantaged youngsters in the Free School, but for the students in the public schools in New Orleans and surrounding areas as well.

BARBARA E. McCOY is Education and Career Development Coordinator, Mississippi Head Start Training Coordinating Council, Greenville, Mississippi.

Aware of the inadequacies of existing early childhood education programs in Greenville, Barbara hopes to provide a model demonstration of teaching training and evaluation throughout Mississippi. Her Program provided her the opportunity to make on-site visits to institutions with creative approaches to teacher and in-service training, open classrooms, and individualized instruction. She looks forward to translating these experiences into viable and innovative approaches to early childhood education and the role of the teacher and the paraprofessional in Greenville and throughout the South.

JOSEPH W. RICE, JR. is School Superintendent, Orangeburg School District #2, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Pragmatic, yet hopeful for the educational future of children in Bowman, South Carolina, Joseph sought a Program that would expose him to effective methods of educational administration and supervision, curriculum development and educational management in similar rural school districts. With his extensive experience in the field of education and the in sights gained from his LDP activities, he hopes to improve his rural school district and the quality of education.

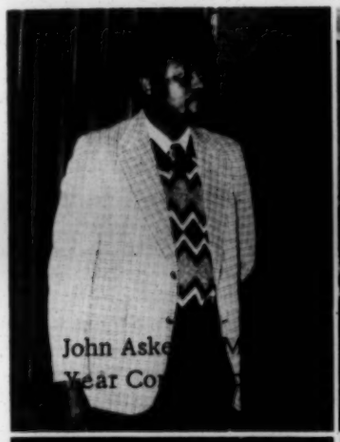
BYARD STONE, JR. is Director of Federal Programs, Marlboro County Board of Education, Bennettsville, South Carolina.

Realizing that a sound planning system is essential in overcoming the problems of teacher training and evaluation, parent involvement, curriculum design and implementation, school consolidation, and educational management, Byard has sought exposure to a variety of approaches through internships with a professional counterpart in rural Mississippi, the Community School Program in Cobb County, Georgia, and the Region IV HEW Office of Education. He hopes that these experiences will provide him with the opportunity to observe successful efforts in educational planning and management, while enhancing the theoretical framework he will gain through the coursework in the University of South Carolina Ed.D. Program.

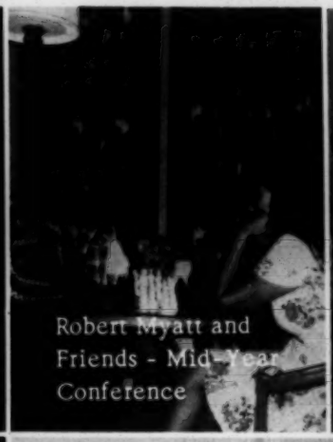
Picture
Not
Available

BENNIE G. THOMPSON is Assistant Director of the Teacher Corps, University of Southern Mississippi, and Mayor of Bolton, Mississippi.

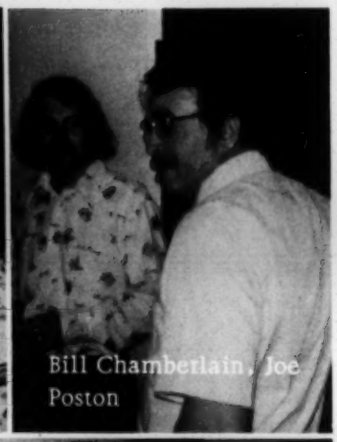
Bennie's interest, while diverse, centers around the improvement of education and community development for the rural poor. His schedule has been designed to allow him to explore the impact of federal legislation upon rural education and community development, to observe effective approaches to ascertaining community needs as they relate to education, and to confer with staff of appropriate federal and private agencies and organizations engaged in similar efforts, particularly as they relate to teaching training.



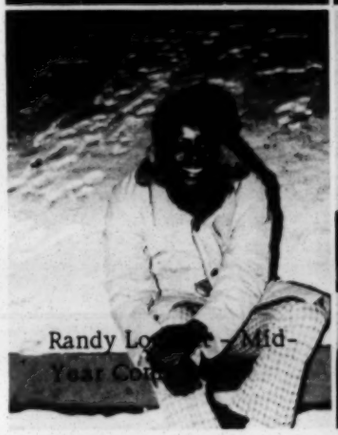
John Aske
Year Co



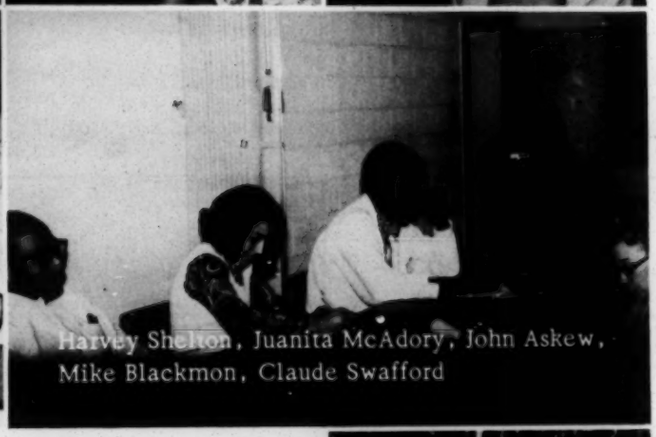
Robert Myatt and Friends - Mid-Year Conference



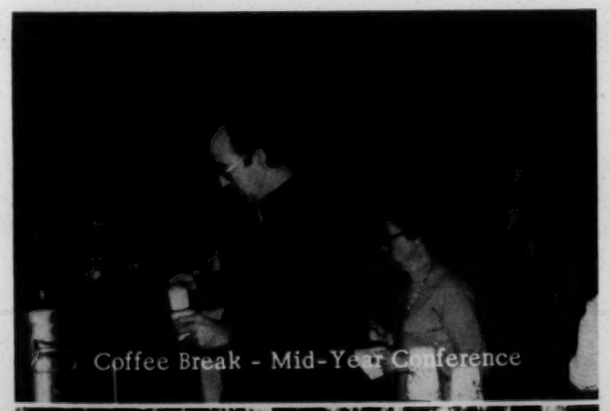
Bill Chamberlain, Joe Poston



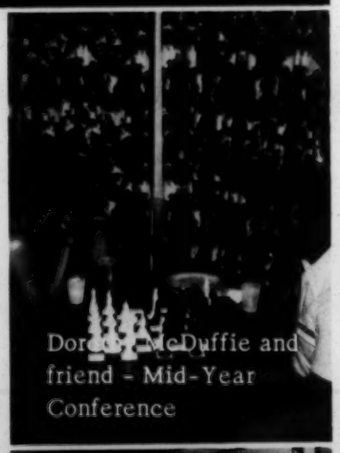
Randy Lo - Mid-Year Co



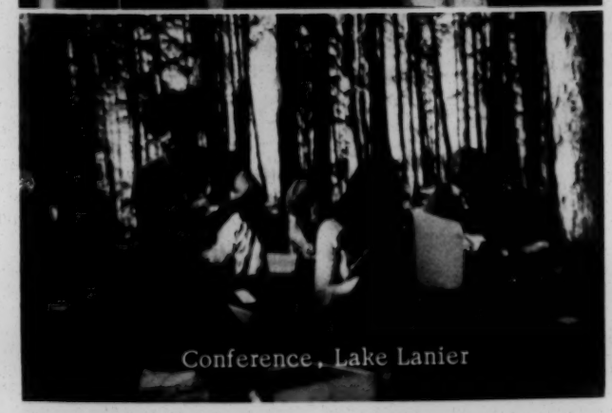
Harvey Shelton, Juanita McAdory, John Askew, Mike Blackmon, Claude Swafford



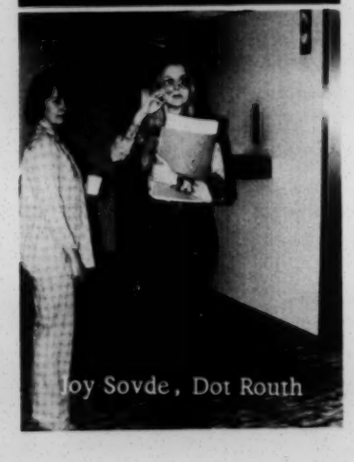
Coffee Break - Mid-Year Conference



Dor McDuffie and friend - Mid-Year Conference



Conference, Lake Lanier



Joy Sovde, Dot Routh

MENTORS 1974-75

You entered my life in a casual way,
And saw at a glance what I needed;
There were others who passed me or met me each day,
But never a one of them heeded.
Perhaps you were thinking of other folks more,
Or chance simply seemed to decree it;
I know there were many such chances before,
But the others — well, they didn't see it . . .
Grace Stricker Dawson

Mentors are a key to our continuing development and the success of the Leadership Development Program. We the 1974-75 Fellows would like to recognize you and to say we appreciate your untiring efforts in helping to make this year a success.

MR. NAHUM M. ALDRIDGE
Principal, Courtableu Elementary, Washington, La.

MR. RICHARD ALMY
Director, Technical Servs., International Assessors Association, Chicago, Ill.

MR. ROBERT ARMOUR
Principal, Goodwater Elementary School, Goodwater, Ala.

MR. DON ANDERSON
President, Virginia Commonwealth Development Organization, Petersburg, Va.

DR. DAMON ASBURY
Director, Child Study Services, Columbus Public Schools, Columbus, Ohio

DR. RAY AYRES
Director, The Management Center School of Business, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Va.

DR. WALTER BAILEY
Guidance Center, College of Education, University of S.C., Columbia, S.C.

MR. CHARLES BANNERMAN
Executive Director, Mississippi Action for Community Education, Greenville, Miss.

MR. RIMS BARBER
Associate Director, The Delta Ministry, Jackson, Miss.

DR. EDWIN BARTE
Professor, Graduate School of Management, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

MS. DIANE K. BERT
Project Director, Parent Readiness Education Project, Radford Union School District, Detroit, Mich.

MS. JOSEPHINE BLISS
Director, Nursery Kindergarten Department, Riverside Church, New York, N.Y.

DR. BERNARD BOGELGESANG
Department Director, Department of Court Services Administration, Des Moines, Ia.

DR. EDGAR J. BOONE
Department of Adult Community College Education, N.C. State University, Raleigh, N.C.

MR. JOHN BOONE
Director of Urban Affairs, WNAC-TV, Boston, Mass.

MR. JAMES BROWN
Urban Management Information System, Chattanooga, Tenn.

MR. JOHN BROWN, JR.
Director, Southeast Alabama Self-Help Association, Inc., Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

DR. ROBERT BROWN
Superintendent, Greene County Public Schools, Eutaw, Ala.

MR. MERLE BURTON
Program Officer, Department of Student Special Programs, HEW Region IV, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. W. A. BUTTS
Chairman, Division of Arts & Sci., Mississippi Valley State University, Itta Bena, Miss.

MR. ULYSSEES BYAS
Superintendent, Macon County Board of Education, Tuskegee, Ala.

MR. ART CAMPBELL
Director, Housing Assistance Council, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. JAMES E. CARSON
Associate Director, Adult Basic Education, Human Resources Development Center, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

MR. MEL CARTER
Program Officer, Dept. of HEW Region IV, Office of Education, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. CALVIN CATTERAL
Staff Development Center, Columbus, Ohio

MR. JOHN R. CHILES
Director, Richmond Community Action Program, Richmond, Va.

DR. MIKE CHRIN
Kent City Schools, Kent, Ohio

MRS. MILDRED C. CHRISTMAS
Educational Assistant, Shaw University Without Walls, Raleigh, N.C.

DR. EUGENE COOPER
Chairman, Dept. of Speech and Hearing, Director, Speech and Hearing Center, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

DR. ROBERT CRAGHEAD
Director of Community Development, Catawba Admin. Unit, John Smith University, Charlotte, N.C.

MRS. EVELYN CRAYTON
Associate Director, Food and Nutrition Service, Human Resources Development Center, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

MR. CHARLES CURRY
Office of Administration, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.

MR. GORDON DIXON
Executive Director, New River Valley Planning District Commission, Radford, Va.

MR. JOE TOM EASLEY
Director, Southern Governmental Monitoring Project, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. ANN W. ENGIN
Director, School Psychology Prog., College of Education, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

MRS. BEVERLY FENNEL
Director, St. Francis House, Episcopal Urban Center, Little Rock, Ark.

MRS. JOAN FIRST
Director, Consumer Information, Arkansas Emergency Medical Services System, Little Rock, Ark.

MR. TOM FLOWERS
Associate Director, Assistance to Offenders, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. WILLIAM L. FLOWERS, JR.
Associate Dean, Director, Donaldson Brown Center for Continuing Education, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Va.

MR. JOHNNY L. FORD
Mayor, Office of the Mayor, Tuskegee, Ala.

DR. ROBIN FORD
Director, Kane County Diagnostic Center, Geneva, Ill.

MR. NICHOLAS P. GALLO
Educational Consultant, School of Psychological Services, Program for the Gifted, Ohio State Department of Education, Worthington, Ohio

MR. JOHN GADSON
Director, Penn Community Services Inc., Frogmore, S.C.

MR. NATHAN GARRETT
President, Nathan Garrett Certified Public Accountants, Durham, N.C.

MS. EILEEN GARY
Extension Agency & Planner, New River Valley Planning District Commission, Radford, Va.

DR. D. R. B. GRANT
Senior Lecturer and Director, School of Education, Bernard Van Leer Center for Early Childhood Ed., University of the West Indies, Mona Kingston, Jamaica

MR. PETER F. GROSS
Chief, EMR and Pupil Services, Ohio State Dept. of Ed., Worthington, Ohio

MR. GENE GUERRERO
Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. JOHN GUIDUBALDI
College of Education, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

REV. JOHN HAGER
United Methodist Church Board of Global Ministries, New York, N.Y.

MR. DONALD F. HAND
Administrator, West Alabama Rehabilitation Center, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

MS. CONSUELO J. HARPER
Executive Director, Central Alabama OIC, Montgomery, Ala.

MS. MARTHA J. HEGGINS
Adjunct Faculty, Rutgers University Graduate School of Ed., New Brunswick, N.J.

MR. RUFUS HUFFMAN
Educational Field Director, NAACP, Tuskegee Inst., Ala.

MR. DAVID HUMES
Mayor, Hayti Heights, Mo.

MS. EDITH INGRAM
Probate Court Judge, Mayfield, Ga.

MRS. MARY ALLEN JOLLEY
Director of Public Affairs, American Home Economics Association, Washington, D.C.

MR. JAMES JONES
Director, Research Resource Training Center, Federation of Southern Cooperatives, Epes, Ala.

DR. JOHN JONES
Superintendent, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Fla.

DR. NORMAN KAGAN
Professor and Director, Office of Medical Education Research and Development, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.

MRS. BARBARA KAMARA
Coordinator, LINC Children's Center, Greensboro, N.C.

DR. MARVIN KAPLAN
College of Education, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

MS. FRANKIE KING
Career Development Coordinator, Lee County Head Start, Auburn, Ala.

MS. KATHERINE LABELLE
Coordinator, Inservice and Teacher Education, Broward County School Board, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

MR. ABIE LADSON
Program Developer, Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council, Georgetown, S.C.

DR. FRED LAWRENCE
Franklin County Schools School Psychologist, Westerville, Ohio

MAYOR HOWARD LEE,
Chapel Hill, NC

MR. ANDY LIPSCOMB
Director, Georgia Clearinghouse on Jails and Prisons, American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia, Atlanta, Ga.

MR. TRENT LOTT
U.S. Representative, Mississippi 5th Congressional District, Washington, D.C.

MR. LEONARD C. McCAFFERY
Director, North Hills Exceptional Children's School, North Little Rock, Ark.

DR. BENJAMIN R. McCLAIN
Associate Director, Center for Community Education, College of Education, Florida Atlanta Univ., Boca Raton, Fla.

MR. JOHN McCOWN
Director, East Central Committee for Opportunity, Mayfield, Ga.

MR. JOSEPH McDOMICK
Coordinator, Black Land Services, Penn Community Services, Frogmore, S.C.

MR. CLEVE McDOWALL
Attorney at Law, Drew, Miss.

MS. MAURINE McKINLEY, Associate Director, Black Child Development Institute, Washington, D.C.

MR. FLOYD McKISSICK
President, Soul City Inc., N.C.

FATHER A. J. McKNIGHT
Director, Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Lafayette, La.

DR. JEROME MILLER
Assistant to the Gov., Chicago, Ill.

MR. MARTIN MILLER
President, Jacobs Company, Chicago, Ill.

MR. HOWELL G. MIMS
Director, Federal Programs, Okolona Public Schools, Okolona, Miss.

MR. HAYES MIZELL
Director, South Carolina Community Relations Program, American Friends Service Committee, Columbia, S.C.

MR. DEXTER MONTGOMERY
Principal, Amory Middle School, Amory, Miss.

MR. DONALD MURRAY
Director of Criminal Justice, National Association of Counties, Washington, D.C.

DR. JAMES NEAL
Dean, School of Education, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Inst., Ala.

DR. THOMAS OAKLAND
Associate Professor, Department of Education, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas

MR. WALTER J. OLDHAM
Executive Director, Tuskegee Area Health Education Center, V.A. Hospital, Tuskegee, Ala.

MR. JOHN O'SHOUGHNESSY
Associate Regional Training Coordinator, Parole and Community Service Division, California State Department of Corrections, San Francisco, Calif.

MR. INMAN OTEY
Executive Director, Minority Economic Development Corp., Nashville, Tenn.

MR. GERALD B. PAVLOFF
Independent Training & Consultant Specialist, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. BEEMON PHILLIPS
Professor, Department of Education, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Tex.

DR. THEODORE J. PINNOCK
Director, Human Resource Development Center, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

MR. BEN POAGE
Executive Director, Human Economic Appalachian Development Corporation, Berea, Ky.

DR. ROBERT POLK
Urban Affairs Minister, Riverside Church, New York, N.Y.

MR. HERMAN U. PORTER
Manager, Liberty House Cooperative, Jackson, Miss.

MR. JOE POSTON
Joe Poston and Company, Decatur, Ga.

MR. OTHELLO POULARD
Assistant to the President, Center for Community Change, Washington, D.C.

MR. BOOKER T. RICHARDSON
Associate Director, Special Health and Career Opportunities, Human Resource Development Center, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

DR. CHARLES RIVERS
Asst. Superintendent, Chapel Hill Public Schools, Chapel Hill, N.C.

DR. DOROTHY K. ROUTH
Program Staff Consultant, Leadership Development Program, Atlanta, Ga.

MR. WADE SCHOLES
Administrative Assistant for Community Schools, Cobb County Public Schools, Marietta, Ga.

MR. CHARLES SMITH
Lowndes County Commissioner, Calhoun, Ala.

DR. LEONARD H. SPEARMAN
Special Education Programs, HEW — Office of Ed., Washington, D.C.

DR. ORLANDO TAYLOR
Director of Research, Speech Department, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

MR. BENNIE THOMPSON
Mayor, Office of the Mayor, Bolton, Miss.

MS. EVELYN K. TOMES
Chairman, Expanded Duty Programs, Department of Nursing Education, Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. HAROLD TREADWELL
Adjunct Professor, Shaw University Without Walls, Raleigh, N.C.

MR. BRYANT TUDOR
Director, Office of Human Development, Department of HEW, Region IV, Atlanta, Ga.

MR. RAY TURNER
Program Developer, East Central Committee for Opportunity, Inc., Mayfield, Ga.

DR. LONNIE WAGSTAFF
Director, Urban Educational Leadership Program, College of Education, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

DR. JESSIE S. WALL
Professor, Graduate Faculty, University of South Carolina at Spartanburg, Spartanburg, S.C.

MR. CHARLES WESLEY
Director, Save the Children Federation, Berea, Ky.

MR. JOSEPH WHITE, JR.
Doctoral Student, Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass.

MR. FRED WILLIAMS
Executive Administrative Assistant, Mississippi Action for Community Education, Greenville, Miss.

DR. DAVID WONDERLY
College of Education, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio

DR. CHARLES B. WOOD
Executive Director, Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., Washington, D.C.

DR. MARSHALL WORBY
Associate Professor, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich.

MS. JOANN WRIGHT
Educational Planner, Educational Development Center, Macon County Board of Education, Tuskegee, Ala.

DR. PAUL YLVISAKER
Dean, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Ma.

Due to program modifications and the deadline date for the Yearbook, all Mentors could not be included; however, we wish to express our sincere appreciation for the invaluable assistance which we received from them.

CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

An integral part of a Fellow's year is the various conference activities which include workshops, lectures, video-taping, role-playing and audio visual presentations. All the activities are conducted by consultants and experts in their fields.

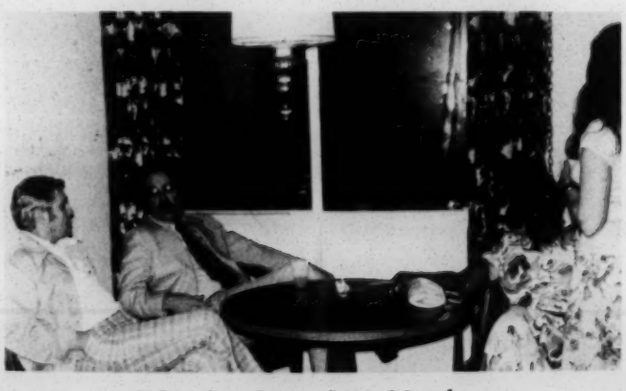
The sessions are diversified enough to provide knowledge and information relating to the various needs and interests within the group, as well as to furnish additional materials that can be helpful when the Fellows return to their home communities.

Emma Barnes, Mr. Poulard, Luke Gill

Randy Lockett, Dr. Spearman during internship HEW, Washington, D.C.

Current Fellows, Al Roberts, Mel Scurlock

K. Z. Chavis, Al Roberts, Dot Routh



Selection Committee Members

Ray Ayres, Father McKnight

Mid-Year Conference

Juanita and Paula - a lovely couple

Mid-Year Conference - Selection Committee Members

Charles Carter, Mike Blackmon, Bernard Dyer

Pat Rafferty, Dr. Laura J. Harper, Professor from VPI

Mid-Year Conference

Marjorie Brandon, K. Z. Chavis. Mr. Chavis smokes a big cigar

Mid-Year Conference

Fred Williams, Jim Taylor, Joan First - Selection Committee Members

Briefing by Mr. Chavis

Herbert Link, Bill Flowers, Zola Leonard, Bob Myatt, Evelyn Miller

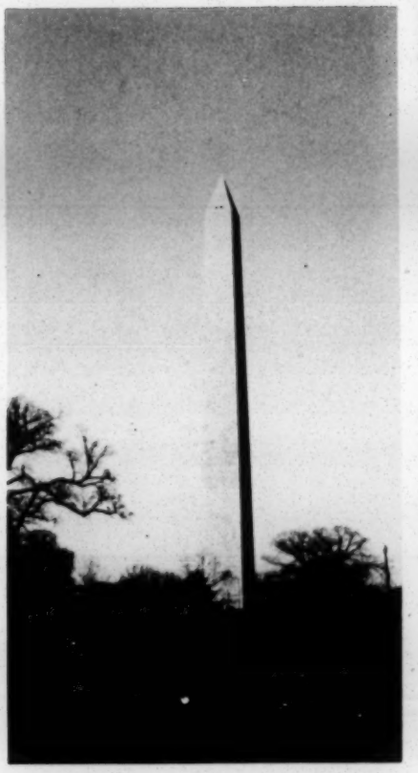
Mid-Year Conference

August Conference

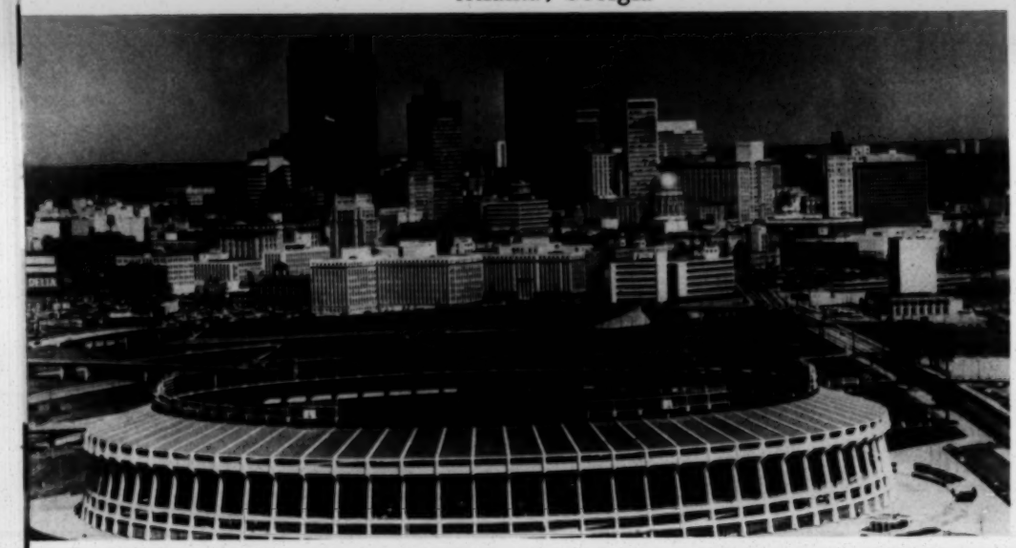
Selection Briefing Session

WE PARTICIPATED

here Washington, D.C.

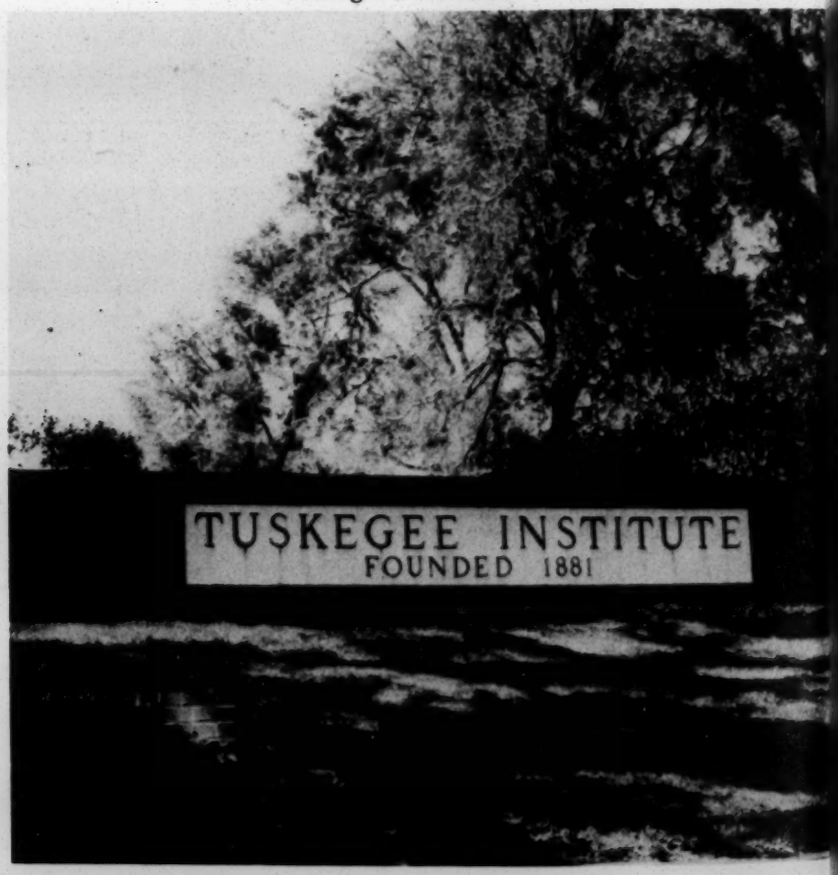


Atlanta, Georgia

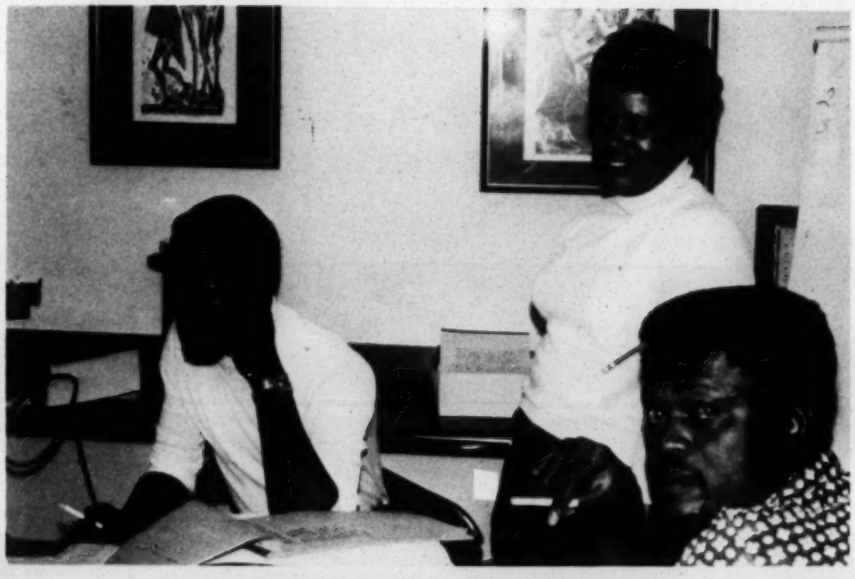


Des Moines, Iowa

Tuskegee, Alabama



YEARBOOK COMMITTEE



Robert Myatt, Evelyn Miller, John Askew

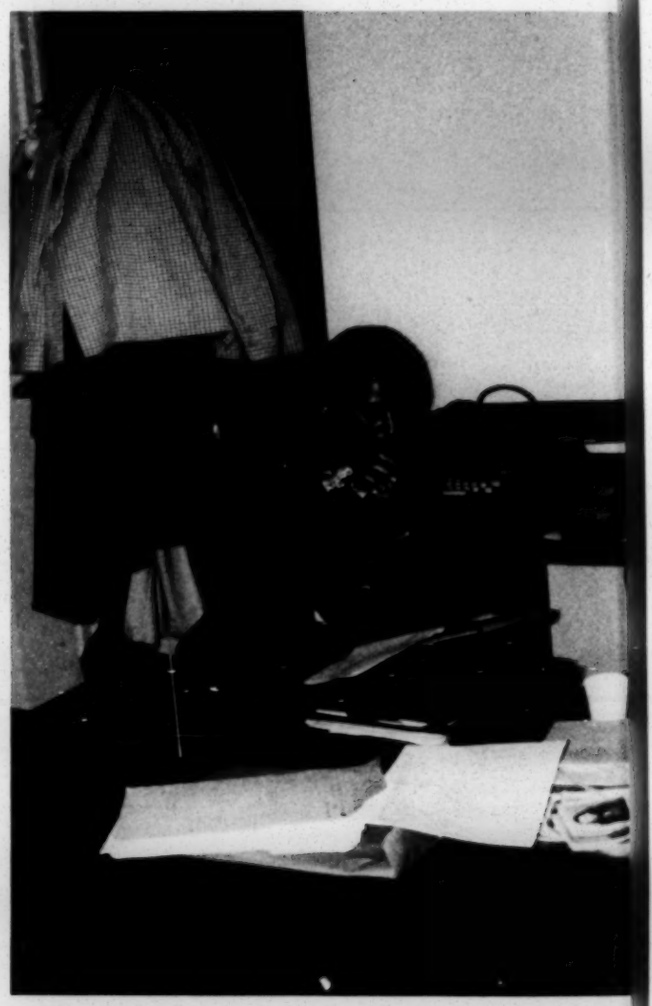
Clockwise, Hazel Wood, John Askew, Juanita McAdory, Sister Julian, Ken Austin, Jr., Publishers Representative

Hazel Wood, Randy Lockett, Sister Julian

Clockwise: Sister Julian, Ken Austin, John Askew, Hazel Wood, Juanita McAdory

"It's not the individual
Nor the army as a whole
But the everlasting teamwork
Of every bloomin' soul . . .
J. Mason Knox

Sixth Annual Conference debriefing session



Hazel Wood discussing yearbook plans with Sister Julian

Mr. K. Z. Chavis, Program Director, takes a walk with Dr. Joshua Smith, Professor of Education, City College of New York, and current Fellow Mike Blackmon

Mr. Joe Poston video-taping the Sixth Annual LDP Banquet

Dr. Groomes pauses to chat with Vanessa Daniel, James Miller and Juanita McAdory

Work and Relaxation Make Successful Annual Conference

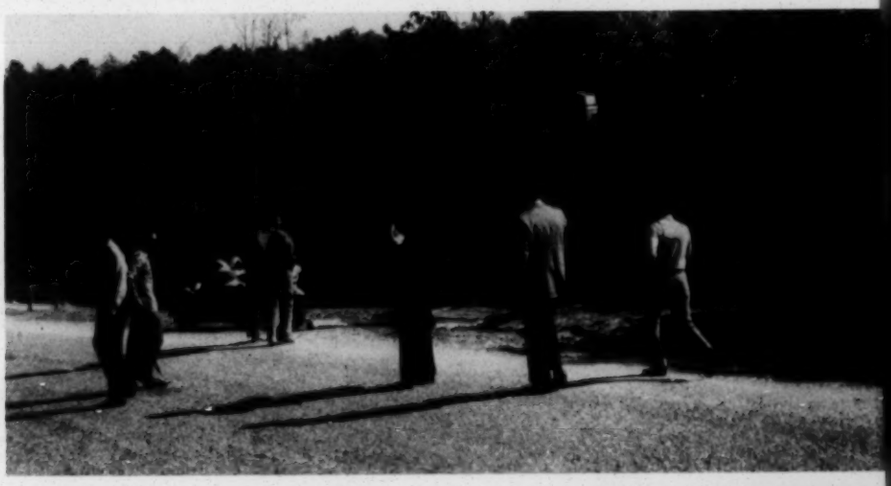
Current Fellows

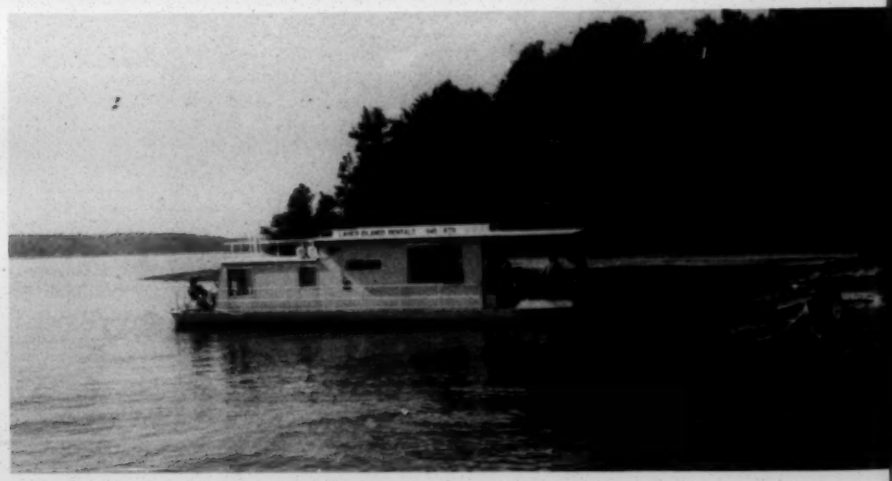
Zola Leonard, Evelyn Miller, Doris Dickerson; one of their favorite pastimes

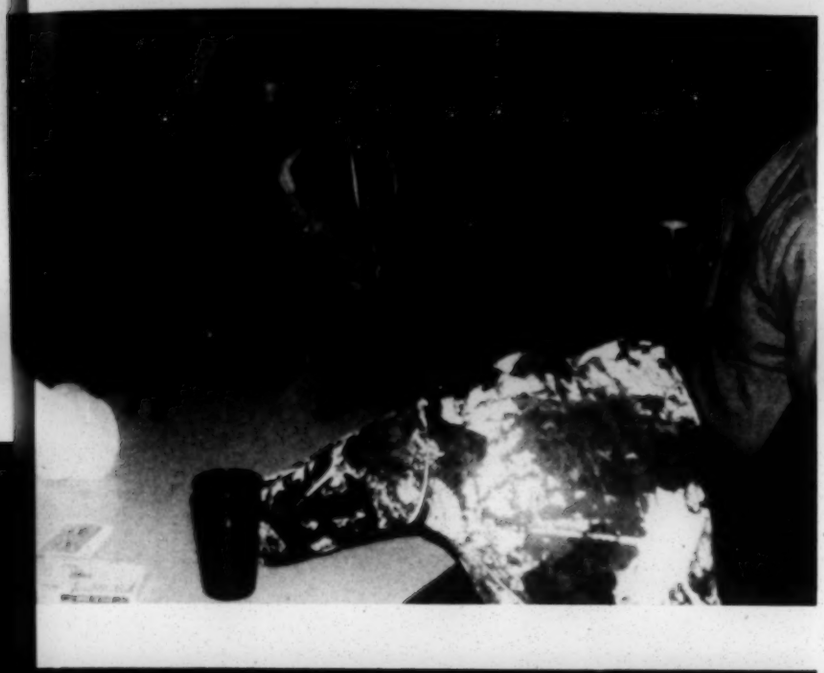
Dorothy McDuffie, "I need my sleep."

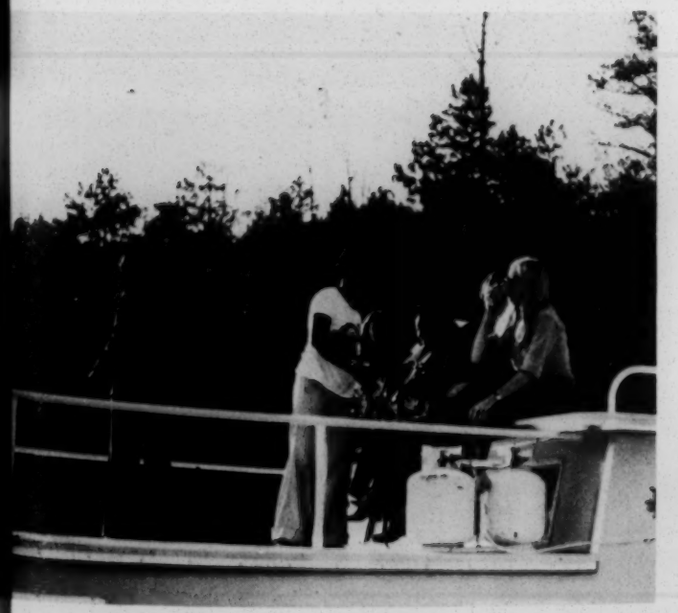
Collie Coaxum, Linda [illegible], Selection Committee Members

CONFERENCE — LAKE LANIER



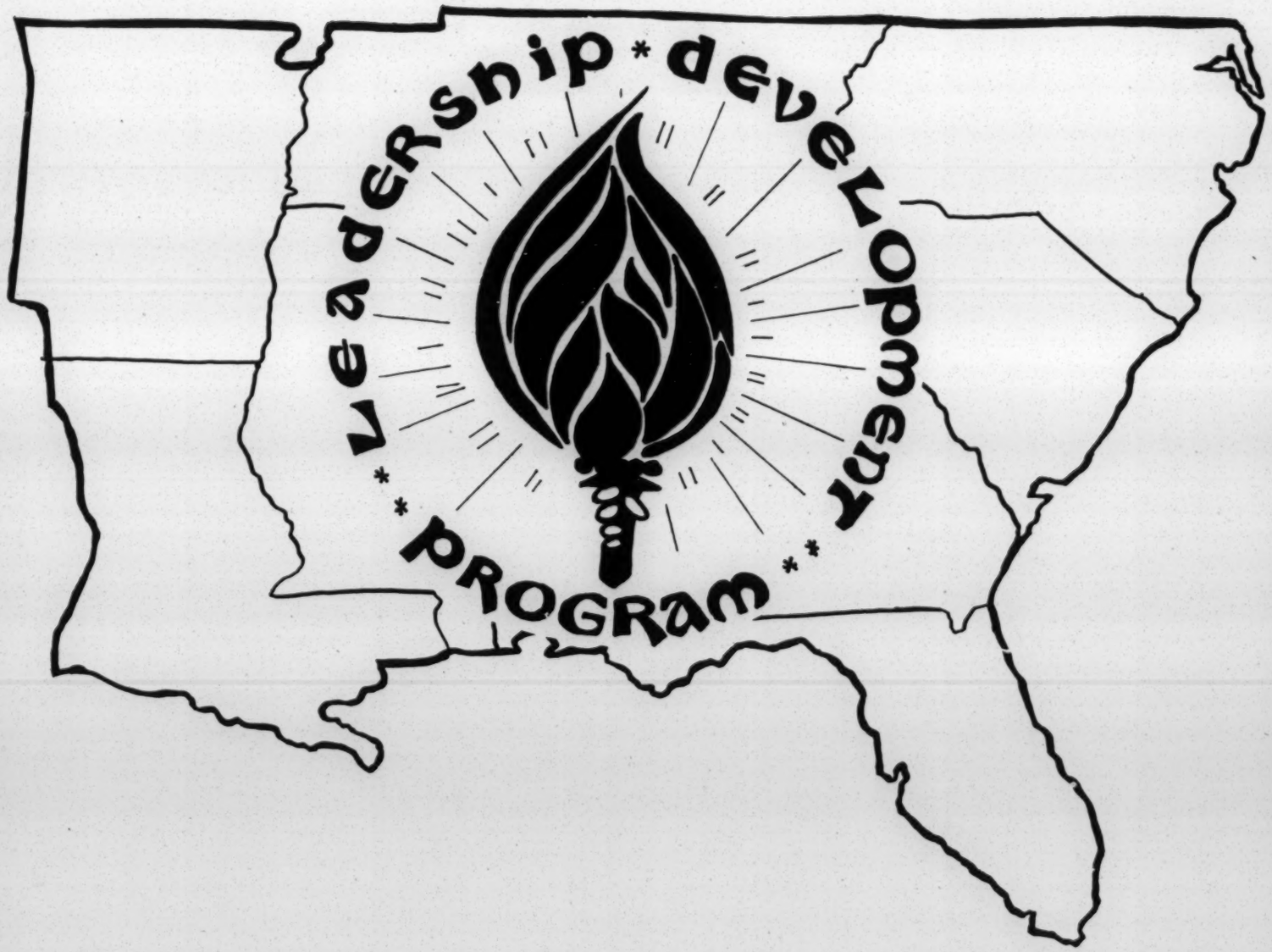






Do not then stand idly waiting
For some greater work to do;
Fortune is a lazy goddess,
She will never come to you.
Go and toil in any vineyard,
Do not fear to do or dare;
If you want a field of labor
You can find it anywhere . . .

Thank You!
The 1974-75 Fellows


leadership * development
* * program * *

Thank you for inquiring about the
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

WHAT IT IS: The LDP is a special project of the Southern Regional Council funded by the Ford Foundation which awards fellowships to rural teachers, school administrators, and community workers to help them upgrade themselves, their classrooms, their schools, and their communities.

The awardee (called an LDP Fellow) combines study and experience in his areas of special concern at several different locations in the United States. Working with recognized authorities who serve as mentors and program advisors, he acquaints himself with established and experimental programs and projects consistent with his interests.

LDP is primarily a non-degree oriented program, focusing on informal study, internships, and participation in rewarding activities.

A **full year fellowship** recipient is awarded a salary supplement plus funds budgeted individually for his proposed travel, study, lodging, and miscellaneous expenditures.

Additionally, **short term awards** of one to six months of study/internships are available to those for whom a longer absence would be impractical.

Mini-fellowships will also be awarded to individuals in order to enhance their effectiveness in their present positions through site visitations, conferences, training, etc.

After participating in an LDP Fellowship, the Fellow will return to his community to utilize his newly gained knowledge and resources. With the continued support of his program advisors and the Leadership Development Program, he will assist in the effective development of new, viable, and innovative programs, working with his school and community to find new solutions to old problems.

WHO MAY APPLY: Any individual living in a rural or small community who is concerned with upgrading the quality of education and/or improving the delivery of human and social services may apply.

Generally, the applicant should be under 35, although exceptions are sometimes made.

The applicant should be more interested in informal self-improvement than in the obtaining of an advanced graduate degree.

HOW TO APPLY: Complete the enclosed form. Fold, seal and return it to us.

Our Program Director will contact you either personally or by letter, possibly arranging a mutually convenient meeting for further discussion.

Applications for Fellowship awards are presently being reviewed in order that final selection of candidates may be made by March 31.

All persons interested in being considered as candidates for the LDP Fellowship award should submit the attached application on or before January 31.

For further information or additional brochures, please contact:

Tel: (404) 681-2390

MR. K.Z. CHAVIS
Program Director
Leadership Development Program
Mezzanine
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

There are many individuals in the rural areas of the South who are unobtrusively struggling to improve their educational systems and communities. Products, themselves, of the isolation and inadequate services, they have defined the many problems in education, health, housing, economics, and politics, but are frustrated in their efforts to find solutions. Yet, they are committed to trying, and to remaining in their home communities, and to searching for effective approaches to developing their home land and to bettering the lives of their neighbors and, most important, the lives of the next generation.

The Leadership Development Program seeks to identify and develop this often hidden talent in the rural South. Begun in 1967 under the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Leadership Development Program has awarded over 200 Fellowships. Originally conceived to find and fund public elementary and secondary teachers in the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the Program has expanded its outreach to include individuals more broadly involved in educational reform and community development, recognizing the significant impact of the entire community system on educational efforts and outputs.

The Program in 1974 became a special project of the Southern Regional Council and has expanded its geographical area to more closely coincide with that organization's boundaries, and has included the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and the boot heel of Missouri.

Harold Howe, III, Vice President of Education and Research Division, The Ford Foundation, chats with Ralph Bohrson, Program Officer, at LDP annual conference.

Midyear workshop and hearing on citizen participation in public education.

Orientation and Briefing at Selection Conference

K.Z. Chavis, Program Director, briefs new fellows regarding administrative procedures.

Leadership Development Program efforts are based on the belief that the most valuable agents of change are those individuals who understand the intricacies, mores, and norms of their particular system, and who have a vested interest in improving that system because it is their home and the home of their children. The fellowship program is based on offering these individuals exposure and first hand experience with organizations and individuals throughout the country, and in some instances, throughout the world who are involved in reform efforts. Thus, established leaders of innovation agree to serve as Mentors and welcome the LDP Fellow as an intern and apprentice in their organization. A typical Fellow would intern at five or six different locations during his Fellowship year, gaining exposure to various leadership styles, and different strategies and approaches to development, as eclectically he seeks to develop his own plan, program and style, appropriate to his own personality and the needs and particularities of his home community.

While not designed as a degree oriented program, a number of Fellows have profited also from course work and independent study at various universities throughout the country. The Leadership Development Program is unique in that there are no educational requirements for entry into the program. Many applicants have been deprived of early educational opportunities, victims of the tenant farm system and no compulsory school attendance laws, but are self-educated through their experience. One such LDP Fellow came into the program with only a sixth grade education and returned to his community to become the first black county commissioner ever elected in his county. On the other hand, another LDP Fellow was able to complete his masters degree at a leading school of educational administration while on the program, and returned to his community as a key administrator in the school system.

Working toward achieving non-discrimination in the Region, the Program's selection criteria and process reflect that goal. While an emphasis has been placed on recruiting individuals in the age range of 25-35, many individuals older and younger have been selected. Men and women have been selected in equal proportion, throughout the seven years, as the program pioneered in recognizing the rights and outstanding leadership potential of women. The color of one's skin has never been a deterrant to one's selection, as the Program has sought to develop a coalition of black and white leadership efforts, cognizant of the importance of unity in developing a truly new South.

LDP Initial Application Form

FIRST NAME	MIDDLE INITIAL	LAST NAME	HOME TELEPHONE NUMBER OR TELEPHONE NEAREST YOUR HOME	HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED AT THIS ADDRESS?		
MR. MRS. MISS						OWN ☐ RENT ☐ WITH PARENTS ☐

STREET ADDRESS (OR MAILING ADDRESS IF DIFFERENT)	CITY	STATE	ZIP CODE	YEARS	MONTHS

IF AT ABOVE ADDRESS LESS THAN ONE YEAR, GIVE FORMER STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE	YEARS	MONTHS

AGE and Date of Birth	☐ SINGLE ☐ DIVORCED ☐ MARRIED ☐ WIDOWED	BOYS _____ AGES _____ GIRLS _____ AGES _____	OTHER DEPENDENTS AND AGES	TOTAL DEPENDENTS

EMPLOYER (OR SCHOOL AND SYSTEM)	POSITION AND/OR JOB TITLE (IF TEACHER, GRADE LEVEL AND SUBJECT)	SALARY $ _____ Wk. $ _____ Mo. $ _____ Yr.	HOW LONG? YEARS	MONTHS

BUSINESS STREET ADDRESS	CITY	STATE	BUSINESS PHONE	TOTAL NO. OF YEARS EXPERIENCE

SUMMER OR PART TIME EMPLOYER (STATE WHICH)	CITY	STATE	POSITION AND JOB TITLE	SALARY $ _____ Wk. $ _____ Mo.

SPOUSE'S NAME	SPOUSE'S OCCUPATION	SPOUSE'S EMPLOYER	CITY	STATE	HOW LONG? YEARS	MONTHS

EDUCATION	LOCATION	DATES ATTENDED FROM	TO	MAJOR	MINOR	TYPE OF DEGREE	YEAR
HIGH SCHOOL							
VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL							
COLLEGE							
COLLEGE							
COLLEGE							
SPECIAL PROGRAMS, SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS							
SPECIAL PROGRAMS, SEMINARS, WORKSHOPS							

PRESENT MILITARY STATUS	PRESENT CLASSIFICATION	DATE OF DISCHARGE	RANK

TRAVEL EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE YOUR STATE

PLACE	PURPOSE	YEAR	LENGTH OF STAY

POPULATION OF THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH YOU WORK _____ TOWN _____ COUNTY

DESCRIBE YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN A RECENT EDUCATION OR COMMUNITY PROJECT

DO YOU LIVE NEAR YOUR WORK?
☐ YES ☐ NO EXPLANATION:

PLEASE LIST THREE PERSONS WHO ARE FAMILIAR WITH YOU AND YOUR WORK (INCLUDE AT LEAST ONE SUPERVISOR OR EMPLOYER)

NAME

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE

TELEPHONE

NAME

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE

TELEPHONE

DESCRIBE THE SPECIAL AREA OF INTEREST YOU WISH TO PURSUE IF GRANTED AN AWARD, WHERE YOU WOULD LIKE TO STUDY (LOCATIONS), AND WITH WHOM.

WHAT DO YOU PLAN TO DO UPON COMPLETION OF YOUR FELLOWSHIP YEAR (IF YOU ARE SELECTED FOR A FELLOWSHIP)?

WITH WHOM HAVE YOU DISCUSSED LDP AND YOUR STUDY PLAN?

NAME

STREET ADDRESS

CITY STATE

TELEPHONE

DESCRIBE YOURSELF (PHYSICAL APPEARANCE, PERSONALITY, LEADERSHIP ABILITY) DESCRIBE WHAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE.

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO.
5968
Atlanta, Georgia

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN UNITED STATES

Postage Paid by:

Leadership Development Program
Mezzanine
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rather, selection has been based on that often elusive quality to define-"leadership potential". A panel of leading Southerners in their respective fields, from university deans to grass roots community organizers, has served as the Selection Committee, and each year grappled with the difficult decisions of selecting Fellows. Interviewed a total of five different times, a candidate is queried regarding his past involvements and commitments, his proposed program, and his vision, as efforts are made to select tomorrow's future leaders. The rigor of selection has proven invaluable, as LDP Fellows, often enticed by lucrative job offers outside the region, have returned home at increasingly high rates, so that ninty-five percent of those awarded fellowships are now actively involved in reform efforts within the region, or are pursuing further education with plans to return. Working at many different levels, LDP Post Fellows can be found throughout the South, quietly and effectively trying out their new skills and knowledge, developing and implementing programs and plans to improve situations in the rural areas.

In the business of developing new leadership in the South, the Leadership Development Program, itself, has developed over the past seven years, as it has successfully adjusted to changing strategies, priorities, and programs in the region. Each individual has been recognized as possessing a unique set of needs, skills, hopes, and fears, as his Fellowship Program was developed and modified accordingly. As an adult education program, through the utilization of staff input, information, and experience, individualized programming and experience-based learning have been proven to be viable approaches to developing leaders.

Begun as an experimental program, the Leadership Development Program has continuously guided the development of its Fellows, and through them, numerous reform and development efforts throughout the South, and looks forward to many years of continued service and intervention wherever there is need for the development of new leadership.

Dr. Leonard Spearman, U.S.O.E. Acting Associate Commissioner for Student Assistance, discusses postsecondary educational opportunities.

Dr. Ulysses Byas, Superintendent of Macon County School System, explores potential resources with Dr. Thomas Burns, Associate Commissioner for State and Local Educational Programs, U.S.O.E.

LDP Post Fellows Mercedes Wright and Rufus Huffman discuss Southern educational problems with Winifred Green.

University of Georgia Professor Michael LaMorte discusses recent court cases in education.

ALABAMA

Jacquelynn N. Adams (67-68)
Field Representative
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama

Robert J. Armour (72-73)
Principal
Goodwater Elementary School
Goodwater, Alabama

James L. Barnett (71-72)
Security Guard
Reynolds Metal Alloys Division
Sheffield, Alabama

McDawson L. Burton (75-76)
Director Macon County Community
Development Corporation
Tuskegee, Alabama

Charles Carter (74-75)
Principal
Avalon Middle School
Muscle Shoals Board of Education
Muscle Shoals, Alabama

Ronald D. Chatman (68-69)
Director of Veterans and
Governmental Affairs
Compton College
Compton, California

Romelia N. Cobb (72-73)
Teacher
Muscle Shoals Headstart
Muscle Shoals, Alabama

Evelyn F. Crayton (75-76)
Food & Nutrition Specialist
Alabama Cooperative Extension Service
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Doris D. Crenshaw (70-71)
Outreach Specialist
Federation of Southern Co-ops
Epes, Alabama

Doris Dickerson (74-75)
Speech Therapist
Lee County Headstart
Auburn, Alabama

Chester A. Fredd, Jr. (70-71)
Electricity Instructor
Tuscaloosa State Trade Vocational
Technical School
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Carrienelle F. Gadson (67-68)
Staff Developer
Macon County Board of Education
Tuskegee, Alabama

James Hadnott (73-74)
Marketing Business Specialist
Bestline Corporation
Prattville, Alabama

Sallie Hadnot (71-72)
Community Worker
Prattville, Alabama

Jean H. Hargrove (71-72)
Human Relations Consultant
Illinois Education Association
Chicago, Illinois

Consuello J. Harper (67-68)
Executive Director
Central Alabama OIC
Montgomery, Alabama

Albert L. Harris, Jr. (75-76)
Shipping and Receiving Clerk
Gunter Air Force Base Exchange
Montgomery, Alabama

Ezekiel Harrison (69-70)
Teacher
Paramount High School
Boligee, Alabama

Odell S. Haynes (75-76)
Teacher
Lee County Board of Education
Opelika, Alabama

Dorothy J. Hinson (72-73)
Teacher
Lowndes County Board of Education
Hayneville, Alabama

Rufus C. Huffman (67-68)
Educational Field Director
NAACP, Southeast Region
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Annie B. Jackson (72-73)
Teacher
Wilcox County Board of Education
Hayneville, Alabama

Curtis D. Jernigan (69-70)
County Coordinator
Human Resources Development Center
Union Springs, Alabama

David A. Johnson (70-71)
Teacher
Choctaw County High School
Butler, Alabama

Toreatha Johnson (67-68)
Project Director
Choctaw County Board of Education
Butler, Alabama

Gilford Kibler (75-76)
Instructor of Social Work
Alabama A & M University
Normal, Alabama

Frankie King (73-74)
Career Development Coordinator
Lee County Head Start
Auburn, Alabama

Peter J. Kirksey (67-68)
President
Green County Board of Education
Eutaw, Alabama

Mary Y. Mack (68-69)
Counselor
Morristown High School
Morristown, New Jersey

Selena Manning (69-70)
County Coordinator
Agricultural Workers Program
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Curtis Mitchell (69-70)
Teacher
Central Junior High School
Phenix City, Alabama

Cecil E. Moody (67-68)
Teacher
Greenville Junior High School
Greenville, Alabama

June Newby (75-76)
Program Director
ESAA
Alabama A & M University
Normal, Alabama

Beverly Nichols (74-75)
Food & Nutrition Specialist
Alabama Extension Service
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Seth M. O'Korley (71-72)
Executive Diretor
Jefferson County Committee for
Economic Opportunity
Birmingham, Alabama

Claudia F. Pool (69-70)
Severn, Maryland

Annie R. Price (68-69)
Teacher
Goodwyn Junior High School
Montgomery, Alabama

Charles Smith (70-71)
County Commissioner
Lowndes County
Calhoun, Alabama

Nathaniel E.O. Smith (73-74)
Teacher
Union Springs, Alabama

James R. Thompson (67-68)
Teacher
Jacksonville High School
Jacksonville, Alabama

Martha L. Washington (69-70)
Display Supervisor
Gunter Air Force Base
Montgomery, Alabama

Clima White (73-74)
Principal
St. Joseph Elementary School
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Brenda J. Williams (72-73)
Teacher
Mobile, Alabama

Dorothy B. Williams (68-69)
Teacher
Stilliman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Minnie M. Williams (72-73)
Community Organizer
Detriot, Michigan

Willie Wilson (75-76)
School Board Member and
Buildings & Grounds Supervisor
Lowndes County Health Service Association
Hayneville, Alabama

JoAnn Wright (73-74)
Educational Planner
Educational Development Center
Macon County Board of Education
Tuskegee, Alabama

ARKANSAS

Otto Bishop (74-75)
Farmer-Self-employed
Winslow, Arkansas

Reverend Joseph Brown (74-75)
Minister/Community Worker
Gilmore, Arkansas

Bobby Morgan (69-70)
Special Services Program
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

FLORIDA

Bernard Dyer (74-75)
Technical Assistant
Human Resource Development Center
Miami, Florida

Zola Leonard (74-75)
Headstart Teacher
Laurel Park Childrens Center
St. Petersburg, Florida

Cornelius R. Lockett, Jr. (74-75)
Assistant Director of Admissions
Florida Junior College
Jacksonville, Florida

Mary Lee Palmer (72-73)
Outpatient Clinician
Pensacola Drug Abuse Program
Pensacola, Florida

Nancy W. Wilson (68-69)
Assistant Director of Admissions
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

GEORGIA

Anne Anderson (73-74)
Counselor
National Scholarship and Service
Fund for Negro Students
Atlanta, Ga.

Mae E. Armster (67-68)
Teacher
Susie H. Dunlap Elementary School
Thomasville, Georgia

Wade Ash (67-68)
Principal
Powder Springs Elementary School
Powder Springs, Georgia

Lois Benjamin (70-71)
Consultant Specialist
Atlanta, Georgia

Vera Bowman (73-74)
Speech Therapist
Linguistics Specialist
Maryland Board of Education
Takoma, Maryland

Linda R. Bulloch (70-71)
Author and Researcher
Center for Research and Social Change
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

ReJohnna R. Brown (71-72)
Professor of Early Childhood Education
Jackson State University
Jackson, Mississippi

William A. Chamberlain (74-75)
Director
Institute for Social Welfare Research
School of Social Welfare
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Donald P. Conroy (71-72)
Author
WATER IS WIDE
Atlanta, Georgia

Patricia A. Copely (71-72)
Financial Aid Counselor
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

S. Jack Dorsey (68-69)
Mayor
Mt. Zion, Georgia

Carol Duffey (71-72)
Recruiter/Evaluator
ACTION Work Training Center
Athens, Georgia

Willie W. Dyson (69-70)
Teacher
Ivy Street Elementary School
New Haven, Conneticut

Lu Elrod (68-69)
Music Teacher
University of Maryland
Baltimore, Maryland

Stine P. George (68-69)
Teacher
Seminole School
Donaldsonville, Georgia

Luke K. Gill, Jr. (69-70)
Chairman
Department of Social Work
LaGrange College
LaGrange, Georgia

Sister Mary Julian Griffin (74-75)
Director of Social Affairs
St. John's Center-Diocese of Savannah
Savannah, Georgia

Harry Hamm (74-75)
Coordinator
Comprehensive Psych. & Education Service
Valdosta, Georgia

Doris J. Hegmon (70-71)
Graduate Student
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Evelyn Jones High (67-68)
Teacher
Junior High School 1
Trenton, New Jersey

Joanne F. Jankovic (70-71)
Instructor
School of Social Work
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Cynthia A. Jefferson (70-71)
Field Representative
Black Women Employment Program
Atlanta, Georgia

Dorothy M. Jones (67-68)
Teacher
Garrison Pilcher Elementary School
Thomasville, Georgia

Walter Wallace Judge (67-68)
Director
Emergency School Assistance Program
Albany, Georgia

Si Kahn (69-70)
Director
Cut Cane Associates
Mineral Bluff, Georgia

Glenn Keebler (70-71)
Superintendent
Wayne County Board of Education
Jesup, Georgia

Harris K. Lentini (68-69)
Educational Consultant
Savannah, Georgia

Willie Lester (70-71)
Student
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Larry C. Linker (70-71)
Assistant to the Dean
for Special Programs
School of Urban Life
Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia

Donna McAlister (75-76)
Interdepartmental Liasion
Chatham County Board of Education
Savannah, Georgia

William S. McElhannon (72-73)
Graduate Student
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Harriet Macklin (75-76)
Housing Program Assistant
NAACP
Atlanta, Georgia

Robert Mants (71-72)
Community Service Manager, SEASHA
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Gwendolyn Miller (75-76)
Teacher
Unadilla Elementary School
Unadilla, Georgia

Murray Miller (75-76)
Teacher
Vienna Intermediate School
Unadilla, Georgia

Richard T. Miller (75-76)
Teacher
Franklin County Schools
Carnesville, Georgia

Cecil E. Moody (67-68)
Teacher
Greenville Junior High
Greenville, Alabama

Charles R. Morrison (67-68)
Teacher
East Rome High School
Rome, Georgia

Sidney Neville (67-68)
Director of Planning
Div. of Planning, Research & Evaluation
Department of Education
Atlanta, Georgia

Donald L. Nixon (74-75)
Secondary School Science Teacher
Carroll County Board of Education
Carrollton, Georgia

Lenora P. Nolley (70-71)
Teacher
Newnan High School
Newnan, Georgia

Louise W. Patterson (67-68)
Title I Coordinator
Troupe County Schools
LaGrange, Georgia

Elvin W. Phillips (75-76)
Assistant Principal
Habersham Central High School
Cornelia, Georgia

Joe T. Poston (70-71)
Consultant & Training Specialist
Decatur, Georgia

Michael Purnell (73-74)
Teacher
Red Level, Alabama

Isaac Richmond, Jr. (69-70)
Vice President
University of Marietta
Atlanta, Georgia

F. Wade Scholes (72-73)
Administrative Assistant for
Community Schools
Cobb County School System
Marietta, Georgia

Sandra Seabury (73-74)
Secretary
Psychological Testing Service
Atlanta, Georgia

Joseph H. Smith (75-76)
Assistant Principal
Parker-Mathis Elementary School
Lowndes County Board of Education
Valdosta, Georgia

Milton Sutherlin (75-76)
Assistant Superintendent for Federal
Programs
Houston County Board of Education
Perry, Georgia

Sandra L. Swans (72-73)
Director
The Neighborhood Arts Center, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Lawrence E. Underwood (67-68)
Instructor
Harding College
Searcy, Arkansas

Ralph Warren (73-74)
Principal
Sparta Elementary School
Sparta, Georgia

Robert S. Westcott (67-68)
Doctoral Student
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Joseph White, Jr. (71-72)
Doctoral Student
Brandeis University
Waltham, Massachusetts

Mercedes A. Wright (71-72)
Field Consultant
NAACP
Savannah, Georgia

LOUISIANA

Emma E. Barnes (74-75)
Community Organizer
Southern Cooperative Development Fund
Lafayette, Louisiana

Robert M. Ferris (74-75)
Teacher
New Orleans Free School
New Orleans, Louisiana

Willie F. Hawkins (74-75)
Assistant Director
Community Correction & Research Center
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Kathleen R. Knox Whitney (71-72)
Instructor
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Tom C. Whitney (71-72)
Director Transportation Center
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Diane Wood (75-76)
Prison Outreach Worker
Graduate Student
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI

Tonny H. Algood (72-73)
Processing Checker
Gaddis Packing Company
Forest, Mississippi

John Askew (74-75)
Executive Director and
Secretary of Hancock County
Housing Authority
Mayfield, Georgia

Bernard Barnes (74-75)
Junior Engineer
Ingalls Shipbuilding Division
Pascagoula, Mississippi

Marva T. Bell (70-71)
Student
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Hilda F. Braggs (71-72)
Associate Director of Financial Aid
Wilberforce University
Wilberforce, Ohio

Marjorie Brandon (74-75)
Justice of the Peace
Claiborne County
Port Gibson, Mississippi

John T. Bryant (69-70)
Teacher
West Jones High School
Laurel, Mississippi

Eugene Carter (71-72)
Farmer
Community Organizer
Phillip, Mississippi

Jennie M. Clay (68-69)
Teacher
Pershing Elementary School
University City, Missouri

Bobby Cooper (68-69)
Chairman
Fine Arts Department
Utica Junior College
Utica, Mississippi

John E. Darden (75-76)
Chairman-Teacher
Science Department
Amory Middle School
Amory, Mississippi

Joseph D. Delaney (68-69)
Social Worker
N. Mississippi Rural League Service
Oxford, Mississippi

Evan Doss, Jr. (74-75)
Tax Assesor and Collector
Claiborne County
Port Gibson, Mississippi

Bob E. Ferguson (75-76)
Principal, Columbia High School
Columbia, Mississipi

Bettye Ward Fletcher (72-73)
Program Director
Community Education Extension Service
Jackson, Mississippi

Howard Gunn (73-74)
President
Ministerial Institute and College
West Point, Mississippi

Boss Harvey (73-74)
Nutrition Coordinator
Community Education Extension
Mary Holmes College
Jackson, Mississippi

M. Tom Hewlett (74-75)
Teacher & Director
Activities & Public Relations Program
Moss Point Public Schools
Moss Point, Mississippi

Mary Sue Hillman (73-74)
Headstart Project Officer
Mississippi Action for Progress
Leakesville, Mississippi

Irma A. Jimmie (74-75)
School Counselor & Community
Health Worker
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Philadelphia, Mississippi

Aaron Jones (71-72)
Assistant Principal
Moss Point High School
Moss Point, Mississippi

Herbert Jones (70-71)
Director of Recreation and Maintenance
Voice of Calvary Comm. Organization
Mendenhall, Mississippi

Lavaree Jones (72-73)
Office Manager
Bram Realty
Jackson, Mississippi

Gerald Kidd (75-76)
Laboratory Technician
Jackson Hinds Comprehensive Health Center
Jackson, Mississippi

Jeanell Kidd (74-75)
Area Nurse
Mississippi Action for Progress, Inc.
Jackson, Mississippi

Alice Lewis (75-76)
Staff Writer
Alcorn State University
Lorman, Mississippi

Willie B. Long (70-71)
Teacher
T.L. Westland High School
Greenville, Mississippi

Juanita McAdory (74-75)
Chairman
Home Economics Department
Hinds County Agricultural
High School
Utica, Mississippi

Barbara E. McCoy (74-75)
Education & Career Development Coord.
Mississippi Headstart Coord. Council
Jackson, Mississippi

Audrey McFarland (75-76)
ESAA Reading Instructor
Bruce Middle School
Bruce, Mississippi

Charles McLaurin (74-75)
Director of Purchasing and Inventory
Sunflower County Progress Headstart
Indianola, Mississippi

Howell G. Mims (69-70)
Principal
S.D. Lee High School
Columbia, Mississippi

Dexter Montgomery (73-74)
Principal
Amory Middle School
Amory, Mississippi

Yvonne Moore (71-72)
Teacher
Amite County Schools
Liberty, Mississippi

John M. Perkins (72-73)
Program Coordinator
Voice of Calvary Community Organization
Mendenhall, Mississippi

Alfred H. Rhodes, Jr. (70-71)
Attorney-at-Law
Yazoo City, Mississippi

Randolph Robinson (72-73)
Diamond National Company
Natchez, Mississippi

Will M. Robinson (75-76)
Director
Tri-County Halfway House
Jackson, Mississippi

Beatrice Shell (75-76)
Career Devl. & Personnel Office
Community Education Extension
Mary Holmes College
Jackson, Mississippi

Bennie G. Thompson (74-75)
Clinic Administrator
Jackson-Hinds Comprehensive
Health Center
Utica, Mississippi

Leonard E. Thompson (68-69)
Parole Officer
State of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Eva Young Tisdale (72-73)
Assistant Coordinator
Neighborhood Service Center
Philadelphia, Mississippi

Hattie V. Ward (67-68)
Director
Youth Center
Prentiss, Mississippi

Michael Ward (73-74)
Upward Bound Coordinator
Mississippi Action for Community Educ.
Greenville, Mississippi

David W. Washington (74-75)
Vice Mayor
Pace Mississippi

Mildred M. Williams (67-68)
Assistant Supervisor
Elementary Education
Mississippi State Dept. of Educ.
Jackson, Mississippi

Robert E. Young (69-70)
Instructor
Mississippi Valley State
Itta Bena, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA

Gwendolyn C. Chunn (75-76)
Associate Director
Upward Bound
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Charles A. Copeland (75-76)
Director of Broadcasting
The Community Radio Workshop, Inc.
Durham, North Carolina

Cellestine V. Hill Hunt (72-73)
Loan Officer
Greensboro, North Carolina

Worth W. Long (75-76)
Field Research Specialist
Division of Performing Arts
Smithsonian Institute
Washington, D.C.

Robert Myatt (74-75)
Garden Coordinator
Midlands CommunityAction Agency, Inc.
Columbia, South Carolina

Ida J. Johnson Spruill (72-73)
Social Worker
Durham, North Carolina

Harvey L. White (75-76)
Planning & Program Development Officer
Franklinton Center, Inc.
Tarboro, North Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA

Judy R. Alexander (75-76)
Teacher
Munford G. Fuller Center
Florence, South Carolina

Elizabeth D. Book
Project Director
Williamsburg County Association for the Arts
Greeleyville, South Carolina

Britanna P. Bright (67-68)
Guidance Counselor
Alice Drive Junior High School
Sumter, South Carolina

Janye Clement (74-75)
Teacher
Orangeburg City System
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Willis Crosby (73-74)
Coordinator
Urban Occupational Educ. Devl. Program
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts

Samuel F. Drew, Jr. (75-76)
Principal
Everett Elementary School
Fairfield County School System
Winnsboro, South Carolina

James C. Evans (71-72)
Teacher
Howard High School
Georgetown, South Carolina

Elizabeth Fant (73-74)
Librarian
City of Greenville
Greenville, South Carolina

Hazel L. Frazier
Community Worker
Beauford-Jasper County
Beauford, South Carolina

Georgia S. Good (70-71)
Director
Management and Public Relations
Orangeburg County Consumer Health
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Robert Graham (74-75)
Teacher
Florence County School District 3
Lake City, South Carolina

William W. Grant (74-75)
Beaufort County Councilman
Burton, South Carolina

Martha J. Heggins (67-68)
Assistant Professor
Early Childhood Education
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Lillie Jean Johnson (69-70)
Teacher, Howard High School
Georgetown, South Carolina

Freddie C. Jolley (72-73)
Field Representative
American Friends Service Committee
Florence, South Carolina

Abie Ladson (69-70)
Project Coordinator
Waccamaw Regional Planning Commission
Plantersville, South Carolina

Louise R. Lester (68-69)
Associate Professor
Francis Marion College
Florence, South Carolina

Leon Love (73-74)
Project Director
S.C. State Department of Education
Columbia, South Carolina

Dorothy J. McDuffie (74-75)
Teacher
McClenaghen High School
Florence County School District # 1
Florence, South Carolina

Rev. Marcus Matthews (70-71)
Minister
Asbury United Methodist Church
Washington, D.C.

Ruby Mazyck (73-74)
Field Representative
American Friends Service Committee
Cross, South Carolina

Evelyn Miller (74-75)
Teacher and Chairman of the Department of Language Arts
Williams Junior High School
Florence, South Carolina

Patricia Mizell (75-76)
Volunteer Worker
Columbia, South Carolina

Marshall E. Parker (68-69)
Director for Continuing Education
University of South Carolina
Conway, South Carolina

Terrance K. Peterson (71-72)
Researcher
South Carolina Educational Association
Columbia, South Carolina

Thomas B. Poston (69-70)
Organizational Specialist
National Education Association
Washington, D.C.

Joseph Rice, Jr. (74-75)
Superintendent
Orangeburg School District # 2
Bowman, South Carolina

Jesse J. Rudolph (69-70)
Teacher, Howard High School
Georgetown, South Carolina

Tommy T. Shubrick (69-70)
Teacher, Winyah Sr. High School
Georgetown, South Carolina

Cooper A. Smith (69-70)
Doctoral Student, Atlanta University
Principal
Mary H. Wright Elementary School
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Johnny Elmer Smith (68-69)
Farmer, Self-employed
Estill, South Carolina

Joy E Sovde (75-76)
Consultant & State Coordinator
South Carlina Education Seminars
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Augustus T. Stephens (71-72)
Counselor, South Carolina
Vocational Rehabilitation
Aiken, South Carolina

Byard Stone Jr. (74-75)
Director of Federal Programs
Marlboro County School District
Bennettsville, South Carolina

James W. Stover, Jr. (68-69)
Special Compensatory Educ. Director
Guidyard School
Sumter, South Carolina

James C. Taylor (67-68)
Developmental Disability Adm.
Dept. of Mental Retardation
Columbia, South Carolina

Connie H. Terry (68-69)
Teacher, Felton Lab. School
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Robert Toporek (70-71)
Manager, Olivers Sandwich Shop
Charleston, South Carolina

William B. Whitney (70-71)
Executive Director, Greenville Urban League
Greenville, South Carolina

Freddie L. Williams (68-69)
Program Director
Florence County OEO Comm.
Florence, South Carolina

Hazel L. Wood (74-75)
Student
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Nancy W. Young (68-69)
Assistant Director of Admissions
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Gilbert B. Zimmerman (70-71)
Executive Director, Beaufort-Jasper Economic Opportunity Comm.
Beaufort, South Carolina

VIRGINIA

Kathleen T. Harshberger (70-72)
Student and Volunteer Worker
Blacksburg, Virginia

Wilbur Robertson (69-70)
Teacher
Gibson Elementary School
Danville, Virginia

Harvey W. Shelton (74-75)
Program Leader
Resource Development
Virginia Extension Service
Roanoke, Virginia

Edward G. Simpson (75-76)
Associate Director
Off-Campus Credit Programs
Donaldson Brown Center for
Continuing Education
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and
State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

TENNESSEE

Michael Blackmon (74-75)
Clerk
Avondale Shipyard
Avondale, Louisiana

Max A. Horton (75-76)
Coordinator of Admissions and Regional
Outpatient Services
Western State Psychiatric Hospital
Western State, Tennessee

Patricia Howard (75-76)
Administrative Assistant
Girls Club of Memphis, Inc.
Memphis, Tennessee

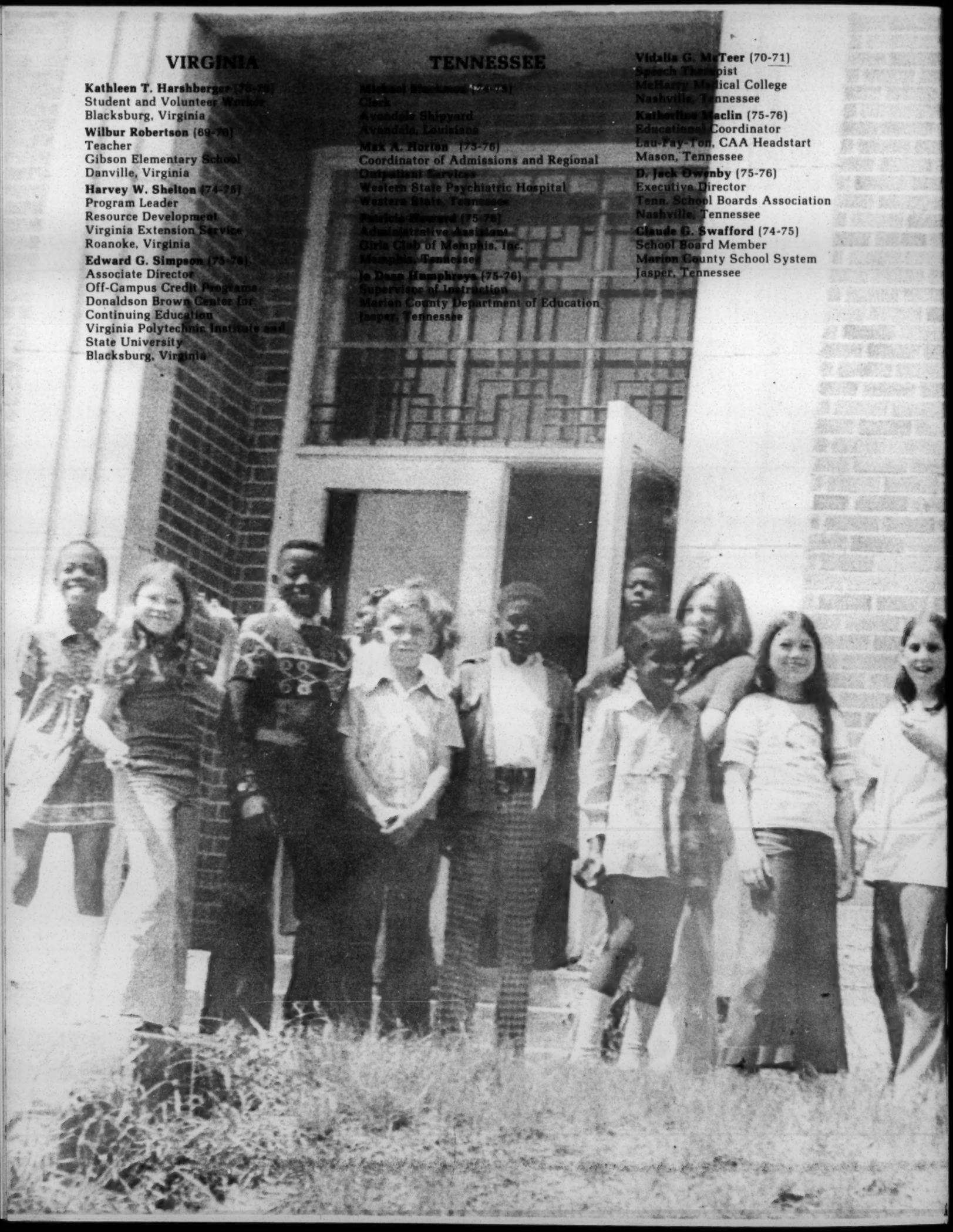
Jo Dean Humphreys (75-76)
Supervisor of Instruction
Marion County Department of Education
Jasper, Tennessee

Vidalia G. McTeer (70-71)
Speech Therapist
McHarry Medical College
Nashville, Tennessee

Katherline Maclin (75-76)
Educational Coordinator
Lau-Fay-Ton, CAA Headstart
Mason, Tennessee

D. Jack Owenby (75-76)
Executive Director
Tenn. School Boards Association
Nashville, Tennessee

Claude G. Swafford (74-75)
School Board Member
Marion County School System
Jasper, Tennessee



MAJOR COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

and

RELATED PUBLICATIONS

April, 1976

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Atlanta, Georgia

— PUBLICATIONS IN PRINT —

The Migrant Farmer: A Psychiatric Study. An unusual look by Harvard University Psychiatrist Robert Coles, M.D., into the lives and problems of migrant farm families. Single copy 30¢; 20¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

John Willie Reed: An Epitaph, by Charles Longstreet Weltner. A sensitive look at the life and death of a poor Southern black man. Single copy 30¢; 20¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Radicalism: Southern Style, by Reese Cleghorn. A commentary on regional extremism of the right. Published jointly with the American Jewish Committee. Single copy 50¢; 20¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

The Tax Structure of the Southern States: An Analysis, by Dr. Eva Galambos. An extensive examination of the regressive nature of taxation in the Southern states. Single copy 50¢; 40¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction, by James McBride Dabbs. A look at 25 black and white authors of Southern fiction and how each treated the civil rights movement, the tumult in southern race relations of the past two decades. $1.50 per copy.

Equal Housing Opportunities in the South: A Challenge, 1972-73, by Horace Barker and Robert E. Anderson, Jr. Single copy 50¢; 40¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Promise of Progress: Memphis School Desegregation, 1972-73, by John Egerton. A report by a distinguished Southern education writer on school desegregation in Memphis, Tennessee, during a time of strife and tension. Single copy 50¢; 40¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Comprehensive Health Care: A Southern View, by Robert E. Anderson, Jr., and Susan Morgan. A survey by SRC Health Task Force staffers on the comprehensive health care approach as it has been implemented by Southern comprehensive health centers. The report includes a brief look at alternative health care programs. Single copy 50¢; 40¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

State and Local Taxes in the South, 1973, by Dr. Eva Galambos. This report, which updates a 1969 study by Dr. Galambos on the same subject, documents the Southern states' reliance on regressive sales taxes. Single copy 75¢; 60¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

The Cost of Neglect, the Value of Equity: A Guidebook for School Finance Reform in the South, by Virginia Fleming. This study describes the issues involved in bringing about equity in school finance in the South and reports on current trends now taking place in the region. A chapter is devoted to possible citizen action, and invaluable resources within each state are cited. Single copy, $1.25; 75¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

The Student Pushout: Victim of Continued Resistance to Desegregation. Published jointly by the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial. This booklet focuses on the rising numbers of youth, black and white, in the South who through discriminatory treatment or in-school hostility, abandon education in the region's public schools. Single copy $1.00; 75¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Health Care in the South: A Statistical Profile. Produced under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council's Health Task Force and the Special Publications Department. This report catalogues statistics in 29 health-related categories from all 1,105 counties in the South. Included are poverty, housing, and mortality ratios as well as health manpower and facilities numbers and ratios. $3.50 per copy.

The Distribution of Southern Black Population, by C. Jack Tucker and Everett S. Lee. An analysis of population trends among the Southern black population during the past decade. Single copy $1.00; 75¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

The Ten-State Nutrition Survey: An Analysis, by James Carter. Brief summary of a major study which points out the continuing problem of hunger in America. Extra ammunition to encourage full utilization of food programs. Single copy 60¢; 50¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Maps:

- "Black Population as Percent of Total Population, Counties of Fifteen Southern States."
- "Poor Families as Percent of all Families, Counties of Fifteen Southern States."
- "Rural Population as Percent of Total Population, Counties of Fifteen Southern States Including Standard Metro Statistical Area (SMSA) Counties."

1 map $1.00; 2-5 80¢ ea; 6-15 70¢ ea; 16 and over 60¢ ea (mixed or all the same)

The Other Twenty Percent: A Statistical Analysis of Poverty in the South, by Gretchen Maclachlan. Detailed examination of the extent and impact of poverty in the South. State-by-state data on the 11-state South and some basic county data. Includes black population distribution map and poor families distribution map. Single copy $3.00; $2.50 in bulk of 10 or more.

Government in the Sunshine, by Ronald L. Plesser and Peter J. Petkas. A series of reports from SRC's Southern Governmental Monitoring Project on open meetings and open records laws in each of the 11 Southern states. The reports also contain an evaluation of federal freedom of information statutes. Single copy $1.00; 75¢ in bulk of 10 or more; $7.00 per complete set.

The Job Ahead: Manpower Policies in the South. A brief history of manpower policies and programs and a general evaluation of a number of them. It descrbies the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in some detail and raises questions about the role and composition of manpower advisory councils. It criticizes allocation formulas which in effect discriminate against the South. Single copy $1.00; 75¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Race Relations Law Index, 1973-74, by T.A. Smedley, Professor of law at Vanderbilt University, and editor of the former *Race Relations Law Reporter*, and *Race Relations Law Survey*. A listing by subject categories, of federal court decisions involving race. $5.00 per copy.

Citizen Participation in Revenue Sharing: A Report From the South, by Carol M. Rose, Southern Governmental Monitoring Project. Although General Revenue Sharing (GRS) presupposes that local governments are close to the people, there is often little citizen participation in GRS decisions. This booklet describes citizen participation in GRS in a number of Southern localities, and suggests changes to encourage greater citizen participation. Single copy $2.00; $1.50 in bulk of 10 or more.

The Ants and the Elephant, by Dr. Charles Mann. This major analysis of the impact of government policy on tobacco farming in the South was published in hardback form in late December, and announced by the Olympus Press in its February promotion mailer. The Council has received 156 copies and will receive a total of 500 from the run of 2,000. A promotion flyer will announce the book to libraries, those concerned with agriculture policy, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Extension Services. Olympus Press and SRC exchanged marketing and promotion plans early in March to guarantee wider coverage. $8.95 per copy, plus 30¢ postage.

Unemployment in a South in Recession, by Council staff. This special report, containing several articles analyzing the impact of the recession, including problems of unemployment, subemployment, unemployment among blacks and women, unemployment compensation, and legislation relating to unemployment, was published in February. Some 1,800 copies were mailed to media, labor groups, state planning officials, federal officials, etc. Media response, particularly radio, was excellent. Five stations in Atlanta, Houston, and Dallas interviewed staff members; and two black radio networks taped interviews also. Atlanta television station WSB-TV interviewed Emory Via and gave the report good coverage. There were also newspaper queries. Single copy $1.00; 75¢ in bulk of 10 or more.

Rural Health Project Preliminary Summary Report (multilithed), by Karen Davis and Ray Marshall. This special evaluation of rural health care in the South, undertaken by the Task Force on Southern Rural Development for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and published last fall, has been circulated to several hundred concerned organizations and people. It is already being used as a basis for determining future directions in handling rural health problems, and as testimony at hearings. The final report will be an expanded version of the summary report, and will be published in book form by Ray Marshall and Karen Davis in the early summer.

Discrimination in General Revenue Sharing in the South, by Wayne Clark, Southern Governmental Monitoring Project. An analysis of discrimination in the use of general revenue sharing funds in the southern states, this report was released in February at a press conference in Washington held by four U.S. Representatives. It received extensive press, radio, and television coverage, including being reported on the Today Show and CBS Morning News. Single copy $2.00; $1.50 in bulk of 10 or more.

Medicaid in Georgia: Resolution of a Non-Crisis, by Council staff. An evaluation of problems of Medicaid administration in Georgia, this report was released at a

press conference held by Dr. Vivian Henderson at the Capitol in January. It received good local television and press coverage. Available at no cost.

North Carolina Legislators: For the Record, by Curt Martin, Southern Governmental Monitoring Project. This 800-page book profiles each member of the North Carolina General Assembly, including their activities in the 1975 session (bills introduced, committee service, and voting records), their campaign finances, their backgrounds, and their legislative districts. This study will be one of the first such state legislative projects to break even financially, and as such may serve as a model for providing accurate information on state legislators in other states. It was released April 13 in Raleigh, N.C., and 3000 copies are now in print. A brochure advertising the book has been circulated to some groups in North Carolina, and is being used in a direct mail solicitation. Several groups have already placed bulk orders and/or agreed to assist with publicity in their newsletters, magazines, and meetings. 1-9 copies, $7.95 ea.; 10-34 copies, $7.15 ea.; 35-99 copies $6.75 ea.; 100+ copies $6.35. All orders, add 70¢ mailing per book.

A Time for Accounting: The Housing and Community Development Act in the South, by Raymond Brown with Anne Coil and Carol Rose, Southern Governmental Monitoring Project. This is the first comprehensive analysis of experience with the Community Development Act anywhere in the country. The book was released in Washington, D.C., March 31 at a press conference, and was presented to Sen. William Proxmire. Single copy $4.00; $3.00 in bulk of 10 or more.

School Desegregation: A Report Card from the South, by John Egerton. This special evaluation of school desegregation in the region was undertaken with a small grant from the Southern Education Foundation. The report is based on six case studies by John Egerton and five briefer profiles by selected reporters in the region. It includes a preliminary analysis of results of a survey of superintendents and principals done by Dr. Charles Grigg, Florida State University, and results of an opinion sampling of other community people done by staff members. The book was released April 14 in Atlanta. Prior to its release an intensive phased publicity plan was set in motion, including series publication in major papers and manuscript release to major magazines and journals. The publication follows the Council's consultations in the fall in Atlanta and New York, and directives of Council members in the Annual Meeting at Kanuga. Another publication is scheduled for May, and strategy for a southern consultation and other steps to protect gains already made in school desegregation are being planned. Single copy $4.00; $3.50 in bulk of 10 or more.

— PUBLICATIONS READY FOR RELEASE —

Report of the Task Force on Southern Rural Development. This final report of the Task Force, including its recommendations, has been edited and duplicated for review by Task Force members at their mid-April meeting. It will be released upon completion of their review.

A Southern Declaration: 1976. This major publication encompassing the conclusions of the full Council at the Kanuga Conference in November, 1975, has been edited and reviewed by the Council members. Release is planned for early May.

Testing. . . Grouping: The New Segregation in Southern Schools?, by Roger Mills and Miriam Bryan. Community leaders interested in being able to talk back to professional educators about the testing, tracking and ability grouping of children in schools will find this handbook most useful. It describes the racial and socioeconomic effects of such grouping, tells how to analyze the school system, how to begin the move for reform, how to bring a lawsuit, and how to determine if the system is using the wrong tests or misinterpreting test results. It also gives technical reviews of the tests most widely used in grouping students. First edition printing (2,500 copies) is underway, and release is planned for early May.

— PUBLICATIONS IN FINAL DRAFT FORM —

Status and Prospects of Small Farmers in the South, by Ray Marshall and members of the staff of the Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas. Funded by a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, this major study is in final stages of editing. Publication is planned for spring, 1976.

Low Income Housing in the South, by Marsha Hudgins. This report, based on extensive research undertaken for the Commission on the Future of the South, is being edited for publication by late spring. In addition to information taken from the initial research, it contains an analysis of current federal and state housing programs and up-to-date information on the use of Section 8 funds in a fifteen-state south.

— MANUSCRIPTS IN PROCESS OF COMPLETION —

An Analysis of Legal Services in the South, by Susan Perry, Southern Governmental Monitoring Project. This analysis is being prepared as a basis for recommendations by the Council to the new Legal Services Corporation to help encourage additional investments in legal services for the poor in the region.

- *White Flight, School Segregation, and Demographic Change*, by David Sly, Florida State University.
- *An Analysis of the Opinions and Attitudes of Southern School Superintendents and Principals*, by Dr. Charles Grigg, Florida State University.
- *The Academic Consequences of Desegregation*, by Meyer Weinberg, Editor, *Integrated-ucation*, School of Education, Northwestern University.

THESE THREE COMPANION pieces are in manuscript form, and publication will follow John Egerton's report by a month, as a part of the strategy to set before the public the results of serious research on school desegregation, and to counter the growing national reaction to it.

CONFERENCES

THE COUNCIL, the Presbyterian Church, USA, the Georgia Citizens Coalition on Hunger, the Children's Foundation, and several other groups co-sponsored a regional conference on January 31 to explore the legislative alternatives being proposed for revision of the Food Stamp Program. The conference was held at the headquarters of the Presbyterian Church, USA, in Atlanta, and drew over 200 people from 12 states. Out of this meeting have grown two statewide hunger coalitions -- in Florida and Louisiana -- which are dealing with projected Food Stamp cutbacks. (Coalitions already exist in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.)

The Council will sponsor a SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE ON RURAL HEALTH in conjunction with the Department of Continuing Education in Health Sciences, University of North Carolina, in late September. Planning is proceeding and a tentative agenda was drawn up in March. The conference will examine the role of government health policy in the delivery of health services to rural residents and recommend positive changes designed to facilitate and encourage the development of rural health services resources. It is an outgrowth of research done by the staff during its work with the Commission on the Future of the South and research done by the Task Force on Southern Rural Development's health project, which will be published prior to the conference.

The STATE AND LOCAL TAX SEMINAR was held March 25-26 at the Internationale Hotel, Atlanta. The conference brought together approximately 25 "activitists" and researchers concerned with tax reform aimed at lessening the burden of low-income groups. This seminar was an outgrowth of research on tax systems funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and published by the Council.

A POVERTY SEMINAR is planned for later in the spring based on SRC's poverty analysis study, how it should be further used, other areas of exploration, and what suggestions groups such as SRC should make to data collecting agencies such as the Bureau of the Census.

Preliminary planning is underway for three HUMAN RESOURCES CONFERENCES, one of which will be the health conference co-sponsored with the University of North Carolina. The other conferences will be built around such topics as manpower, housing, income maintenance (especially AFDC, Food Stamps, Unemployment Compensation), and access to health care (including health finance). Conference topics will be subject to local planning committee approval. The conferences are an outgrowth of research done during the work with the Commission on the Future of the South, partially funded by the Rockefeller Foundation.

The SPRING FELLOWS CONFERENCE of the Leadership Development Program is planned for June. Selection Committee Meetings were held in April for the Eastern Division, and are scheduled for May for the Western Division. Recruitment, screening, and follow-up for applicants took place in January and February, and field interviews are in progress.

The Martin Luther King, Jr., Afro-American Center at Boston University held its FIRST CONSULTATION ON CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAMS AND LEGISLATION on April 14. George Esser, the Council's Executive Director, presented a programmatic essay on the busing issue at that consultation.

The Council and the Learning Institute of North Carolina co-sponsored a CONFERENCE ON YOUNG ADOLESCENTS at the Grove Park Inn in Asheville, N.C., April 11-14. The conference focused on institutional services for young people between the ages of ten and fifteen, including education, juvenile justice, health, and community and family (recreational services, supports for and through families). Thirty to forty people will participate.

SIRP GRANTS: APRIL, 1976

— ARTICLES PUBLISHED —

"Living's Hard in the Piney Woods," by Wayne Greenhaw. Through the formation of the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association, poor blacks and poor whites have joined together in the struggle for economic self-determination. Opposed by the huge paper conglomerates, the workers have created their own fledgling pulpwood producer cooperative to channel profits back into their own community services and institutions rather than into the pockets of the dealers who are the middlemen. New York *Times* Op-Ed page, April 17, 1974.

"Revolt Against the Planners in the Kentucky River Area Development District," by David Whisnant. Since the idea of local and regional development districts emerged in the early 1960s, it has spread over the entire Appalachian region through the urgings of the Appalachian Regional Commission. The Commission in turn has come to be viewed as a paradigm for development planning strategy and administration for the entire nation. The 1972 controversy that arose in the heart of Appalachia raised many of the critical issues of the pitfalls and the potential of regionalism and "creative federalism." *Southern Exposure*, Summer, 1974.

"The Consulting Con Game," by Edward Roeder. Roeder disclosed a scandal in the U.S. Office of Education in which university professors became government consultants, approved educational program grants, required subcontract kickbacks and collected big money. *New Times*, November 15, 1974.

"Information Is Power," by John Muir and Alice Embree. Chartered as a "citizen-controlled, non-partisan research agency," the Texas Research League occupies a position of central importance in propaganda activities in the state's capital. Its membership list includes 50 of the largest industrial corporations in the U.S. who do business in Texas. A two-part series in the *Texas Observer*, August 9 and 24, 1974.

"Banished Children," by Edith Back. With existing facilities greatly overcrowded, 700 handicapped children, wards of the state of Louisiana, were packed off to "human warehouses" in Texas -- whose program, facilities, licensing and monitoring were blatantly inadequate and below Louisiana standards. New Orleans *Courier*, May 16, 1974.

"Our Sick Hospitals: How They're Locking Out the Poor," by Edith Back. Hospitals built and sustained by public money often accept only the rich or the well-insured. In New Orleans, poor patients are beginning to channel their dissatisfaction into class action lawsuits forcing hospitals to admit them as well as the wealthy onto their rolls. New Orleans *Courier*, July 25, 1974.

"Welfare Chiselers: Good Government, Bad Politics, or Merely Genocide?" by Edith Back. Administrative cost efficiency vs. human need -- and in the middle are caught those who need help most, female-headed families with dependent children. As a group too often manipulated out of the means for a decent standard of living, Back examines the ramifications in human terms of the cost-cutting designed to hold down the number of so-called "welfare chiselers" in Louisiana. New Orleans *Courier*, April 4, 1974.

"Managing Medicaid Money" and "Blue Cross Blues," a two-part series by Jackee Cox. Cox revealed the high-handed fiscal operations of Blue Cross, which was investing Medicaid reserves to help friendly corporations while still refusing to disclose administrative costs. The *Texas Observer*, November 29, 1974 and January 31, 1975.

"Iowa Infighting: Perot v. Murchison," by Jackee Cox. Fiscal combat between the competing firms of computer magnate H. Ross Perot and Dallas Cowboys owner and oil magnate Clint Murchison for over $9 million worth of state Medicare contracts in Iowa and Texas. The ruckus finally forced the Texas Social Security Administration to jump off the Perot bandwagon and make their data processing in-house. The *Texas Observer*, October 17, 1975.

"The Soybean Bomb," by Bill Rushton. Soybean agribusiness is swallowing up increasing amounts of farm acreage. At stake are the growing profits of the soybean as food and as soybean byproduct. The New Orleans *Courier*, August 8, 1974.

"Wallace and the Blacks in Alabama," by Roger Williams. Several black elected officials work openly with Governor George Wallace and some publicly support his political ambitions. While the reasons are to a degree practical -- for instance, mayors everywhere need the governor's cooperation -- such political support inflames black feelings and does a disservice to the efforts of blacks to achieve equal rights. Washington *Post* Outlook section, November 16, 1975.

"Blacks to the Bench," by Roger Williams. Despite the striking growth of black elected officials in the South, the numbers of black judges remain very small and are increasing at a very slow rate. The problems seem to be as much a matter of pure politics as they are of race. The *Progressive*, December 1975.

"Penalizing the Patient: Medicaid in Georgia," by Peter Range. Medicaid cutbacks became, in the fall of 1975, a national issue. Range investigated the situation in Georgia, which was then about to institute the most severe series of cutbacks in the U.S. The *Nation*, November 22, 1975.

"Recession Lay Offs: Study in Black and White," by John Egerton. The recession-induced dilemma of seniority v. affirmative action in job layoffs has become a nationwide labor/civil rights issue. Egerton focused on two Nashville manufacturing plants grappling with the problem. Published originally in the Washington *Post*, Aug. 3, 1975 and in various other Southern newspapers including the Nashville *Tennessean*, August 17, 1975.

"The NLRB Down South: How 7,041 Got Fired," by Edward McConville. Anti-union activity in the textile industry and the uselessness of the NLRB in preventing it. Despite the gains made and the present strength of unions in the North, Southern textile management still deals in intransigence in the 1930's mold -- intimidation, harassment, and firing of workers suspected of union organizing. The *Nation*, October 25, 1975.

"Atlanta Racketeering," by Bill Cutler, Jon Jacobs, and David Chandler. In a three-part series, the authors examined large-scale corruption in the city police department -- graft and its tie-ins with lottery and numbers, sports betting, and drug traffic. The Atlanta *Gazette*, September 10, 17, and 24, 1975.

"Women in Southern Jails," by Patsy Sims. Women prisoners, even after the Joanne Little case, are still a virtually ignored segment of the prison population. They are prey to abusive conditions in jails that are still among the worst of southern institutions. *Columbia State*, November 2, 1975; *Chattanooga Times*, November 10, 1975; about eight other southern dailies; Southern Poverty Law Center's *Poverty Law Report*, two-part series, January and March, 1976; and *Third World Readers' Service*, February, 1976.

"The Strange Case of AB&T," by Patsy Sims. The 1974 bankruptcy of Columbia, South Carolina's American Bank and Trust Company produced few tremors among either bankrupted stockholders or watchdog state and federal agencies. In the third largest bank failure in the United States since the FDIC was created in 1934, Sims points up political influence at work in the pussyfooting around the book's collapse. *Charleston News and Courier*, January 11, 1976.

"The Dust in Willie's Lungs," by Thad Moore and Fran Lynn. The textile industry's brown lung disease has crippled thousands of workers. Yet the agencies enforcing standards to prevent it and to compensate workers for their disability move with reluctance, through the back-up of corporate and political tie-ins. *The Nation*, February 21, 1976.

"Tax Audit of Civil Rights: The IRS Bullies the New South," by Jason Berry. A well-documented study of the alarming intrusions of the IRS into the political affairs of black and white civil rights activists throughout the South. *The Nation*, March 6, 1976.

"Company Towns, Company Counties: Absentee Lords of the New South," by Mark Pinsky. The biggest landholders in North Carolina are northern-owned corporations, which want to use the land for a variety of purposes -- many of them inimical to the traditional interests and life-styles of the local residents. Pinsky outlines the general problem and focuses on the town of Aurora, which has been engaged in a running battle with Texas Gulf Sulphur over the latter's announced intention to mine phosphates just outside of town limits. *The Nation*, April 17, 1976.

— ARTICLES ACCEPTED FOR PUBLICATION —

"Florida's Overcrowded Prisons," by Henry Liefermann. Florida's prisons and jails

are so crowded that inmates -- including felons convicted of violent crimes -- have been placed in tent camps surrounded by barbed wire and chain link fence. Leifermann has talked with officials from Governor Askew on down to determine how the state got itself into this penal mess -- a situation rife with potential danger for inmates and the outside community. To be published in *The Progressive*.

"Coca-Cola's Double Image," by Bob Hall. The union contract recently signed by the United Farm Workers and Coca-Cola was the result of a protracted battle between two foes highly skilled in the art of mobilizing public opinion. The contract marks a new southern focus for the powerful UFW. To be published in *The Progressive*.

"A Southern Man," by Edward McConville. A view of an individual worker pitting his legal right to join a union against the quicksand of opposition the huge textile interests are capable of putting along this path. To be published in *Southern Exposure*.

— ARTICLES COMPLETED AND SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION —

"No Woman No More: Needless Hysterectomies Among the Southern Poor," by Perry Deane Young. The hysterectomy is the second most frequently performed major operation in the United States -- with a high percentage of these unnecessary and sometimes unrealized (by the patient), particularly in the South. Young identifies places, doctors and patients actually involved in such a perversion of medical care.

"I Ain't Stupid: The Bleak Life of the Black Teenager," by Cynthia Jo Rich. According to statistics and to common observation, the black teenager is the most benighted group in American society. Ms. Rich uses the statistics as the springboard for a searching look at what it is like to be young and black in a typical southern city, Charlotte. This article has been submitted to about twenty daily newspapers in the South.

"Unemployment and Crime: The Ominous Spiral," by Pat Watters. An important 1975 issue was the alleged causal relationship between unemployment and crime. Watters monitored court proceedings and spoke with prosecutors, judges, and probation officials before concluding that, at least in Atlanta, the causal thesis was not borne out. Today's high crime rates, Watters wrote, are the result less of increased unemployment than of increased -- and far more alarming -- alienation that young people and some others feel toward our society.

"Model Cities: A Sobering Scorecard," by Charles Weltner. Originally a promoter of Atlanta's Model Cities program, former Congressman Weltner eventually turned critic of this Great Society program in his city.

"Pills, Toilets, and Black Management: Health Care in the Low Country," by Scott and Susan Graber. The Beaufort-Jasper (S.C.) Comprehensive Health Center has been a striking success in human terms, but policy changes and financial cutbacks at the federal level are threatening its effectiveness. Can the Center's on-the-job-trained black managers pull the project through?

"Bargaining Unions to Death," by Ed McConville. An examination of a little-understood but potent weapon in the anti-union arsenal of Southern industry -- bad-faith bargaining. The focus is on J.P. Stevens, the textile company whose anti-union activities have been among the most successful in the nation.

— PROJECTS IN PROGRESS —

"Who Will Save Ossabaw Island?," by Fred Powledge. Georgia's Ossabaw Island is perhaps the last truly unspoiled island off the east coast. The family that owns and has kept it that way now wants to be free of it -- and is having a tough time convincing anybody but predatory developers that they should take over the responsibility.

"Black Police in the South: A Status Report," by Paul Delaney. Blacks are now serving in police forces across the South. But how are they faring -- in promotions, in assignments, in relations with white officers and with the white and black communities?

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

George H. Esser, Jr., Executive Director

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTH AND THE SUPREME
COURT'S SCHOOL DECISIONS*

A CHRONOLOGY

May 17, 1954 - December 31, 1956

*Includes developments in the states of: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

SR3

SECTION I

Pre-May 17, 1954

Several Southern states anticipated the Court ruling banning segregated public schools. Thus, in effect, their reaction to the May 17, 1954, decision began prior to that time.

1951

The SOUTH CAROLINA General Assembly authorizes appointment of a 15 member committee (the Gressette Committee) "to study and report on the advisable course to be pursued" in event the Supreme Court bans segregated schools. (April)

SOUTH CAROLINA begins an "equalization" program. The state assumes burden of school construction and bus transportation, announcing that Negro schools will receive more than 65% of total aid in the next two years. (July)

1952

SOUTH CAROLINA's Governor Byrnes, in his message to the legislature, urges repeal of the constitutional section requiring "free public schools." (January) The Legislature extends "indefinitely" the Gresette Committee's life. (February)

SOUTH CAROLINA voters repeal the public school requirement of their constitution by a vote of 187,345 to 91,823. (November)

1953

In the early sessions of the ALABAMA Legislature a bill is introduced by Representative Sam Engelhardt, Jr., providing for "free private schools." The bill receives little support and is bottled up in committee at adjournment.

The GEORGIA General Assembly establishes a Commission on Education to make plans for maintaining segregated schools. The legislature also passes a proposed constitutional amendment interpreted and labeled as a "private school plan." (Provisions cutting off state financial help for any integrated schools were already in the Constitution and in the Appropriations Act.)

1954

The Mississippi Legislature, in anticipation of an "adverse" court ruling, establishes a Legal Advisory Committee authorized to "devise" means of continuing segregation.

SECTION II

Reactions to the Supreme Court Decision

May 17, 1954

The U. S. Supreme Court: "We consider that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and

others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment..."

ALABAMA's Governor Gordon Persons indicates he will take no action until the Court hands down its final decree. There is little official reaction.

The Birmingham Post-Herald: "In due time no doubt we will have a special session of the legislature....In some states there is talk of discarding the public school and diverting appropriations now supporting it to some system of private education. Whether such a plan is workable we do not know. As a matter of fact, we doubt whether anyone knows."

In FLORIDA there is little official reaction. A heated gubernatorial primary is in its final stages but no attempt is made to make the decision an issue.

GEORGIA officials announce emphatic opposition to the Court's decision.

The Macon (Ga.) Telegraph: "Georgia and the South today are not ready nor able to abolish segregation in the schools, and until the time we are, the principle pronounced by the court will remain in abstract."

The Atlanta Constitution: "The decision - however much we may deplore it - becomes the law of the land. This is the first basic fact."

The LOUISIANA Legislature is one of the few in session at the time of the Court's decision. On May 20th a resolution is passed censuring the Court for what is described as a "usurping of power." Of the 139 members of the two houses, four register "nay" ballots.

MISSISSIPPI officials are unanimous in their reaction: The Court decision will not be accepted.

Jackson Clarion-Ledger: "May 17, 1954, may be recorded by future historians as a black day of tragedy for the South..."

NORTH CAROLINA's Governor William B. Umstead says he is "terribly disappointed." The Greensboro school board, by a 6-1 vote, directs its superintendent to begin study "regarding ways and means for complying with the Court's decision."

Charlotte Observer: "The South has a new problem...but it calls for analysis and solution in calm, orderly fashion."

During May, ministerial associations in Clinton, Elizabeth City, and Raleigh pass resolutions supporting the desegregation decision.

SOUTH CAROLINA's Governor Byrnes says he is "shocked" by the decision. Lt. Governor George Timmerman, Jr., (in a successful campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor) calls for "calm courage, determination, and fairness to the end that we can find means of preserving separate schools..." Timmerman envisions a plan of "free choice" schools which includes the possibility of mixed schools for children of parents who desire integration.

TENNESSEE Governor Frank Clement: "I must point out it is a decision handed down by a judicial body which we, the American people, under our constitution and law recognize as supreme in matters of interpreting the law of the land."

Nashville, Tennessean: "The South is and has been for years a land of change. Its people - of both races - have learned to live with change. They can learn to live with this one."

VIRGINIA's Governor Thomas B. Stanley issues a statement in which he expresses confidence that the people will receive the ruling "calmly" and will "take time to carefully and dispassionately consider the situation before coming to conclusions on steps which should be taken."

VIRGINIA's Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dawell J. Howard: "There will be no defiance of the Supreme Court decision as far as I am concerned. We are trying to teach school children the law of the land and we will abide by it."

Richmond Times-Dispatch: "This is a time for calm and unhysterical appraisal of the situation by officials and people of Virginia and the other 16 (affected) states."

SECTION III

June 1954 - December 1954

Following the first reaction the various Southern states began to make plans to comply with, or avoid, the Court's decision.

June 1954

The NORTH CAROLINA State Board of Education votes to continue segregation in the absence of the Court's implementation decree. The board begins omitting all references to race in its designation of school projects.

Nine Southern Governors meet in Richmond; reach no agreement on statement re Court decision.

VIRGINIA's Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond: "Negro teachers are not going to be engaged in Virginia to teach white children. No child of any race is going to be compelled to attend a mixed school."

NORTH CAROLINA Episcopal Diocese Executive Council adopts resolution requesting an "orderly transition" to an integrated school system.

Twenty VIRGINIA legislators from counties with large Negro populations meet and express "unalterable opposition to the principle of integration of the races in the schools."

LOUISIANA Legislature passes three segregation bills: (1) providing segregated schools under state police power to protect "health, morals, better education and the peace"; (2) cutting off state financing to any public school which desegregates; (3) giving local superintendents pupil assignment power.

July 1954

MISSISSIPPI's Governor Hugh White calls first state-level biracial meeting seeking endorsement of proposed "segregation by choice" plan. Plan is contingent on immediate beginning of a building program to wipe out $115-million disparity between white and Negro school facilities. Negro leaders refuse to endorse "voluntary" plan and the meeting is adjourned.

The first White Citizens' Council, composed of "reliable white male citizens dedicated to upholding racial segregation," is organized in Indianola, Sunflower County, Mississippi. R. B. Patterson, a young planter from Holly Ridge, is leader of the group.

August 1954

The FLORIDA state cabinet issues results of an opinion survey on integration in 12 "guinea pig" counties. Report cites strong feeling against immediate integration and concludes: "...The chances of developing firm official and perhaps public support for any program of desegregation would be maximized by a decree which would create the feeling that the (U.S.Supreme) court recognized local problems and will allow gradual transition with some degree of local determination."

FLORIDA States Rights, Inc., is chartered in Dade County as an outgrowth of a loosely organized committee set up to circulate petitions favoring continued segregation.

VIRGINIA's Governor Stanley names an all-white, 32-man, bi-partisan legislative commission to study problems raised by the Court's ruling. Earlier plans to appoint a Citizens Commission, including Negro members, is discarded.

September 1954

It is announced that the Supreme Court will hear arguments on implementing its May 17th decision on December 5th.

In ALABAMA a special legislative committee recommends that sections of the constitution be rewritten to allow for abolition of public education in the state.

The people of GEORGIA nominate (in the Democratic primary) Marvin Griffin as next governor. He pledges: "Come hell or high water, races will not be mixed in Georgia schools." Attorney General Cook: "Surely the Court cannot be so naive as to have failed to take cognizance of the various plans under consideration in our respective states, the sole aim of which are to frustrate, rather than assist, the implementation (of the decision)."

LOUISIANA's Attorney General: "We are not parties to any of the segregation suits now before the Supreme Court."

The MISSISSIPPI Legislature meets in special session and approves a constitutional amendment to be voted on in December which would empower the legislature to abolish the public schools. Governor White says the state is not defying the Supreme Court, rather it is "simply exercising the same legal right to resist this most unfortunate decision that the NAACP exercised in contesting the unanimous court decisions over half a century."

NORTH CAROLINA announces it will file a brief and the state attorney general will present oral arguments at the December Supreme Court hearing. Raleigh officials launch a survey to provide documentation of problems involved in implementing the court decision. The North Carolina Association for the Preservation of the White Race, Inc., is formed in Durham.

Nashville, TENNESSEE, Catholic parochial schools are opened to Negroes.

SOUTH CAROLINA will not participate in the December hearing, but Clarendon County school officials - defendants in one of five suits decided in May - will be represented. A States Rights League is formed in Sumter County. Rock Hill Catholic parochial school is integrated; opening day enrollment in the elementary school: 29 whites, 5 Negroes.

VIRGINIA's Commission on Public Education meets for first time, decides to hold executive sessions unless public hearings "become necessary." Composition of the committee comes in for some criticism from the state's newspapers. The Presbyterian Synod adopts statement condemning racial segregation. Catholic parochial schools have begun integration on a limited scale. Rev. J. L. Flaherty, superintendent of schools for the Richmond Diocese (includes all but six of Virginia's 98 counties) says integration "has worked out magnificiently, without a ripple of discontent."

October 1954

A LOUISIANA Joint Legislative Committee (concerned with maintaining segregated schools) buys television time throughout the state to show a film designed to promote public support for segregation. The Committee refuses to state who is financing the commercial television time. A public relations official handling the campaign for the Committee states: "We were told that if we were asked where the money was coming from we were to say, 'It came from an angel'."

The MISSISSIPPI Committee of Friends of a Segregated Public School System is formed in Jackson. Chairman is Miss Alma Hickman, former president of the State Education Association. State Senator George Owens and State Representative Joel Blass are key members.

NORTH CAROLINA Attorney General, Harry McMullen says the brief for the December Court hearing will follow the line taken by Florida. Brief will ask the court (1) to give adequate time to work out desegregation program, and (2) to give federal district judges discretionary powers to fix deadlines in the various school districts.

SOUTH CAROLINA leaders of the States Rights League and the National Association for the Advancement of White People urge pro-segregation organizations to merge into one body. The Rock Hill Evening Herald suggests possibility of beginning integration at the first grade so that present differences of attainment between white and Negro schools could be avoided.

In VIRGINIA the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties receives state charter. Announced purpose of the group is the retention of school segregation.

State Senator Garland Gray (Chairman of the State Commission on Public Education): "I have nothing against the Negro race as such, and I have lived with them all my life, but I don't intend to have my grandchildren go to school with them."

VIRGINIA Methodist Advocate: Senator Gray's statement "Can hardly be said to represent an impartial judicial mind, such as the people of Virginia have a right to expect of the Chairman - and of the entire membership - of this special fact-finding commission."

November 1954

A number of states have submitted briefs to the Supreme Court for its implementation hearings. Filing briefs as parties to the suit are Virginia, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. South Carolina has not filed a brief, though attorneys for Clarendon County did submit a brief.

Of the 17 states and the District of Columbia affected by the earlier ruling, eight will not participate in the hearing. Of these, desegregation is well under way in Missouri and West Virginia. Kentucky has indicated compliance. Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana have taken action to circumvent the decision. Tennessee and Alabama maintain a position of "wait and see".

An analysis of the briefs filed reveals that each asks the court for adequate time in which to comply and suggests that the high court allow lower courts-the Federal district courts - to supervise the implementation on a local level.

Sixteen governors attending the Southern Governors Conference at Boca Raton, Florida, turn down a proposal from Governor Johns of Florida that a special session of Congress be sought to initiate a constitutional amendment permitting separate but equal schools. A milder statement, pledging the signers to "preserve the right of the states to administer their public school system in the best interest of the people," is signed by Governors Talmadge of Georgia, Stanley of Virginia, Kennon of Louisiana, Byrnes of South Carolina, Shivers of Texas, Murray of Oklahoma, and Governor-elect Timmerman of South Carolina. Declining to sign are Governors McKeldin of Maryland, Wetherby of Kentucky, Clement of Tennessee, Cherry of Arkansas, Marland of West Virginia, and Governor-elect James Folsom of Alabama.

GEORGIA voters, by a vote of 210,488 to 181,148, approve a constitutional amendment allowing for private schools. Governor Talmadge says the election was the most difficult political fight since 1946. Talmadge, Governor-elect Griffin, and Attorney General Eugene Cook are leaders for the amendment. Daily newspapers of the state are roughly 4 to 1 in opposition.

NORTH CAROLINA Methodist Conference Delegates approve the Court's desegregation decision.

VIRGINIA's Commission on Public Education, in the first public hearing, listens to more than 100 speakers for 14 hours. The 2,000 persons in attendance produced testimony, resolutions, and statements, ranging from pleas for integration to warnings of violent consequences. The Commission's executive committee announces: "....no further public hearings are to be recommended at this time."

The Baptist General Association of Virginia adopts a resolution declaring: "As Christian citizens we should abide by the law."

President Eisenhower says at a press conference that he understands the Supreme Court does not intend to be arbitrary in establishing the procedure to end segregation in schools.

ALABAMA organizes its first White Citizens' Council at a rally of 1,200 white men in Selma. Six Hundred Dallas County men sign as charter members; contribute $1,800. State Representative J. B. Williams of Mississippi: "We can't have it (integration) for if we do, it would ruin the economic system of the South." A second spokesman declares: "We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit or renew a mortgage."

Four additional ALABAMA White Citizens' Councils organize in Macon, Marengo, Hale, and Perry counties. The four counties - like Dallas County - all have Negro population majorities.

State Senator Walter Givhan (speaking at WCC organizational meeting, Linden, Alabama): "(the ultimate goal of the NAACP) is to open the bedroom doors of our white women to the Negro men...This is a white man's country, it always has been and it always will be. It is our duty to train our boys and girls to fight the same battle as we are now fighting."

Dr. Lawrence Crawford, chairman, Perry WCC, quotes one member of the Perry County Board of Registrars as saying: "If the WCC had been organized a year ago to back us up no Negro would have been registered to vote."

December 1954

GEORGIA political leaders, including Hugh G. Grant, Roy V. Harris, Frank H. Turner, and Clarence W. Mobley, III, organize The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc. Petition for charter states: "To defend the principles of the Constitution of the United States as framed by the founding fathers of the American Republic, and to protect the rights of the people of the Sovereign States from any encroachment by the Federal Government or any other agency or agencies which have as their aim the undermining of the Constitutional rights of the people." All officers of the group support segregated public schools.

LOUISIANA's U. S. Congressman F. Edward Hebert (1st Cong. Dist.) adds a New Orleans Negro to his staff. Loyola University, integrated in its undergraduate school for five years, announces that its new field house will not be segregated.

MISSISSIPPI votes 2-1 to give the legislature authority to abolish public schools.

SECTION IV
January 1 - May 30, 1955

While waiting for the implementation decree (delivered on May 31) the Southern states continued their planning on the basis of the original court decision.

January 1955

In regular or special sessions measures to strengthen school segregation are introduced in the legislatures of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

NORTH CAROLINA Governor's Special Advisory Committee on Education reports integration could not and should not be attempted. Committee recommends a pupil assignment plan.

In Jackson, MISSISSIPPI, regional segregationists form the Federation for Constitutional Government. John U. Barr of New Orleans is chariman.

At Oak Ridge, TENNESSEE, the Atomic Energy Commission announces desegregation of the public schools beginning September, 1955.

The VIRGINIA segregation study commission files a preliminary report. This report, backed by the state attorney general, says integration would destroy the public school system; recommends that commission seek legal ways to maintain segregation.

February 1955

GEORGIA Legislature passes law making it a felony for school officials of the state, municipal, or county systems to spend tax money for schools in which races are mixed. Punishment is fixed at two years imprisonment.

MISSISSIPPI Legislature, at the end of seven weeks, remains tied up on legislation for school equalization. Governor White: "Unless the equalization program is financed, we might as well forget segregation."

March 1955

U. S. Supreme Court announces it will begin hearing oral arguments on formal decrees in the five school cases beginning April 11.

FLORIDA Attorney General Richard W. Ervin reports an apparent stiffening of resistance to immediate desegregation and a tendency to more vocal opposition in that state.

SOUTH CAROLINA's General Assembly passes six bills proposed by the special (Gressette) segregation committee. Chief alteration is a repeal of the compulsory attendance law. A system of "visiting teachers" is established, charged with promoting school attendance through persuasion.

TENNESSEE Governor Clement vetoes several local bills designed to maintain segregated schools.

VIRGINIA attempts to lease one of its public parks to private operator for summer. Move is temporarily blocked by Federal District Court injunction. The Young Republican Federation of Virginia endorses support of the Supreme Court and its interpretation of the Constitution. The executive director of the state Chamber of Commerce says integration will improve the South economically.

May 1955

The FLORIDA Legislature passes pupil assignment bill, introduced by former Governor Johns, while Supreme Court implementation hearings are in progress. Johns: "Counties that want to keep segregated schools can do so under this bill."

April 1955

LOUISIANA's first White Citizens' Council unit is organized in Homer, Claiborne Parish. In Baton Rouge a group called "The Southern Gentlemen" is formed.

The MISSISSIPPI Legislature adjourns after financing an "equalization" program designed to preserve a voluntary segregated school system.

VIRGINIA's Lieutenant Governor A.E.S. Stephens declares it is "unthinkable" that Virginia should consider eliminating its public school system.

SECTION V

May 31, 1955 - December, 1955

On May 31, the Supreme Court gives a unanimous decision on implementation of its May 17, 1954 decision, granting wide discretion to District Courts. Key terms used are: "good faith," "Practical flexibility," "prompt and reasonable start," "deliberate speed," and "equitable principles."

May 31, 1955

ALABAMA official reaction to the ruling is "restrained rejoicing." Delegation of discretion to lower courts is considered a "victory for the South." A number of segregation bills are in the legislature. Governor Folsom: "I have stated in the past---that I am not in favor of turning the public school system over to private hands."

Birmingham News: "It is evident and very gratifying that the high court is seeking to avoid precipitate action that would endanger public well-being and community peace."

FLORIDA reaction is one of "relief." Several segregation bills pending in the legislature are abandoned. Governor Collins: "The Supreme Court decision indicates that local problems will be taken into consideration."

Tampa Tribune: "...The Court sensibly acknowledged that a 'variety of obstables' may have to be eliminated in the transition from segregated to non-segregated schools."

GEORGIA's Governor Griffin: "No matter how much the Supreme Court seeks to sugarcoat its bitter pill of tyranny, the people of Georgia and the South will not swallow it."

Atlanta Constitution: "The decision is no call to arms for demagogues and race baiters...It will be received with relief by the reasonable majority of both races."

Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle: "A distinct triumph for the Southern viewpoint... (The Court's order to end segregation as soon as feasible could) in some localities mean tomorrow. In others, it could mean that segregation in the classroom could continue for years, or for decades, or even forever."

LOUISIANA segregation leaders consider the decision "as much as we could hope for." State Senator W. M. Rainach, (chairman, Joint Segregation Committee): "It won't work out---but at least it's gradual rather than abrupt."

New Orleans Times-Picayune: "The U. S. Supreme Court's execution order on school non-discrimination was pretty much what the Southern attorney generals sought...The Court uses 'racial non-discrimination'. There is a lot of difference between compulsory integration and racial non-discrimination..."

MISSISSIPPI's Governor White: "It is more than we expected--as to the feasibility, that may not be possible in Mississippi for ten or more years."

Jackson (Miss.) Daily News: "Just as expected, the U. S. Supreme Court has 'passed the buck' to the lower courts for enforcement of its infamous segregation decision."

SOUTH CAROLINA: Charleston News and Courier: "The Court has not, in so many words, ordered that white and Negro pupils must be educated in the same classroom..."

TENNESSEE's Governor Clement: "Such a momentous decision will require some time for study."

VIRGINIA: Richmond News Leader: "In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the tenth amendment, and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said now that the South is flaunting the law, let it be said to the high court, YOU TAUGHT US HOW."

In VIRGINIA, Prince Edward County supervisors agree to withdraw financial support from the public schools next year. This is the first of the defendant localities to take steps to abolish the schools rather than integrate. White parents in the county, through the PTA, announce a drive to raise $200,000 to pay salaries of white teachers next year. In Nottoway County, the supervisors table proposed school budget of $600,000. They appropriate the statutory minimum for school operations and place the county in position to withdraw from public education if necessary.

June 1955

In ALABAMA, a crowd of 5,000 attends the Dallas White Citizens' Council rally in Selma. Former Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia urges crowd not to hesitate to use economic pressure of those "who would force racial integration in the South," and adds: "...The present judges on the Supreme Court are not fit to empty the wastebaskets of those judges who wrote those previous decisions (upholding segregation)."

The ALABAMA Senate approves by unanimous vote the Engelhardt Pupil Assignment Bill. Attorney General John Patterson asks for at least four additional attorneys for his staff "primarily" to handle segregation suits.

In New Orleans, LOUISIANA, the NAACP files petition for 17 parents asking "immediate and concrete steps" leading to integration. The Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity is organized. Officers include: Clarence A. Ives, Dean Emeritus of LSU, and James Robert, Dean Emeritus of Tulane.

MISSISSIPPI's Legal Education Advisory Committee reiterates its opposition to desegregation "in any form whatsoever."

Senator James Eastland: "...regardless of the decree of the U. S. Supreme Court, and regardless of whatever decree it might issue in the foreseeable future, it will be a nullity in every single school district in the state of Mississippi."

Two NORTH CAROLINA school boards -- Charlotte and Asheville -- vote to begin studies toward compliance with the desegregation decision. Superintendent of schools in Greensboro and principal of schools at Fayetteville indicate desire to obey Court rulings.

In SOUTH CAROLINA Clarendon County officials say schools will be closed before integration is allowed.

TENNESSEE State Board of Education approves a gradual desegregation plan - beginning September, 1955, and ending 1959-1960 - for state's six tax-supported colleges. The State Commissioner of Education places responsibility for desegregation in public elementary and high schools on local school officials. The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government announces its intention to restrain officials from desegregating the schools on grounds of the unconstitutionality of integration without constitutional authority from the state.

July 1955

In ALABAMA, U. S. District Judge H. H. Grooms orders the University of Alabama's Dean of Admissions not to deny any applicant admission because of race, and specifically orders admission of two Negro women (Autherine Lucy and Polly Ann Myers).

In FLORIDA, parents of 17 Tampa Negro children petition the school board "to take immediate steps to reorganize the public schools - on a non-discriminatory basis." A survey shows three of Florida's 67 counties have set up bi-racial committees to prepare integrated school programs.

University of Florida campus religious organizations petition for an immediate end to segregation at the university.

The GEORGIA Board of Education adopts a resolution to revoke "forever" the license of any teacher who "supports, encourages, condones, or agrees to teach mixed classes." Attorney General Cook demands that any Georgia teacher who "contributes to or is affiliated with" the NAACP be banned from teaching in Georgia. The Board of Education passes such action, but rescinds the order after public opinion is expressed as being strongly opposed to the move. Roy V. Harris, former

speaker of the Georgia House, suggests Attorney General Cook's efforts to preserve segregation may put him in the next gubernatorial race or "establish him as Georgia's Attorney General for life."

The LOUISIANA Board of Liquidation of the State Debt - a board created to make emergency appropriations when the Legislature is not in session - grants $100,000 to pay special attorneys retained to fight desegregation suits. Three organizations begin promotional and membership drives: The Knights of the White Christians of New Orleans; The Southern Gentlemen of Baton Rouge; and The Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

The Jackson, MISSISSIPPI, White Citizens' Council opens a drive for 10,000 members. Both Jackson daily papers carry major stories on the drive.

Wake County, NORTH CAROLINA, announces a school desegregation plan for 1956. Two additional counties (Bertie and Lee) and one city (Burlington) establish bi-racial committees to consider ways of implementing the Court ruling.

Assistant Attorney General Beverly Lake: "The Supreme Court has placed in the hands of the Negroes of North Carolina the power to force the closing of our public schools...We shall fight the NAACP county by county, city by city..." Governor Hodges and Attorney General Rodman issue statements stressing that Lake gives his own views, not those of the state.

A three-judge court hears the remanded SOUTH CAROLINA (Clarendon County) case. Presiding Judge John J. Parker: "The Constitution in other words does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation."

The Chattanooga, TENNESSEE, School Board announces a policy to move toward integration of the city's schools. The Chattanooga Times says the announcement is "wise." The News-Free Press: "It is regrettable that the city school board has so readily accepted the unconstitutional order of the Supreme Court." The Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation is formed in Chattanooga. In Nashville, The Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government announces free legal service to parents wishing to oppose integration.

A three-judge court hears the Prince Edward County, VIRGINIA, case and issues a decree which state officials interpret as permitting the operation of segregated schools during 1955-56. The decree ends plans to operate a private school in the county.

August 1955

The ALABAMA White Citizens' Councils claim 60,000 members, under the direction of State Senator Sam Engelhardt, Jr.

A local bill intended to restrict NAACP activities in Wilcox County is passed over Governor Folsom's veto, as was the earlier Engelhardt placement bill. Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, in Governor Folsom's presence, praises the legislature for passing the placement bill which Folsom refused to sign.

FLORIDA has petitions on file from Negro parents in Hillsborough, Pinellas, Sarasota, and Broward Counties. Attorney General Richard W. Ervin says Negro leaders have shown "great forebearance."

GEORGIA's Attorney General Cook says he does not plan to lead a fight against the new Ku Klux Klan, now headed by Eldon Edwards of Atlanta. Cook: "(The New Klan) claims to be a different type of organization..."

LOUISIANA Catholic officials announce parochial schools will not be integrated during 1955. By mail vote, members of the legislature give overwhelming approval to the $100,000 appropriation to hire attorneys to fight integration suits.

MISSISSIPPI Association of Citizens' Councils, in its first annual report, claims 253 Councils in the state with "a white male membership of over 60,000."

In NORTH CAROLINA at least 15 petitions by Negro parents have been signed and more are expected. A private school movement appears in Wake County where plans to integrate had been announced. In a statewide radio and television address, Governor Hodges proposes voluntary segregation as the best means of insuring continuation of the public school system.

The Patroits of North Carolina, Inc., is chartered. Purpose is listed as maintaining "the purity and culture of the white race and of Anglo-Saxon institutions." Three Hundred Fifty Six incorporators are listed in the charter, many of them prominent in the state's economic and political life. A staff, office, and executive secretary are being established in Greensboro.

A group of influential SOUTH CAROLINIANS ("The Committee of 52") begins to circulate bulletins throughout the state for signatures petitioning the General Assembly to maintain separate schools.

School petitions filed by Negroes are having far-reaching implications. Names of all petitioners in the Charleston area are published in local newspapers. The News and Courier suggests that white citizens "study carefully" the list. In the Moultrie district 450 white residents hold a mass meeting following the filing of an integration petition. An Elloree Citizens Council is formed immediately after 36 Negroes file a petition. Eight Hundred persons attend the second Elloree WCC meeting. Four WCC units are formed in Orangeburg County. A Clarendon County WCC signs up 267 members at an organizational meeting.

Throughout the state, expecially in Orangeburg, economic reprisals begin against Negro petition signers. Three thousand persons attend a States Rights League rally at Sumter to hear speeches by U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond and former Governor Talmadge of Georgia. Ku Klux Klan activity, absent from the state in recent years, is reported in Florence County and at Manning.

The VIRGINIA State Bar Association condemns (by vote of 74 to 54) "the present apparent tendency of the U. S. Supreme Court...to invade by judicial decision the constitutionally reserved powers of the states of the Union."

Powhatan becomes the sixth county to tighten controls on expenditures of school funds so that money can be withdrawn if courts order integration.

September 1955

Reports from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi all indicate that "official attitudes are hardening against compliance with the Court's decisions."

In ALABAMA, economic reprisals against signers of school petitions are reported in Dallas, Bullock, and Butler counties. In Selma, scene of the first WCC in Alabama, WCC Chairman Alston Keith estimates that of 29 Negroes signing a petition "about 16" have been fired.

Three FLORIDA pro-segregation groups receive attention: The Citizens' Councils of Florida; the Florida States Rights, Inc.; and the Ku Klux Klan. Activity centers around Jacksonville and Tampa.

Two Hundred of GEORGIA's most influential political and business leaders meet in Atlanta, at the invitation of Governor Griffin, and agree to support the States' Rights Council. The U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is chartered in Atlanta's Fulton County Superior Court. Eldon Edwards, an auto assembly plant worker, is Imperial Wizard.

In New Orleans, LOUISIANA, a petition signed by 180 persons asks the Orleans Parish school board to integrate the schools as soon as possible. On September 26th, the newly formed New Orleans White Citizens' Council answers the integration petition by presenting a segregation petition bearing 14,962 signatures.

The University of NORTH CAROLINA becomes the first major Southern university to admit Negro students to its undergraduate school. Three Negro high school graduates of Durham are enrolled. A three-judge federal court in Greensboro earlier ruled that UNC has to process applications without regard to race and color.

In SOUTH CAROLINA, Federal Court Judge Ashton H. Williams of Charleston announces from the bench: "It is my belief that no progress can be made unless and until both Klan and the NAACP are wholly eliminated from the picture in South Carolina."

Public sentiment for White Citizens' Councils grows. Among those endorsing the WCC are: Lt. Governor Ernest F. Hollings, State Senator L. Marion Gressette, Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston News and Courier, and U. S. Senator Olin D. Johnston. At least 12 new WCC units are formed during the month and several other groups change their names to become WCC units. There are now approximately 33 pro-segregation organizations in the state. Economic reprisals continue.

In Oak Ridge, TENNESSEE, 85 Negro pupils are integrated with 2,526 white students. In Chattanooga, the chairman of the school board issues a formal statement reversing a stand taken by the board earlier when it announced plans to desegregate the city's schools.

October 1955

The U. S. Supreme Court orders two Negro women admitted to the University of ALABAMA without waiting for the outcome of an appeal.

Eight WCC units - including Montgomery - are established during the month.

The FLORIDA Supreme Court, in a 5-2 ruling, rules out school segregation as a legal principle. It says however, that the ruling does not require " a clear legal duty" to admit Negro students "at any particular time in the future."

GEORGIA's Attorney General Cook and NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins trade verbal blows over Cook's charges that the NAACP is "subversive."

In SOUTH CAROLINA, the Negro minister who originated the Clarendon County court case, leaves the state following threats and gunplay. Meeting at Columbia, local groups begin organizing the WCC on statewide basis.

NORTH CAROLINA's Governor Hodges suggests schools may have to operate on a "local option" basis, possibly meaning local districts will be free to desegregate or abandon their schools as they wish.

In Memphis, TENNESSEE, Federal Judge Marion S. Boyd rules state's school segregation laws unconstitutional and approves state-sponsored gradual desegregation for colleges. The newly formed Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation announces plan for a statewide organization.

November 1955

In ALABAMA, a federal judge dismisses suit of Jefferson County Negro teachers charging salary discrimination. He cites fact that the state cannot be sued without consent. A tenth WCC unit is formed in north Birmingham.

FLORIDA's PTA Congress calls for "realistic planning" for school integration in a split-vote resolution.

GEORGIA's Education Commission endorses six proposed legislative measures to set up a private school system.

The University of TENNESSEE announces plans for gradual desegregation at the undergraduate level.

The LOUISIANA WCC begins a state-wide membership drive which carries the movement into 28 of the state's 64 parishes. Largest unit, claiming 50,000 members is in New Orleans. The state WCC is now headed by State Senator W. M. Rainach of Summerfield, chariman of the legislative Joint Segregation Committee.

The VIRGINIA General Assembly is called into special session to consider recommendations of Gray Commission after state court holds that state cannot pay state funds for private education.

Editor James J. Kilpatrick, Richmond News-Leader, takes up and begins popularizing the doctrine of interposition. The doctrine, "rediscovered" by William Old, county attorney of Chesterfield County, is having its first serious revival in nearly 100 years.

The SOUTH CAROLINA WCC is organized into a state-wide association. Directors are to meet and select an executive secretary and otherwise strengthen the group. Orangeburg Negroes, victims of economic reprisals, have begun a boycott of white business firms whose owners are WCC members.

December 1955

In Memphis, TENNESSEE, pro-segregation forces meet to complete organization of national group. Called the Federation for Constitutional Government, the group lists among its leaders men prominent in the State's Rights movement of 1948. Persons from 12 Southern states are present, including Senator Eastland of Mississippi, several U. S. Representatives, and Attorney General Cook of Georgia.

ALABAMA voters reject constitutional amendment to provide more funds for schools--a decision having bearing on equalization attempts. The Montgomery WCC votes to expand and change name to Central Alabama Citizens' Councils. State Senator Sam Engelhardt, Jr., sponsor of state's new "placement" law is elected Chairman of the new group.

In Montgomery, Mrs. Rosa Parks is arrested after refusing to move from a section of a bus designated for white passengers. Negroes begin boycotting the buses in a demand for better treatment. The segregated seating pattern is not challenged. The Negroes petition for: (1) more courteous treatment, (2) Negro drivers on predominately Negro routes, and, (3) seating on a "first come-first served" basis -- Negroes from the rear, whites from the front.

In GEORGIA, federal district court ruling leads to opening of seven municipal golf courses to Negroes in Atlanta.

Georgia's Governor Griffin requests Georgia Tech not to play University of Pittsburgh in Sugar Bowl. Pittsburgh has a Negro player. Students demonstrate against Governor at capitol and executive mansion. Board of Regents votes to allow the game but to prevent any future mixed-race contests in the state.

In LOUISIANA, a three-judge federal court takes under advisement suit to open public schools of Orleans Parish to all races. State Attorneys ask the court to step out of a local situation. Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans calls segregation morally unsupportable and says schools under his jurisdiction will be integrated at the appropriate time.

The TENNESSEE Association of Citizens' Councils is chartered as state-wide group. First unit was established in Memphis in early 1955.

SECTION VI

1956

January 1956

The use of interposition receives the endorsement of four Southern governors who confer in Richmond at the invitation of VIRGINIA's Governor Stanley. The governors--Timmerman, South Carolina; Griffin, Georgia; Coleman, Mississippi; and Stanley. Legislatures of each of four are now in session. Hodges of North Carolina does not join in the declaration.

The ALABAMA legislature moves toward "freedom of choice" legislation, after passing resolution declaring Court decision "null, void, and of no effect." Governor Folsom criticizes the resolution.

In Montgomery, reacting to Negro bus boycott, the three city commissioners join the WCC. January meeting of the WCC draws 1,000 persons, up from 300 in December. A recording of an inflammatory speech, allegedly made by an NAACP official is played at the WCC meeting and in the state senate. Recording is later proved to be a fake.

FLORIDA County School Superintendents are called into session to discuss desegregation, adopt a "hands-off" policy.

The GEORGIA General Assembly underwrites Governor Griffin's program for private schools. In Washington, ten members of the Congressional delegation endorse principle of interposition. Attorney General Cook turns over to legislature a report on his investigation of the NAACP, which he says includes evidences of "subversive influences in and on the NAACP."

LOUISIANA State University is directed by court order for the second time not to refuse admittance to Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA's Governor Hodges says the state is in an "enviable position" to retain segregation because of state's pupil assignment law. Local study groups in a "confidential" letter from the capitol are advised to suspend their efforts. Mechanics of the assignment law are expected to prevent racial mixing for two years.

The SOUTH CAROLINA General Assembly considers seven bills designed to keep segregated schools and a resolution of interposition. WCC leaders claim a membership of 30,000 in the newly organized state group.

Four thousand persons attend state WCC rally at Columbia to hear Senator Eastland of Mississippi.

In Anderson County, TENNESSEE, a federal court ruling calls for high school desegregation "not later than" next fall.

VIRGINIANS vote two to one for a constitutional convention (to be called March 5) to arrange for the use of tax funds for private tuition under Gray plan. Arlington County announces a desegregation plan.

February 1956

At the University of ALABAMA, Autherine Lucy's entrance is met with violence and increased WCC activity. Autherine Lucy and Leonard Wilson, student riot leader, are both expelled. A WCC boom is experienced in Tuscaloosa and surrounding areas. A power struggle emerges between WCC leaders State Senator Sam Engelhardt, Jr., and Asa Carter. Governor Folsom: "(The WCC leaders have) the same faces, rank, and serial number and issues that led the Dixiecrats in 1948." Engelhardt claims his WCC faction has over 60,000 members in 62 chapters in 30 counties.

FLORIDA Legislators report an almost total lack of demand for action for or against school segregation.

March 1956

Ninety-Six Congressmen sign a Declaration of Constitutional Principles ("The Southern Manifesto") in which they pledge to use "all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

A move is begun in LOUISIANA to dissolve the NAACP, after a February court decision invalidates all state segregation laws.

WCC activity is stepped up. Eight thousand attend a New Orleans WCC rally to hear speeches by Attorney General Eugene Cook and Roy Harris, both of Georgia. Goal of the New Orleans WCC is 100,000 members.

The University of FLORIDA is ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court to grant immediate admission of a Negro to its law school. Suit has been pending for seven years.

GEORGIA educator Dr. Guy H. Wells, President Emeritus of Georgia State College for Women, is stripped of his title because of alleged pro-integration sentiments. An attempt by the Board of Regents to stop Dr. Wells' pension fails.

The Georgia legislature adopts ten major pieces of pro-segregation legislation. The States Rights Council announces 28 organizational meetings throughout Georgia. Georgia U. S. Representative James C. Davis tells the Augusta States Rights Council that school desegregation in Washington is a "complete failure."

A North Carolina superior court ruling upholds the 1955 pupil assignment law. The U. S. Supreme Court upholds a federal circuit court decision banning segregation in all tax-supported colleges. Case involves three Negro undergraduates at the University of North Carolina.

The SOUTH CAROLINA Legislature enacts 14 pro-segregation measures, including one which forbids employment of NAACP members by state, counties, school districts, or municipalities. The WCC announces plans for a central headquarters in Charleston.

In Nashville, TENNESSEE, a three-judge federal court grants a continuance in a city desegregation suit. The school board, admitting unconstitutionality of the state's segregation laws, will have at least seven months to work out a plan of compliance. Chattanooga, first city to announce integration plans, says such action will be delayed, "probably for five years."

The Prince Edward County, VIRGINIA, case is reopened by NAACP petition. Legislature passes five pro-segregation bills and resolution opposing racially mixed competition involving public school athletes.

April 1956

FLORIDA's Governor and Attorney General name an eight-man committee to seek legal sanctions for maintenance of segregated schools. The Ku Klux Klan sponsors a public meeting in Jacksonville attended by 1,400 persons.

Nine GEORGIA state parks are leased to private citizens. Seventy-two Klansmen meeting in Macon draw 400 spectators.

A LOUISIANA Court "permanently" bans NAACP after failure of the organization to file its membership lists under a 1924 state law originally passed to curb the KKK. A Citizens' Council of America, with delegates from 11 states, is formed in New Orleans during a closed meeting.

NORTH CAROLINA Governor Hodges' Advisory Commission on Education recommends tuition grants for children assigned to mixed schools and authority for any school district to close its schools by a majority vote. In a test of state's assignment law, local school board members are held, in effect, state officers.

May 1956

ALABAMA's Governor Folsom is the first major political casualty of the segregation controversy, losing bid for election as Democratic national committeeman to State Representative Charles W. McKay, Jr. McKay, winning by a three-to-one majority, was strongly backed by the WCC.

Governor Collins' victory in FLORIDA Democratic primary is held as a victory for "moderation." Major General Sumter Lowry, an all-out segregationist, runs second in a strong field of five.

The LOUISIANA Ku Klux Klan obtains a state charter after 30 years' absence. Charter lists nine officers and 13 other members, all of Baton Rouge. The Legislature begins writing an interposition resolution. Four Thousand attend a New Orleans WCC rally to hear Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

The MISSISSIPPI State Sovereignty Commission announces it will employ secret investigators and informants.

The NORTH CAROLINA Supreme Court upholds the validity of the state's pupil assignment law in its first test.

In SOUTH CAROLINA, candidates for public office in the June 12 Democratic primary are being queried on their racial views by the WCC.

June 1956

An ALABAMA circuit Judge's order, on petition of the attorney general, enjoins the NAACP from further activity in the state. The Attorney General's petition accuses the NAACP of organizing and supporting the six month old Montgomery bus boycott.

Of 18 segregation bills before the LOUISIANA Legislature, eleven are passed and passage is expected for at least 15. These bills are designed to replace earlier laws declared void by the courts.

The NORTH CAROLINA Supreme Court rules state segregation requirements unconstitutional. Governor Hodges sets date for special legislative session to consider new segregation laws.

VIRGINIA's Governor Stanley announces he will summon the legislature within 90 days. Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr.: "I have fought to the end of the legal rope, and as counsel for the state it is my judgment that we must have state legislation on this subject in order to meet the attacks of the NAACP."

July 1956

In SOUTH CAROLINA, Jack O'Dowd, editor of the Florence Morning News, resigns following severe community reaction to his criticism of the WCC and his appeal for reason and law.

August 1956

ALABAMA voters adopt a constitutional amendment empowering the legislature to withdraw aid from or dispose of any school faced with integration.

In Tuscaloosa, the WCC, led by expelled student Leonard Wilson, announces a membership in excess of 3,000. Group boasts that it can get 100,000 men into the city within 24 hours if needed. The Tuscaloosa Ku Klux Klan initiates 150 members in a series of spring and summer rallies.

The new FLORIDA segregation laws cause considerable controversy. Pro-segregation forces feel they are inadequate. School officials say they are confused as to how the laws can be carried out. Laws provide for: (1) pupil assignment according to ability, achievement, sociological and psychological factors; (2) dismissal of teachers with tenure on basis of sociological and psychological factors; (3) broad emergency powers for governor; and (4) establishment of committee to investigate the NAACP. Governor Collins ends the session by use of emergency powers---an action without precedent in the state.

The second annual report of the Association of Citizens' Councils of MISSISSIPPI claims a membership in excess of 80,000.

Two Negro women are admitted to the Woman's College of the University of NORTH CAROLINA at Greensboro.

In TENNESSEE, 12 Negro children are integrated into the Clinton High School. Violence flares. Outside WCC agitator John Kasper is arrested. The National Guard is called to restore order.

August 1956

The VIRGINIA legislature meets to consider Governor Stanley's new "total resistance" program. Charlottesville, ordered to desegregate, wins a stay of execution pending a circuit court appeal.

September 1956

Ku Klux Klan activity shows a sharp increase. Twelve Hundred persons attend a Montgomery KKK rally to hear Imperial Wizard Eldon Edwards of Atlanta.

LOUISIANA's new laws aimed at integration in the four state colleges is reported to be effective. No Negro freshmen are applying at the schools. Total Negro enrollment drops from 400 to less than 200; segregation leaders in the legislature claim that by mid-year segregation will again be complete.

NORTH CAROLINA voters by better than four to one approve the "Pearsall Plan" to maintain segregation through private tuition payments and local-option school closings.

In TENNESSEE, two Negroes become the first of their race to enroll in Vanderbilt University's School of Law.

The VIRGINIA General Assembly passes and Governor Stanley signs 23 bills supporting "unyielding resistance." Bills include authority for the governor to take over integrated school, reassign its pupils, and reopen it on segregated basis. A series of laws also are aimed at securing the registration of, and increased control over, agencies favoring integration.

October 1956

LOUISIANA segregationists, with their legislative defenses nearly completed, turn their attention to the all-time high Negro voter registration of 155,000.

WCC's are challenging qualifications of Negro registrants in 13 parishes. Several legislators serve notice of forthcoming legislative attention to the "problem."

In MISSISSIPPI, 20 New England newspaper editors tour the state for a state-paid observation of the racial situation.

SOUTH CAROLINA Ku Klux Klan activity grows. A crowd estimated at between 6,000 and 10,000 persons attend a rally at Spartanburg.

The TENNESSEE Supreme Court rules segregation laws void. The Nashville school board drafts a plan for voluntary desegregation beginning with the first grade in 1957. One Hundred Twenty Five carloads of hooded Ku Klux Klan members parade through Clinton. The "Tennessee White Citizens' Council," organized by John Kasper and four others, is chartered in the state. This is the second WCC group chartered in Tennessee.

In VIRGINIA, the national NAACP is granted a certificate of authority by the State Corporation Commission to do business.

Taking action under new anti-integration laws, the state files motion in federal district courts asking dismissal of suits by Negroes in Norfolk, Newport News, and Prince Edward County. Dismissal is sought on grounds that new pupil placement law provides administrative remedies for Negroes who want schools desegregated.

November 1956

The U. S. Supreme Court upholds an ALABAMA U. S. District Court decision invalidating segregation on buses. Montgomery is first city affected. A federal judge orders University of Alabama trustees to show cause why they should not be held in contempt for refusing to readmit a Negro student.

Delegates to the FLORIDA Baptist Convention approve a report expressing respect for civil law, "regardless of what our own personal interpretation of the law might be."

GEORGIA Baptists reject a report urging compliance with the Supreme Court school rulings. State Revenue Commissioner T. V. Williams seeks access to records of the Atlanta and regional offices of the NAACP.

LOUISIANA voters approve a constitutional amendment designed to block suits against school boards but reject an amendment designed to restrict or delay voter registration.

In the long-standing McDowell County, NORTH CAROLINA, case, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals rules Negroes must exhaust administrative remedies for school entry singly and not as a group. Also rules that appeal can be taken directly to federal courts without going through state courts as the 1955 Pupil Assignment Act directs.

In TENNESSEE, John Kasper, WCC leader, is acquitted of violation of sedition and incitement to riot laws in a state court in Clinton. Meanwhile, Negro students in that city absent themselves from school because of a series of "incidents" and "insults".

VIRGINIA legal battles over three suits involving segregation are underway. School districts report concern over marketing of bonds. Governor Stanley holds a meeting with state officials to discuss the problem.

Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., who has led the legal fight against Virginia integration, announces he will be a candidate for governor.

A number of Virginia school districts are reported to be postponing school building plans due to the uncertainties surrounding the school controversy.

December 1956

In Montgomery, ALABAMA, a U. S. Supreme Court order, reinstating a lower court's injunction, ends segregation on buses. University of Alabama board of trustees face contempt proceedings growing out of Autherine Lucy case. The Alabama Supreme Court upholds a $100,000 contempt of court fine against the NAACP.

In the Atlanta, GEORGIA, U. S. District Court final arguments are being heard in the suit in which Horace Ward, an Atlanta Negro, is seeking admission to the University of Georgia law school.

The Atlanta branch NAACP is fined $25,000 and its president jailed for two hours in a contempt case against the organization. Following this action the NAACP makes its records available to Georgia tax examiners.

FLORIDA's first integration suit is dismissed for second time by Federal Judge Emmett C. Choate. Judge Choate says Florida's new attendance laws are "so confusing and ingeniously engineered" that it is almost impossible to establish discrimination on grounds of color alone.

Tallahassee Negroes vote to end a seven-month-old bus boycott by riding in an "unsegregated fashion." The bus company attempts to operate on a desegregated basis. City officials order compliance with city segregation ordinances. Court action is sought to resolve the conflict.

In LOUISIANA disputes continue over the legality of the NAACP. Meetings of the NAACP in Alexandria and New Orleans are broken up by police. Other groups (including the Parent-Teachers Association and the state chapter of the National Education Association) hasten to bring membership rolls up to date in the

Secretary of State's office. The KKK files a list of 23 members. The White Citizens' Councils continue checking voter registration rolls in northern parishes. About 11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, have been dropped from the rolls since the WCC drive began.

In SOUTH CAROLINA, Guy Hutchins, 52-year-old director of Camden High School Band, is beaten by hooded men who accuse him of having made a pro-integration speech. The accusation is denied by Hutchins.

Clinton, TENNESSEE, High School closes then reopens as violence flares. Sixteen pro-segregationists are arrested and face contempt charges in Federal court. Introduction of a number of pro-segregation bills is expected when the legislature meets in January.

VIRGINIA's Governor Stanley appoints three members to the Pupil Assignment Board authorized by the legislature last summer. The U. S. Fourth Circuit Court affirms district court orders calling for end to segregation in Charlottesville and Arlington County schools.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A Special Report

from the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

~~FILE COPY~~

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUPS IN THE SOUTH

This is a summary report of a three-month field survey of the pro-segregation "resistance" organizations in the Southern States. Other conclusions drawn from the SRC survey, which was conducted by Paul Anthony, will be presented in later reports.

November 19, 1956

SR/1

THE RESISTANCE GROUPS OF THE SOUTH

The following is a brief summary of resistance group activity in eleven Southern states. This information was collected during a three-month field study conducted in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and South Carolina. Information on Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is drawn from the Southern Regional Council's files and correspondence.

In the majority of these states the groups concerned use the designation "Citizens' Councils." This alteration of the original "White Citizens' Councils" is a significant index to the striving for respectability. To eliminate confusion, this report will refer to all groups that use any form of the Citizens' Council title as "WCC's." Such groups now exist in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Fifteen other states have similar organizations which are closely associated with the WCC's, including the Georgia States Rights Council, Inc., and the North Carolina Patriots, Inc. To coordinate the activities of the state groups there is now a "Citizens' Councils of America" with offices in Greenwood, Mississippi.

Resistance groups claim a total membership of more than half a million and, based on the information gathered during this survey, they do have well over three hundred thousand in the eleven states covered. Funds at the disposal of these groups are estimated to be in excess of $2,000,000. Their influence and effectiveness vary widely state by state. But in general it may be said that they represent a considerable and growing power.

Following is a state-by-state summary of the status of the organized resistance movement during the latter part of 1956.

ALABAMA - "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

Alabama has a strong WCC movement, headed by Sam Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, a planter and state senator. Other major leaders include Walter C. Givhan of Safford, also a planter and state senator; Alston Keith of Selma, an attorney; Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, an attorney; and, Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, an attorney and state senator.

This group does not have the support of the state administration, but it does have considerable support from the legislature, as indicated by the nature of the WCC leadership. In turn, the WCC is particularly active in politics and can be expected to have a significant influence on future state elections.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Autherine Lucy incident at the state university have been helpful in recruiting members, though it is difficult for the WCC leadership to maintain the emotional pitch created by these controversies. The membership of some 80,000 is located primarily in the central and southern portions of the state, with the greatest concentration being in the Montgomery area, site of the state association headquarters. There is little membership in the extreme southern portion of the state and none in the upper third of the state north of Birmingham. Membership fees vary from $3 to $5, of which a minimum of $1 is designated for the state office.

A second organization, the North Alabama Citizens' Council, has been expelled from the state association because of its extremist approach. As a result the majority of the members in the original NAWCC have transferred to the state association. Asa("Ace") Carter, the leader of this expelled faction, has little influence in the state but remains active throughout the South.

Ku Klux Klan activity, centered in the Tuscaloosa and Montgomery areas, is on the increase.

ARKANSAS - "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

This state has a weak resistance movement, though in the past year the WCC has shown considerable growth under the direction of James D. Johnson of Crossett. Johnson, who leans to emotionalism and advocacy of extreme measures, is a former state senator and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in the May 1956 Democratic primary. He is assisted in the movement by Curt Copeland of Hot Springs, a professional bigot with a long record of resistance-group activity. Membership claims run high, but 20,000 is probably the maximum figure.

By comparison with several Southern states this Arkansas group is not powerful, but it is capable of doing considerable damage in localities where integration might be considered. Although there is no information available on finances, the WCC activities would indicate limited funds.

FLORIDA

While there are several resistance groups in Florida, none has achieved a position of importance. A WCC movement, largely directed by former Klan leaders, has had little success. A. C. Shuler, a retired Baptist minister, is reported to serve as acting president of the WCC of Florida and M. B. Sherill of Fort Pierce (a co-founder of the "Pro-Southerners"), serves as secretary. Thus far activity has been limited to the Jacksonville, Tallahassee and Tampa areas. These same areas have experienced some Klan activity during the past year.

A new movement, the National Association for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes, was chartered in Miami in September, 1956, with former Governor Fuller Warren as its attorney. Thus far nothing further has been heard from this group.

Resistance groups have less influence in Florida than in other Southern states. The growing pro-segregation atmosphere is such, however,

that this situation could change if the proper resistance leadership presents itself.

GEORGIA - "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

The States' Rights Council of Georgia was incorporated on December 27, 1954. On September 23, 1955, at the invitation of Governor Marvin Griffin, 200 of the state's most prominent and influential political and business leaders met and voted to support the movement as "a statewide organization dedicated to the preservation of constitutional government and the maintenance of harmonious race relations."

The Rev. William T. Bodenhamer of Ty Ty, who is a member of the General Assembly, a Baptist Minister, and a former school superintendent, was appointed executive secretary and instructed to form local groups in each of the state's 159 counties, with a total membership of at least 150,000. There are no indications that any significant portion of this membership has been secured. However, the downtown Atlanta office of the group is active and distributes an unusually expensive collection of publications. A "visiting school teacher" who requested such literature was given a generous supply of "teaching materials" which included: a history of the organization; a statement of aims and purposes; a series of expensively reproduced pro-segregation statements by such historical figures as Jefferson and Lincoln; a booklet, "The Supreme Court, The Broken Constitution, and the Shattered Bill of Rights"; "The Cause of the Confederacy"; Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook's booklet, "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP"; a copy of the third party movement newspaper, "Free Men Speak,"; and a copy of the highly anti-Semitic "Williams Intelligence Summary."

Since its formation the group has enjoyed the unqualified support

of the Governor, the state Attorney General, Senator-elect Herman Talmadge, and most of the other significant political leaders of the state. It has not, however, developed into a grass roots movement.

GEORGIA - "The U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"

During August 1955, announcements were made that an Atlanta auto-assembly plant worker named Eldon Edwards had been appointed Imperial Wizard of a revived Klan movement. Since that time the group has obtained a charter and has begun to hold public meetings of robed but unmasked members.

At its inception, the caliber of leadership and strong public opposition to a Klan movement indicated that this new movement was to be of little significance. This may still be the case. However, during the past several months there has been a conspicuous flurry of public activity by the Klan. Public meetings, usually of an impressive size, have been held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. These states, with the possible exception of North Carolina, have formal organizations and officers, and all claim to be divisions or associates of the Atlanta group.

A pattern of Klan activity is now developing which gives some indication of adequate leadership and financing. This leadership may come from Edwards, and the funds may come from membership fees (of $10.). The Klan effort to recruit mass membership can be a highly lucrative endeavor. However, if the current trend continues, the possibility must be considered that leadership and financing has been injected which is far superior to that represented by the known Atlanta group.

Under any circumstances the development of a new Klan movement, its leadership, and its support comprise that area of resistance group activity which most commands attention in the near future.

LOUISIANA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana"

The Louisiana WCC has its headquarters in Homer, site of the first organized resistance activity in that state. The group has an impressive list of officers headed by the chairman, State Senator William M. Rainach of Summerfield, and the executive secretary, attorney W. M. Shaw. Others are J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport, a member of the L.S.U. Board of Supervisors; Malcolm Dougherty of Baton Rouge, president of the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation; Dr. Emmett Irvin of New Orleans, past president of the Louisiana Medical Association; C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproof, an attorney and farmer; and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans, president of the American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

The WCC claims a membership of 75 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans, however, it is doubtful if there are actually more than half that number. The membership fee of $5.00 includes $2.00 for the state office. In addition, considerable wealth is represented among WCC supporters - for example, B. H. J. Balter, a prominent realtor in whose downtown office building the New Orleans WCC has its headquarters.

The group is having a growing influence in the state, especially through the legislature where the WCC state chairman is also chairman of the Legislative Segregation Commission. The original legislative program of the WCC has been accomplished and it is now turning its attention to Negro registration. Chairman Rainach has issued this warning: "...We are going through the familiar pattern set by registration of Negroes in the early days of reconstruction. Our forefathers knew well the disastrous consequences of that pattern in the South."

(Article 8, Section 1 of the Louisiana Constitution requires that any applicant for registration shall be able to read or understand any

clause in the constitutions of Louisiana or of the United States. Any two qualified voters may challenge the qualifications of a registered voter or of a person desiring to register. The WCC has served notice that, through these two approaches and through the support of the Legislative Segregation Commission, the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way.")

Other groups in the state include, the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); the Ku Klux Klan, (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge); the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans -- largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians, (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans -- inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

MISSISSIPPI - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

The Mississippi WCC headquarters are in Greenwood, with "administrative" offices in Jackson. Robert B. Patterson, planter, businessman, and founder of the WCC movement, is executive secretary. W. J. Simmons, a Jackson businessman, is "administrator."

A few counties in the northern part of the state and others along the Gulf do not have WCC units, but this state movement is the strongest in the South and will have considerable influence for years to come. The Major opposition to the movement comes from the governor and others of the state Democratic Party, who have refused to lend their official support to the WCC and who took issue with WCC support of the third party movement in the Fall of 1956. This is primarily a fight for political control, however, and does not represent a weakening of the nearly universal white pro-segregation sentiment of the state.

From slightly more than 80,000 members, plus a women's auxiliary,

the WCC collects a membership fee of $5.00, of which $1.00 remains in the local unit, $2.00 is sent to the state office, and the remaining $2.00 is used as a subscription to the Citizens' Councils, the official paper.

This state is the fountainhead of the region-wide WCC movement and it is significant that the "temporary national office" of the Citizens' Councils of America is located in Greenwood. The basis of the movement was well expressed in the Mississippi WCC second annual report (1956) which stated: "The best prophet of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!"

This movement has the support of, or is feared by, the majority of the people of Mississippi. In the smaller communities, and generally throughout the Delta, the WCC is almost all-powerful. In these areas, elementary steps in race relations toward achieving the fundamentals of a democratic society have yet to be taken.

NORTH CAROLINA - "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

A charter for the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., was filed in Raleigh on August 22, 1955 bearing the patriotic date July 4th. It also carried the names of 356 men and women from 59 North Carolina counties about whom the Winston Salem Journal and Sentinel commented: "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members. For that reason it is unwise to dismiss lightly the Patriots of North Carolina. The group represents something more than a scrubbed-face revival of the Ku Klux Klan in new haberdashery."

The Patriots estimated to have some 20,000 members, is headed by Dr. W. C. George, a professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Its executive secretary, with offices in Greensboro, is

A. Allison James, a Winston Salem druggist and one-time head of the U. S. Savings Bond Sales in North Carolina. Among the charter members and officers are three former Speakers of the state House of Representatives, a trustee of the University of North Carolina, several major industrialists, a former U. S. Attorney, a former state commander of the American Legion, and several respected ministers. This caliber of leadership has set the tone of resistance as being restrained but uncompromising in opposing any possible move toward desegregation. The recent acts of the state legislature are some indication of the measure of their success.

Outside elements have recently attempted a Klan revival in the state, especially in the Kannapolis area. They may be successful, since a potential Klan membership exists there.

SOUTH CAROLINA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of S. C."

The South Carolina WCC is a moderately strong movement with a membership of approximately 30,000. The largely inactive state office is located in Charleston and a businessman of that city, Micah Jenkins, serves as chairman of the group. S. Emery Rogers, an attorney in Summerton, is executive Secretary and the actual leader of the movement. Through Rogers the group has become thoroughly involved in politics, especially in the 1956 third party movement.

Much of the work which might be done by the WCC is accomplished through the Gressette Committee, a legislative body charged with maintaining segregation in South Carolina. The Chairman, State Senator Lawrence M. Gressette, is a supporter of the WCC movement but very carefully distinguishes its activities from the work of his committee,

presumably because he has political ambitions which require that he, not the WCC, receive the credit for maintaining segregation. This type of potential conflict among pro-segregation leaders represents one of the major threats to the continued effectiveness of the WCC.

A number of South Carolinians who might otherwise support the WCC have failed to do so because of these political activities and conflicts and because of the extreme measures, including economic reprisals, taken by the WCC. Economic pressure and other means of intimidation have lessened, at least temporarily. Political activity and support of the third party movement grew during the Presidential campaign and were probably more evident in the South Carolina WCC than in any other statewide resistance group.

The state has denied a charter to the Klan, but considerable and increasing Klan activity is led by Georgia Klansmen.

TENNESSEE

There are several resistance groups in Tennessee, each active in its own area to the general exclusion of the rest of the state. All, however, claim to be statewide organizations.

In Chattanooga there is the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation headed by Arthur A. Canada, long a disruptive influence in organized labor in the state. Canada and his group receive substantial support from Judge Raulston Schoolfield and attorney Charles Coleman, both political figures of Chattanooga.

In Nashville there is the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor of English at Vanderbilt University. This group has a slate of officers, largely business executives, who represent considerable wealth and influence in the area.

In Memphis there is the WCC headed by the Rev. Wayne Cox, pastor of Woodlawn Terrace Baptist Church. This group has gone through several reorganizations and seems to have much difficulty with membership and finances. Also in Memphis, the Tennessee Citizens for Progress has been formed reportedly as a partial revival of the old Crump organization, interested primarily in political power through a pro-segregation platform. All of the leaders of this group have been identified by Memphis newspapers as being "former lieutenents" of the Crump machine.

The resistance groups of Tennessee, all of whom have insignificant membership, have found it difficult to cooperate with each other and are often in open competition for attention, membership and finances. Therein lies their greatest weakness. All, with the possible exception of the WCC, are primarily interested in politics and one questions whether the activity is a primary end in itself or merely a means to an end.

Klan activity, which is light, has been limited to the Chattanooga and the Georgia-Tennessee border areas.

TEXAS - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Texas"

Texas has several resistance groups, of which the WCC is the strongest. Dr. B. E. Masters, retired educator and former junior college president, is chairman of the Association, and attorney Ross Carlton of Dallas is chairman of the WCC executive committee.

Thus far the major activity of the group has been that of campaigning for the pro-segregation referendum of the Democratic primary election of July 28, 1956. More recently WCC members have been active in the several disturbances which have occurred where integration has taken place, as in Mansfield. The estimated

membership of 25,000 and its activities are located largely in east Texas.

Ku Klux Klan activity has shown an increase during the past year though the Texas Attorney General has publicly stated his opposition to a revival of the Klan movement.

VIRGINIA

Virginia has a number of small, and largely ineffective, resistance groups of which the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty, headed by W. E. Maxey, Jr., of Richmond is probably the strongest. This group claims some 15,000 members in 37 chapters throughout the state; however, the infrequent meetings, spasmodic programs, and lack of publicity indicate little power or effectiveness.

The "Ace" Carter faction of the WCC has been organized under the direction of John Kasper, a book store operator in Washington, D.C., as a unit of the "Seaboard White Citizens' Councils." The group has little membership and less financing but it has been outspoken and has received considerable publicity. There are no indications of Klan activity, but there are few differences between this WCC faction and the Klan.

These groups cannot claim credit for the considerable change in atmosphere in Virginia during the past year. However, partially because of that change, the state could become a fertile ground for a "respectable" resistance movement.

*

*

*

*

MEMBERSHIP, BY STATE, AND ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FEES PAID.

(Omissions represent those areas where a meaningful estimate cannot be made)

State	Estimated Membership	Estimated Funds
Alabama	80,000	$240,000.
Arkansas	20,000	- - *
Florida	5,000	- - *
Georgia	- -	- - **
Louisiana	40,000	200,000.
Mississippi	80,000	400,000.
North Carolina	20,000	- - **
South Carolina	30,000	50,000.
Tennessee	- -	- - **
Texas	25,000	- - **
Virginia	15,000	- - *
TOTAL	315,000	$990,000.

* Represents those states where specific estimates are difficult but where conditions indicate little financing.

** Represents those areas where specific estimates are difficult but where conditions indicate considerable financial backing.

These estimates indicate that approximately $1,000,000 is represented in membership fees. It might be assumed that memberships where no evaluation is made, plus contributions and fund drives, would account for at least $1,000,000 more.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FILE COPY

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH

A Report of a Survey by the Southern Regional Council

SR 7
July 18, 1957

INTRODUCTION

In the summer and fall of 1956, the Southern Regional Council carried out a state-by-state survey of Negro suffrage in the South. This was the third in a series of such surveys conducted by the Council, the first two having been made in 1947 and 1952. The current survey, by far the most ambitious, was prompted by a recognition of the importance of the ballot to the Negro's changing status in the South. Since the study began, the timeliness of these findings has been further enhanced by the national debate centering on the Negro's access to the ballot, the introduction of "right-to-vote" bills in Congress, and a general awareness of the significance of Negro suffrage in the whole field of race relations and desegregation.

The findings summarized in this report were gathered by social scientists in each of the twelve Southern states who served as consultants to the project. In each state, these specialists undertook to collect current figures on Negro registration, where possible county by county. Through observation, interviews, and field studies, they also sought to evaluate the barriers that still exist to the free exercise of the ballot by Negroes. As a final step, the Council related Census data on population, economic, and social factors in the Southern counties to the registration figures. This summary of the findings was prepared by the Council itself; while the consultants' reports were drawn upon, the Council alone is responsible for this report and the conclusions it presents.

The county-by-county breakdown, where available, of Negro registration figures has been made available in a separate report; only the state totals are reported here. Ultimately, these two reports, as well as other findings, will be available in a single printed publication.

For a variety of reasons, registration figures are hard to secure. Some states and counties do not record the figures separately by race; others do not make this information public. Wherever possible, official figures were used. In those instances in which official figures were not available, the most reliable estimates obtainable were used.

To obtain a complete picture of Negro registration and voting in the Southern states would require a survey of much greater proportions and duration than this one. But it may be said that the Southern Regional Council survey here reported was the most detailed and extensive as yet attempted in the South.

NEGRO REGISTRATION--PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE

During the past decade, Negro registration has climbed steadily, if gradually. Today, there are at least 1,238,000 Negroes on voting rolls in the Southern states.

This figure, based on the estimated number of registrants at the time of the 1956 general election, represents a gain of 229,400 over the 1,008,614 registered in 1952, which in turn was a 413,600 increase over the 595,000 registered in 1947.

Despite this growth, the current figure represents only about 25 per cent of the 4,980,000 Negroes of voting age in the region, as compared to a 60 per cent registration among eligible white Southerners.[1]

It should be observed at the outset that accurate registration figures are difficult to obtain. Voting lists often are out of date, bearing names of dead and non-resident citizens, and race frequently is recorded in a haphazard fashion. The figures used in this survey are based on information from voting officials, registration records, county-by-county reports, and interviews with informed observers.

The Negro registration figures used probably are more accurate than the white. Officials tend to keep a closer check on Negro registrants and they are more subject to periodic purges. Moreover, names of white registrants may have been on the books 50 years, whereas Negroes have been enfranchised only for 10 or 12; thus, it is far more likely that the white rolls are inflated and contain the names of those moved or deceased.

In Georgia, for example, 63 of the state's 159 counties reported to the Secretary of State in 1956 white registration totals which exceed the white

[1] Population figures are based on the 1950 Census.

population of voting age.[2] Calhoun County represented the extreme, reporting 187 per cent of its eligible white population on the voting rolls.

Based then on the best estimates available, Texas leads the region in the number of Negroes registered--214,000--followed by Georgia with 16[illegible],389 and Louisiana with 161,410. The latter shows the greatest gain--41,410--since 1952; also, Negroes make up 18 per cent of the total registration in Louisiana, the highest among Southern states.

Only in Mississippi did Negro registration level off, or perhaps decline, in the past four years. The latest estimate of Negro registrants was made in 1955; 20,000 is the figure generally agreed upon for that year, about the same as two years earlier. Governor J. P. Coleman, however, estimated Negro registration in 1954 at 22,000. Some observers feel that the number has remained static at best, and others believe there has been a sharp drop.

On the other hand, the State Times of Jackson, Miss. surveyed a number of counties in the fall of 1956 and concluded, "Throughout the state, Negro registrations were expected to be up over 1952, even though total Negro population is down." That the increase is negligible is demonstrated by the following figures released in the State Times survey:

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956	NEGROES REGISTERED, 1952
Hinds	35,021	4,305	2,500
Marion	4,103	500	100
Clarke	3,849	0	0
Smith	1,400	13	1
Calhoun	1,893	2	3
Tunica	9,123	38	3
*Wilkinson	4,558	55	50
Benton	1,749	35	35
*Issaquena	1,790	0	0
*Sharkey	4,533	1	1
Choctaw	1,482	13	18
Covington	2,354	440	311
Itawamba	470	36	12

(* Counties with over 50 per cent Negro population)

[2] In addition, 33 Georgia counties reported white registration representing 90 to 99 per cent of white population of voting age and 27 counties a white registration of from 80 to 89 per cent of the eligible. Only three counties reported Negro registration in excess of 100 per cent of the Negro eligibles, two from 90 to 99 per cent, and five 80 to 89 per cent.

What are the prospects for Negro voting in the South generally? Survey consultants feel there will be a continuation of the steady progress of the past few years, particularly as economic and educational opportunities increase.

Of course, as the number of Negro registrants has been increasing numerically, so has the white. Unless the pace is accelerated, it still will be many years before the registration record of Negroes approaches that of the white South.

Many factors will determine the speed with which Negroes progress toward their goal of political equality. Not the last of these is the attitude of the white community, which is subject to increasing scrutiny. In this regard, John Herbers of the United Press wrote (Jackson, Miss., October 20, 1956):

"Bars against Negro voting, against his right to participate in the functions of government is the point outsiders always find the most shocking about the Southern way of life despite its sanction by white officials all the way to the top.

"Mississippi has been successful in selling racial segregation to some outsiders. A great many Northerners can understand why Southern whites fear things like intermarriage and social mixing. But they look at voting in a different light."

Because of the spotlight of public opinion--both at home and abroad--on the South, and in the wake of federal court decisions on segregation, attitudes of white citizens in the region are changing. Many are hardening their lines of resistance and the resulting tension, conflict, and violence make daily headlines. But there is another South which is changing gradually and quietly. In the Spring of 1956, the Southern Regional Council, with the financial aid of the Fund for the Republic, surveyed progress toward integration in all fields during the two-year period following the Supreme Court school decision of May 17, 1954. It found nearly 1,100 instances of desegregation almost equally divided between five border states and 12 Southern states.

It is this "other South" which holds much promise for the political future of Negro citizens. It can create a favorable climate of opinion which will encourage more Negroes to exercise their basic right to vote. It can allow white candidates to seek Negro votes openly, which in turn will encourage others to qualify.

Leadership also will play an important role in the future of Negro voting. Its continued improvement promises a growing awareness of the value of the ballot. More and more Negroes are spreading the word that "A voteless people is a voiceless people." As Negro spokesmen in one Georgia county said in substance:

"If we don't register and vote, we can't get benefits which are comparable to those received by whites—or comparable to our needs. We want to be full-fledged citizens with a voice in local, state and national government. We want to protect our rights as citizens and be respected when we go downtown."

Finally, the influence of the federal government on the future of Negro voting cannot be ignored. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made "routine" checks of some election procedures in parts of the South, presumably with an eye to possible civil rights violations. Prior to the 1956 presidential election, the U. S. Attorney General ordered the criminal division of the Justice Department and the FBI to maintain a watch at the polls on election day to deal with violations of federal laws. It can be assumed that such announcements make an impression on both white and Negro citizens.

The prospect for Negro voting in several of the states as summed up by the field consultants follows:

NORTH CAROLINA: "Increasing registration by Negroes but not in tremendous numbers... The counties that now restrict Negro registration increasingly will use more legal and sophisticated tactics to neutralize the political effectiveness of the Negro... Regardless of what methods may be used, the Negro is becoming more important politically as direct restrictions on his franchise decline. Many of

the registrars who emphasize these restrictive tactics are old and are dying out."

LOUISIANA: "Unless the Citizens Council enjoys unexpected success in its purgative efforts, it would seem that Negro registration and voting have become a permanent feature of the Louisiana political landscape... In the parishes (counties) where subterfuge is necessary to discourage registration, there is likely to be a registration breakthrough in the not too distant future. In these parishes, where there is a history of suppression, the Negro is quite anxious to obtain the suffrage... In the Mississippi Delta parishes where no Negroes are registered, the prospects are bleak for registration in the immediate future... The urban parishes represent a great untapped reservoir of Negro votes which can e registered with a minimum of difficulty."

SOUTH CAROLINA: "Notwithstanding the obstacles that are standing in the way of the Negro's complete political freedom, there is evidence that he is on the move politically. This can be attributed to the new kind of leadership found among the Negroes today."

ALABAMA: While the State Consultant feels that "the future of Negro voting looks brighter," there still are forces at work in Alabama which make a major increase, particularly in the black belt, seem unlikely in the immediate future.

TEXAS: "The Negro is on the way toward becoming a major political force... The school integration question, although not actually a political issue, is looming large in Texas politics. This gives Negroes a greater sense of political responsibility and the change is beginning to show its effects."

VIRGINIA: "The greatest threat to the increase of the suffrage at present time is the current attack on the NAACP by the state and local governments... On the other hand, there are prospects of increasing Negro participation in politics as revealed by the following facts:... A number of counties have centralized registration in the past three or four years. Where these registrars are

functioning, there has been a great reduction in the number of discriminatory complaints.... Older, often biased registrars... are dying out or being replaced by younger persons, better educated and less biased.... Political consciousness is growing among Negroes."

GEORGIA: "The statistical and field studies support the idea that progress of Negro suffrage is made in urbanized and industrialized communities. This is one of the most encouraging factors in terms of the future of Negro suffrage... Georgia is now reaching the break-through point in the distribution of its population toward the urban places of residence. Furthermore, agriculture as a source of income continues to give way to manufacturing and to other sources of income. Thus, the socio-economic trends in the state are in the direction of the kinds of situations in which Negroes are more likely to be registrants and voters."

FLORIDA: "Negro leaders are quite capable of increasing the Negro voting potential. They have been devoting much time and energy to the struggle against Jim-Crowism, especially as it relates to the public schools and public transportation and have not had much time or energy left to devote to political education and encouragement.... They are now launching a determined drive to educate the Negro to his suffrage responsibilities."

TABLE 1

NEGRO REGISTRATION

STATE	1947	1952	1956
ALABAMA	6,000	25,224	53,366
ARKANSAS	47,000	61,413	69,677
FLORIDA	49,000	120,900	148,703
GEORGIA	125,000	144,835	163,389
LOUISIANA	10,000	120,000	161,410
MISSISSIPPI	5,000	20,000	20,000*
NORTH CAROLINA	75,000	100,000	135,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	50,000	80,000	99,890
TENNESSEE	80,000	85,000	90,000
TEXAS	100,000	181,916	214,000
VIRGINIA	48,000	69,326	82,603
TOTALS	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038

* Mississippi totals are for 1955.

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the Citizens Council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro Southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

The Alabama Consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his state. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the Board of Registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only six were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the "black belt" section of the state, so called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over

50 per cent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires three or four times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local Citizens Council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the Board of Registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past two years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about two per cent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

accompany Negro applicants.

In a black belt county which is somewhat less than 50 per cent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters drive in Choctaw County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 12[illegible],510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the state: added questions about government. They might ask on what date the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the fourteenth state to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a state? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the Board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the Board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer

the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on Section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about five to one; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have registered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April, 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the Board of Registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for two of the three members resigned and it takes at least two to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

In North Carolina, as in other states with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State Board of Elections has upheld a registrar's

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama, (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama.)

right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May, 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the state constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not "satisfy the registrar."

But there are counties throughout the state, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the state constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to "prove" his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens Council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (Oct. 12, 1956) that members of the Citizens Council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Sen. William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, Council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 per cent of the Negro registrants were challenged

in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out "colored" on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C", the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a Citizens Council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged two weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of Route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a Southerner born and raised right here in Central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any Southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls... I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On Feb. 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in

a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil rights proposals.[3]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October, "There were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

[3] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., Feb. 27, 1957.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman Celler that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October, 1956, by White Citizens Councils in Louisiana and other Southern states to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "The following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058, and Union, 600.

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 per cent Negro none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his "happiness" and "allowed" that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana parishes, all counties with populations over 50 per cent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana Consultant said, "Subterfuge is unnecessary to

discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November, 1956, Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative "watch dog" committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a federal court action."

In South Carolina, the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the state constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered, they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites--10,449 to 4,304--has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes,

3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina County, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered, (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites) an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have "lost" them.

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the state usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes--to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that state, nevertheless, it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia "capitation tax" they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll tax bills along with their property tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These

and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other states turn up here and there in the state, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are "busy" or "ill" or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing Southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only four, and 10 years later only two. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties, Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

COUNTY	NEGRO POPULATION OVER 21	NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION	NUMBER OF NEGROES REGISTERED, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	64
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	5
Liberty	333	18.3	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	91

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the state, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation--cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterwards."

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various sub-regional areas of the state. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the "hard core" of the state in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 per cent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 per cent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early county, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the Court House to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the Board of Registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the Court House for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the Court House square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of four Negroes—two men and two women, one of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the "so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose but what it is, I don't know."

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to

discourage poll tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the state dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other states were found here. Where other sections usually rely on one or two means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the state which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only four per cent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50 per cent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the three elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and three had one registered who never voted. In the seven counties having more than 60 per cent Negro population, two votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonbly be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the state.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused and in November, 1955, he

was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a trouble maker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts' shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the state after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there

were several witnesses to the shootings. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the state's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary--long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five states retain the poll tax--Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern states based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

ALABAMA: In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of 1951 provides: "The following persons....shall be qualified to register....those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that...each applicant shall be furnished...a written questionnaire.... Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the Board without assistance..."

GEORGIA: A registrant must be able to read correctly in English "any paragraph" of the state or U. S. Constitution and "correctly write the same" when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of "physical inability" may qualify if they can "understand" and give a "reasonable" interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the state on which an elector resides or property in the state assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

MISSISSIPPI: In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the state's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

VIRGINIA: Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the one year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the state, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

SOUTH CAROLINA: A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the state constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the state assessed at $300 or more.

ARKANSAS: Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, non-cumulative poll tax is the only requirement for the voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the state.

LOUISIANA: A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of

government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the state or U. S. Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the "principles" of the Louisiana and U. S. constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

NORTH CAROLINA: Prospective voters must be able to "read and write" any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the state constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a state with a "literacy" law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socio-economic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any Southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and

have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the state average, 69 per cent show Negro registration above the state median; 68 per cent of the counties above the state average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro--80 per cent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the state median in the number of school years completed, 89 per cent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 per cent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the state figure of $1,130, 61 per cent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 per cent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 per cent are high in Negro registration, as constrasted with 58 per cent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the state average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 per cent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the state average in tenancy, 63 per cent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RELIGIOUS BODIES

AND

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

COMPILED

BY

THE BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

SR-8

July 31, 1957

INDEX TO STATEMENTS

	PAGE
ASSEMBLIES OF GOD	39
BAPTIST BODIES	
American Baptist Convention	1
National Baptist Convention of America	39
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.	1
Southern Baptist Convention	2-3
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN	5
CHURCHES OF CHRIST	39
CHURCH OF CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS	39
CHURCHES OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST	39
CHURCH OF GOD (ANDERSON, INDIANA)	39
CHURCH OF GOD (CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE)	39
CHURCHES OF GOD IN JESUS CHRIST	40
CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE	40
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES	6
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST	8
EPISCOPAL: PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH	9
EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH	10
EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH	10
FRIENDS: RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS	40
GREEK ARCHDIOCESE OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA	40
JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES	40
JEWISH BODIES	
B'nai B'rith	10
Central Conference of American Rabbis	11
Synagogue Council of America	11
Union of American Hebrew Congregations	12

LUTHERAN BODIES

American Lutheran Church 13

Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church 14

Evangelical Lutheran Church. 16

Lutheran Church ---- Missouri Synod. 16

United Lutheran Church in America. 40

METHODIST BODIES

African Methodist Episcopal Church 18

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. 19

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church 20

The Methodist Church 20

World Methodist Conference 22

PRESBYTERIAN BODIES

Cumberland Presbyterian Church 22

Presbyterian Church in the United States 23-24

Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 26

United Presbyterian Church 30

ROMAN CATHOLIC

Archbishop Robert E. Lucey 31

Bishop Albert L. Fletcher 31

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel 32

Bishop Vincent J. Waters 31

Catholic Interracial Council 30

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA 40

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH. 41

UNITARIAN CHURCH. 35-36

UNIVERSALIST CHURCH 36

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. 37

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN 37

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 38

BAPTIST BODIES

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION-(Action taken by American Baptist Convention at Seattle, Washington)

We recognize that during the past ten years great strides have been made in race relations in America and that it was a logical next step for the Supreme Court to declare two years ago that our public schools must be integrated to assure equality of educational opportunity.

We fully support the Supreme Court decision and deplore the resistance to this decision in certain states where integration of public education has met organized society.

Our Convention has spoken out against segregation and has repeatedly urged church leaders to work as unceasingly for a nonsegregated church as for an integrated society.

We rejoice that integration is progressing in the churches of our American Baptist Convention. Recent staff and missionary appointments testify to our intent as a religious fellowship to see that there is no racial "wall of separation" in our common service in the Kingdom. At the same time, we confess the urgency of accelerating this trend, which still is marked by futile effort, insincerity, and unwillingness to change.

Since the probability of developing integrated church congregations is contingent on the spread of open housing, we acknowledge our responsibility to work for conditions in our communities which will assure to persons the right to rent or own a home anywhere in the community solely on the basis of personal preference and financial ability rather than on the basis of race, creed or color.

Thus, in prayer and in penitence for our own failures, we pledge ourselves to work at all levels for justice, equality, and brotherhood among the races of America.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A., INC. - 1954

According to Christ and Paul there can be no question of race relations, because there is only one race, the human race. Man himself has divided the race on the basis of color.

If man would only stop worrying about petty differences and concentrate on likenesses, there would be no race problem. The problem is not really race relations, but human relations.

Segregation in the church of God is the ugliest thing in the religious world, and a disgrace to a Christian nation.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Action Taken at Southern Baptist Convention in

St. Louis, Missouri, June, 1954

In the light of the recent decision handed down by the Supreme Court of our nation declaring segregation of the races to be unconstitutional, and in view of the position of this Convention in adhering to the basic moral principles of our religion as they apply in race relations, we recommend:

1. That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

2. That we commend the Supreme Court for deferring the application of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which transition from the present practice may be effected.

3. That we urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; that we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; that we may exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship.

4. That we express our belief in the public school system of our nation as one of the greatest factors in American history for the maintenance of democracy and our common culture, and we express the hope that in the working out of necessary adjustments, its place in our educational program shall not be impaired.

5. That we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Action Taken at Southern Baptist Convention in

Chicago, May, 1957

Report of the Christian Life Commission

Some of our people feel that we should avoid any discussion of this issue because of its controversial nature. This is a strange note to inject into the affairs of Baptists. Religious controversy led to the stoning of the prophets, the crucifixion of Christ, the beheading of Paul, and the death of unnumbered martyrs through the ages. The churches of Christ have made progress and have changed the course of history by the introduction of discordant ideas. A conformist church never changes anything.

In this our day of world mission advance, we cannot avoid this issue. The problem is rooted deeply in our history and is the product of a series of tragic social experiences that have left their marks on both the Negro and white citizens of our country. The people of both groups must gird themselves with patience, the white man fighting the pride of his old mastery and the Negro the pride of his new achievements.

Individuals as Persons

We must remember that in this controversy we are dealing with individuals as persons. We cannot depend upon automatic social processes to produce harmony as if all the people of any one race are alike in quality of character or capacity. Nor can we depend on laws that fix the status and define the rights of individuals in one race in relation to those in another. Legal and social patterns that doom all Negroes to a service "place" in American society regardless of their cultural progress can only make for increasing conflict. Laws are futile solutions. They cannot make peace. The Christian cannot stop at the point of law. He is motivated by love and grace.

We must realize that the racial issue is basically a moral and religious question. We do not mean by this that the churches should seek to implement court decisions, although any church, church body, or individual should be left free to express himself on the question. We do mean that the Christian is obligated to accept and follow the teachings of Christ with respect to the dignity and worth of every individual, irrespective of his race or position in human society. Any movement, system, or law that denies this truth by statement, implication, or social practice is not in accord with the teachings of Jesus nor the principles of our Christian faith.

In accordance with these teachings, this Commission protests the violence in all its forms that is used against Negro people in the current segregation issue or at any other time. In recognition of the Negro's rights as a citizen, the law enforcement agencies of local, state and national governments should protect him, irrespective of his position or culture, from lawless attacks on his person or property.

We believe that our nation cannot long endure these lawless attacks made upon the person and property of free citizens in contempt of the law and the courts of justice. The perpetrators of these crimes, regardless of their position or influences in the community, should be brought to legal justice.

Freedom Imperiled

Furthermore, in keeping with our historic Baptist position of the freedom of conscience and expression in religion under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, we call to the attention of the people in our churches and other citizens of our country the fact that any suppression of these freedoms, whether it be by the laws or state or by economic, civic, social, or church pressures, denies the voluntary principles in religion and imperils both religious and political freedom at its source.

We are witnessing today the betrayal of these freedoms by vocal minorities in some communities and churches who are able to arouse sufficient opposition to force the resignation of pastors and to incite retaliation against peaceful citizens who speak or act according to their convictions on racial justice and interracial goodwill. The people of our nation should be reminded that both the voice of God and the verdict of history warn us that those who deny these freedoms to others do not long retain them for themselves.

REPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION

TO THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION,

MEETING AT KANSAS CITY, 1956

Section on Race Relations

A World in Conflict

It is nothing new to say that we live in a world in conflict. Some call it simply a world in change. Others describe it as a world disintegrated. But regardless of what may be our viewpoint, we are in the midst of a great awakening among the peoples. For the first time in human history this awakening is worldwide in its scope. It seems that God is preparing the ground for his ultimate worldwide triumph. This final triumph is in keeping with his plan of the ages. In the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, God has made clear what that plan is and what our part in it is to be. He does not promise us there will be no conflicts, but he does promise us the power to overcome them and a peace that will sustain us in the struggle.

The reason for these surging movements throughout the world is unique and challenging. For many centuries of human history the struggle was for material possessions - nations fought for wealth and a place in the sun. While that struggle still continues in some parts of the world, the major conflicts of our century are caused by long submerged peoples fighting for their recognition as persons and their inherent freedoms. The major

cause for their awakening is the spread of the gospel over the earth. Wherever the Christian gospel has been preached it has awakened in the people a sense of their dignity and worth and has set them straining at the shackles of their bondage.

The Courage of Prudence

In view of our responsibility as a major group of world Christians we must be mature enough in our faith and strong enough in our fellowship to face with forthright sincerity the issues among us that vitally affect our gospel witness at home and around the world. There is no reason for us to avoid these issues or couch them in evasive language or sentimental speech. The hard realities of our present situation demands honesty, integrity and a humble sense of responsibility. Our tragic situation calls for courage, but it should be the courage of prudence and of intelligence.

With such courage and conviction we must face the present controversy in our relations with the Negro people. On this issue we are divided in opinion but let us not be divided in fellowship. No one person or group has the wisdom to lead us to a solution of the difficult situation that has developed. Only God in his infinite love and patience can do that. The times call for prayer and deep humility. They call us to repentance toward God and to confessions for hate and hasty words toward our fellow man.

The times call us none the less to meet this issue as Christians should. We must meet it with facts and scriptural truth. We must recognize the fact that the problem of race relations in America is rooted deeply in our history and is the product of a series of tragic social experiences that have left their marks on both our groups.

These deep rooted social attitudes do not easily die. In some areas there can be no quick solution. And those who hope to achieve a peaceful adjustment must gird themselves with patience. The white man should seek to subdue the pride of his old mastery, the Negro the pride of his new achievement.

The Christian cannot stop at the point of law. He is motivated by love and grace. In spite of all the hate that has been shown and the hasty words that have been spoken Christian people must move into this controversy to accomplish friendly and mutually helpful adjustments.

BRETHREN

Church of the BRETHREN (Resolution adopted by the annual conference at Eugene, Oregon, June 12-17, 1956)

We reaffirm our belief that discrimination owing to color is out of keeping both with the teachings of the New Testament and with the stated position of the Church of the Brethren. We realize that, as we attempt to sharpen our efforts to practice genuine brotherhood, we are dealing with an issue that is not sectional in nature, and therefore, we speak firmly and in love to all Brethren who have been less than Christian in this matter, in every area of our land. We commend governmental agencies,

our own churches and those of other denominations who have declared their intention to support the Supreme Court decision. We would repeat that our goal must be no less than an integrated church and public school in an integrated community. Such a goal involves housing, equal access to medical care, jobs in industry, the right to vote, and membership and participation in the affairs of the community and of the Christian body. We commend those in areas where racial tension is acute, and in other areas, who are pursuing these goals in a nonviolent way and pledge to them our continuing support. We appeal to all Brethren to give leadership now, with courage, so that we may move toward this goal with calmness, sympathy, and seasoned judgment, realizing that He who made of "one blood, all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth," shows no partiality among the races.

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Resolution adopted by the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches at its biennial meeting at Omaha, Nebraska, June 20-27, 1956:

Racial Integration

We the voting members of the 1956 General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches reaffirm the actions taken by five previous General Councils in pledging ourselves to work for a non-segregated society.

We declare our belief that the gospel of Jesus Christ is for all men without distinction as to race or color. We further believe that the church is by its nature a fellowship whose only test for membership is the individual's faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and the intent to follow him.

Recognizing that our deeds do not fully match our words, we humbly rededicate ourselves, and call upon all members of our churches to rededicate themselves, to the unfinished task of achieving a racially integrated society. We call upon the boards, conferences and conventions, seminaries, colleges, institutional homes, and local congregations of our fellowship to follow practices consistent with clear policies of non-discrimination.

In consonance with these principles we urge that the resources of experience, leadership, and finances in our fellowship be made available to those churches, schools, colleges, and denominational agencies that are endeavoring to move towards racial inclusiveness. We further urge that the Executive Committee of the General Council, in cooperation with the Southeast Regional Council, set up consultations with representatives of the appropriate conventions and conferences looking to their early integration on geographical rather than racial lines.

We urge that the Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association initiate a consultation with responsible officials of the colleges affiliated with the denomination to examine all aspects and degrees of racial discrimination and to seek their elimination.

We request a report of progress made in the biennium to be presented to the 1958 General Council.

We note with gratification that our nation, through decisions made by its highest court, is now committed to eradicate segregation, based on race, from public services and institutions, including schools and colleges.

We commend the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations that have employed the judicial processes provided under our Constitution to define and enlarge the scope of human rights for all our citizens.

We further commend the spirit in which the pastors and church members in Montgomery, Alabama, are struggling for non-discriminatory treatment in the busses of that city.

It is our firm conviction that the Constitutional rights of all persons to engage in free and open discussion of all the issues in race relations must be assured, along with the right to vote and to join organizations of their own choice, without becoming the objects of economic reprisals, threats, or acts of violence.

We recognize that the problems of racial integration confront our people in all sections of the country. Residential segregation makes integration difficult in neighborhoods, schools, churches, and other associations even where individuals are willing to accept persons on their merits. Patterns of restriction based on race are maintained in the housing market. Attempts are often made to justify these restrictions on the basis that neighborhood integration depresses economic values. We call attention to authoritative studies indicating that property values in mixed neighborhoods stabilize at the same level as those prevailing in comparable all-white neighborhoods.

We pledge ourselves to support non-segregated practices in selling, buying, and leasing property, and we call upon our fellow Congregational Christians to do likewise. We urge real estate dealers, builders, mortgagors, and government housing agents to follow non-discriminatory practices in their businesses. We urge churches in localities where the racial composition of the population is changing to extend their ministries to all the people in the area and to welcome them into membership. We urge conferences, conventions and boards to encourage such churches with counsel and financial resources.

We are grateful for progress in equal and non-segregated employment opportunities, achieved more easily in a time of full employment. We accept the responsibility to help in consolidating these notable gains and to expand them as rapidly as possible in all parts of the nation.

We recognize that, at the present time, some of our local congregations face extreme difficulties in teaching and practicing racial integration. Humbly acknowledging shortcomings in this respect even where circumstances are relatively favorable, we assure our fellow members who are in particularly difficult situations of our sympathetic understanding. United in Christ, let us encourage and strengthen each other in faith and obedience while we labor, with God's help, to achieve a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society.

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

Resolution No. 85, adopted by the Miami Assembly
of the International Convention, October, 1954

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND RACIAL SEGREGATION

WHEREAS, the Gospel of Christ recognizes all men are made in the image of God and created of one blood; and

WHEREAS, the Disciples of Christ have adopted as their own the statement of the National Council of Churches that "we shall work for a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society," and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States declared in a unanimous decision on May 17, 1954, that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, and

WHEREAS, we have a specific Christian responsibility in the transition period between what is now the practice and what the Christian gospel demands become the practice we believe that the time now demands that the Disciples of Christ more fervently and prayerfully seek ways to implement the practice of racial non-segregation in our local, state and national life.

WHEREAS, various resolutions namely, Nos. 53, 79, 80, indicate the widespread interest of the Brotherhood in the individual dignity and worth of all men, and

WHEREAS, these resolutions each deal with particular phases of church life when this situation is a total one affecting all geographic sections and the total Church,

THEREFORE, we submit this as a substitute resolution for resolutions Nos. 53, 79, 80;

BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to re-examine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to indicate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies.

That we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation.

EPISCOPAL

Resolution adopted at 58th General Convention,
1955 of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

WHEREAS, Almighty God, through His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, has offered salvation to all the races of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Our Church has declared through the General Convention, the Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Congress, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, and the World Council of Churches, that unjust social discrimination and segregation are contrary to the mind of Christ and the will of God as plainly recorded in Holy Scripture; and

WHEREAS, This Church in thanksgiving can proclaim that now in every diocese and missionary district every race has full representation in its Councils; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of these United States has ruled that every citizen shall have open access to the public schools and colleges of the entire nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, now commends to all the clergy and people of this Church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court, and, that by opening channels of Christian conference and communication between the races concerned in each diocese and community, they anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we make our own the statement of the Anglican Congress that "in the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations."

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church has published, "a study of reactions to the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation with a statement of guiding principles, policies, and practical suggestions," entitled Just, Right, and Necessary.

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

Ninth General Synod
1953

General Synod Resolved:

a. The General Synod, committed as it is to a non-segregated church in a non-segregated community, especially commends those congregations, hospitals, and educational institutions within its entire constituency, which have found ways to eliminate the unbrotherly barriers of racial exclusiveness.

b. The General Synod further urges all of our congregations and institutions to take concrete steps beyond the bounds of their own respective constituencies to meet their obligation as Christians to minister to All people in the Whole community and instructs the Commission on Christian Social Action and the Board of National Missions to find ways and means of assisting local congregations that face immediate problems of race relations.

c. The General Synod especially encourages our churches, as well as individual members, to work in every appropriate manner to end racial discrimination in opportunities for housing, education, employment and the other common rights of citizens in a free society.

THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH from The Discipline, Par. 1922

RACE RELATIONS

The Evangelical United Brethren Church respects human personality inherent in the people of every race, and protests against social, economic, or political discrimination based merely on racial differences. "He made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts 17:26)

B'NAI B'RITH

Passed by District 5, B'nai B'rith (seaboard states) in convention May 31, 1954, Daytona Beach Florida; passed by District 7, B'nai B'rith ("Deep South" states) in convention June 15, 1954, New Orleans, Louisiana:

WHEREAS, B'nai B'rith is dedicated to certain principles regarding our duty to mankind, and these principles and duties obtain though men differ in color and creed, and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court has ordered that we initiate full acceptance of our fellow man in one of the basic institutions of American democracy - the public schools, and

WHEREAS, though such an adjustment will be difficult for some of us, we understand that, as B'nai B'riths, we can do no less than the law demands because our faith has taught us that we are all children of God

and that we shall accept one another as brothers, and

WHEREAS, B'nai B'rith, as the world's largest and oldest Jewish service organization, has responsibility for leadership and guidance of its members according to the principles of its great Order,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the delegates assembled at the 1954 annual convention of District Grand Lodge No. 5 of B'nai B'rith believe that the Court, the public schools and the people of this country are united in a common goal of equality of opportunity for all children. We have faith that, working together in a cooperative and democratic spirit, we can attain this goal by orderly and legal adjustment consistent with both religious and democratic ideals.

We pledge ourselves and petition all people to abide by the law as duly interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

(Adopted June, 1956)

Righteousness is the pathway to peace. The historic decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in our public schools is a forward step upon that path. The Court has now made known its program for implementing its unanimous decision. Mindful though we are of the many problems and passions involved, we call upon our colleagues to offer courageous leadership in helping to bring about the harmonious implementation of the Court's decision.

JEWISH

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA (Statement by Dr. Abraham J. Feldman, President of the Council formally ratified by the plenary body of the Council on April 11, 1956):

The philosophy of racial brotherhood is basic to adherents of the Jewish faith. This fundamental religious conviction was epitomized in the utterances of the prophet Malachi, "Have we not one Father? Has not one God created us all?" It has been reiterated continuously in the Bible and in the Talmud as well as in medieval and modern Rabbinic pronouncements. The Synagogue stands witness that all men are created in the Divine image, have equal spiritual dignity, are entitled to the same rights and are brethren in the sight of God and man.

This teaching of Judaism has also been affirmed by the best in American tradition. The statement in the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal' and the Bill of Rights of our Constitution conceive of all men as brethren.

We of the Synagogue Council of America observe with pain and alarm the violations of this fundamental principle of human brotherhood in the injustices, discriminations, and humiliations from which the American Negro suffers. In the face of such flagrant violations of the Divine commandments of human brotherhood and equality, we of the household of Israel raise our voices in protest, along with our brethren of other faiths. We ask that in accordance with Divine injunction all discriminations against Negroes be removed, that all barriers against their full participation in the economic, professional, patriotic, industrial, educational, artistic, and recreational life of the country be abolished.

The Synagogue Council of America devoutly hopes that the law-abiding citizenry of our country, in cooperation with the courts and our civic and educational authorities, will join in a concerted effort to hasten the implementation of the decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States which enjoin the ending of segregation with the greatest practicable expedition.

The Synagogue Council of America herewith calls upon the Jewish community throughout the land to help foster a nationwide resolution among all our fellow citizens of all colors and creeds to live together with their neighbors in harmonious cooperation, a determination to be on their guard against evil rumor and false report intended to inflame one segment of our people against another, and a readiness to bring to the problem of race relationship, a constructive will for a righteous solution.

"In our prayers we shall petition our Heavenly Father for the wisdom and strength of will to translate the Divine behest of 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' into daily practice, and for the inspiration to rise to the challenge of the ideals of our religious and democratic traditions which vouchsafe the inalienable rights to all our citizens, regardless of color or creed. May the Almighty bring us all to the realization of the Psalmist's vision, 'Behold, how good and pleasing it is for brethren to dwell together in harmony.' "

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

(Statement of principles adopted by 43rd General Assembly in Los Angeles, California, February 15, 1955)

Having consistently opposed every form of discrimination because of our fundamental belief in the equality of all men under God, we rejoice in the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. We regard this decision as a major chapter in the history of the growth of true equality under the law.

As proponents of Judaism, which first enunciated the concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to make this decision of the highest court in the land meaningful in our respective communities.

We therefore urge our congregants and congregation in all sections of the country to join with forward-looking racial, religious, and civic groups in the community in using their influence to secure acceptance and implementation of the desegregation decisions in every community in our land.

LUTHERAN

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Statement Submitted by the Board for Christian Social Action and recommended by the 1954 church Convention for consideration by congregations and incorporation of its principles into their life and work.)

Segregation and social stratification, both based on essentially external differences, regrettably occur in Christian churches. Segregation stems mainly from hereditary differences in skin color or physical appearance. Social stratification arises largely from differences in levels of living or social standing. Such man-made distinctions of race and class belie the fundamental unity of the human race as God created it. The presence of segregation and stratification in the churches undermines the power inhering in the Gospel for uniting men through Christ in fellowship with the Father.

In the Church of Christ, though each person possesses talents peculiarly his own, and each has his unique functions to fulfill, yet all persons are alike in being individually of sacred worth. All are created in the image of God; all stand convicted of sin and in need of redemption; all are invited by Christ to come to Him. St. Peter was moved, against his own inclinations, to confess, "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality" (Acts 10:34). St. Paul, describing the Church of Christ, declared, "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11).

Wherever and whenever the churches help to foster race or class distinctions between people, and wherever and whenever they support attitudes of superiority or inferiority between persons, groups, or classes, they violate God's pattern. St. James warned against distinctions based on wealth or power, saying, "But if you show partiality, you commit sin, and are convicted by the law as transgressors" (James 2:9).

Christian churches unfailingly, therefore, must condemn segregation and stratification as the evil fruit of natural man's pride and his arrogant assumption of superiority over those who appear to be different from him.

Yet, Christian churches must recognize in race and class feelings the operation of the "consciousness of kind" principle. The members of the various races and classes feel an essential oneness and a common

bond with one another. Such voluntary associations of people having kindred interests and experiences are a normal part of the social order.

Christ recognized and worked within the realities of the social structure of His day. He did not seek a leveling of the difference between races and classes. Instead, His goal was that the new spirit of God's love should govern the hearts and lives of members of every class and race. Thus would the normal human loyalties to race and class be given a nobler meaning. Race and class differences would become opportunities to serve personality needs and to enrich human life.

The facts of race and class groupings offer the churches an opportunity for a ministry and a message directly pertinent to the life experiences of the members of each race and class. Under Christ's influence, pride and prejudice are renounced in race and class relations. Snobbery and discrimination are rejected. Jealousy, envy, quarreling and dissension have no place. The fruits of His Spirit, working in reborn lives, can bring joy, peace, patience, kindness, gentleness, and self-control into the dealings of race with race and class with class.

Were His Spirit truly to rule in men's hearts and lives, problems of race segregation and social stratification would disappear. The free and voluntary actions of men who love neighbor as self because of God's love for them will exceed in justice and equity the compulsion forced by decree upon the unwilling.

It is incumbent upon Christians, their churches, and their church agencies, so far as it lies within their power, to practice to the full the realistic insights of their faith in dealing with issues of race and class. Pride and smug assumptions of superiority or privileged position draw the Master's censure today as they did for the sons of Zebedee.

It is the unique task of the churches, shared by every Christian, to seek to bring the power of the Word and Sacraments to bear upon individuals, thereby changing their hearts and lives. This course alone promises the ultimate corrective for the evils of segregation and stratification.

AUGUSTANA EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Resolution passed at Synod, Moorhead, Minnesota, June 11-17, 1956)

WHEREAS, we recognize the growning tensions between the several races in our land and our Christian responsibility to work for better understanding.

a. We reaffirm the position of our Church, that all people have equal rights before God, and are entitled to equal opportunities.

b. We counsel our members to exercise love and understanding in all their dealings with persons of minority groups.

c. We urge our members to use their influence in the securing of full rights of citizenship for all, and in discouraging any activity in their communities which would seek to circumvent orderly judicial procedure in the implementation of the Supreme Court decisions of segregation.

d. We commend those who have sought to oppose wrong by non-violent means.

e. We recognize that the evils of racial discrimination are not restricted to any one section of the nation, and we encourage our people to oppose all forms of racial discrimination whether they be found in the North or in the South.

f. We point out to our members, especially those in the northern states, that discrimination in housing, real estate transactions, and employment is just as much a violation of Christian principles as discrimination in places of public assembly, public transportation, or schools.

g. We again encourage our congregations to include all unchurched persons in their communities in their programs of evangelism without distinction as to race, color, or national origin.

h. We particularly commend those congregations who have refused to abandon communities where major population shifts have brought large numbers of non-white persons into the vicinity of their churches.

i. Where there are members of local churches in which racial integration is taking place, or is likely to take place, who are unwilling to continue their membership in such congregations for this reason, we encourage such members to examine their consciences in the light of Holy Scriptures, and in the doctrines and decisions of the Church, specifically that God has created all men in His image, that Jesus Christ has given His life for the salvation of all men, that the Holy Spirit would call all men into the fellowship of the Church.

j. We remind congregations of their inescapable responsibility to bear witness in its locality to these truths, as well as the privilege of demonstrating that the Christian fellowship transcends barriers of races and class.

k. We urge pastors of congregations to which such disaffected members may be seeking letters of transfer to encourage then to remain in their own congregations and to demonstrate Christian acceptance of and love toward those whom they have deemed different from themselves.

l. We call the attention of the National Lutheran Council to the above resolutions.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Resolution adopted by the Church Council and, by action of the convention, incorporated in the minutes of the 22nd General Convention of said Church on June 25, 1956):

WHEREAS, The plain message of the Gospel is that Christ is the Redeemer of all peoples everywhere, and God does not in any measure, distinguish between persons, and that in Christ the Christian is brother to every man;

BE IT RESOLVED, That we humbly deplore our frequent failure to exemplify Christ as we ought in human relationships, and urge every member of our Church to continually examine his daily human contacts in the Light of God's Word and pray His Spirit to use us more effectively to show that all men of all races and backgrounds are one family in His love.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD

(Resolution passed at convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, June 20-30, 1956)

RACE RELATIONS IN NATIONAL AND WORLD-WIDE CHURCH WORK

WHEREAS, Every redeemed individual, regardless of race or ethnic origin, is most precious in the sight of God; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty and desire of the Church to bring the Gospel to these souls in order to win them for Christ; and

WHEREAS, The Church will measure its task and opportunities in the light of our Lord's imminent return to judgment, and will hold itself accountable to its Lord, looking forward to the great day of His appearing when men of all nations and kindreds and tongues shall gather around His throne and praise Him eternally for having washed their sin-stained "robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 7:14); therefore be it

RESOLVED, a) That the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod affirm its adherence to and application of the Scriptural principles of fact concerning race relations and church work as adopted by its representatives in conjunction with the representatives of sister synods of the Synodical Conference, and as reported in the PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-SECOND CONVENTION OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA OF AUGUST 12-15, 1952, to wit:

"1. God will have <u>all men</u> to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." 1 Tim. 2:4.

"2. His plan of salvation embraces <u>the world</u>. 'God so loved the <u>world</u> that He gave His only-begotten Son, that <u>whosoever</u>

believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' John 3:16. 'He is the Propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.' 1 John 2:2.

"3. God's grace in Christ Jesus should be proclaimed to all nations in accordance with the Savior's Great Commission to His church: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Mark 16:15. 'Ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.' Acts 1:8.

"4. In the execution of Christ's command, viz., 'to preach the Gospel to every creature,' no line of demarcation should be drawn relative to nationality, race, or color, 'for there is no respect of persons with God.' Rom. 2:11; Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25; Acts 10:34.

"5. The holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, is the recipient of Christ's injunction to 'teach the nations to observe all things whatsoever He has commanded.' Not only did Christ instruct His Church to 'teach all nations,' but also to 'baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Matt. 28:19, 20.

"6. The Church's chief function and task is to spread the news of Christ and His salvation to men, women, and children, irrespective of any national or race make-up, so that souls may be won for, and retained with, Christ, in whom alone they 'have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.' Eph. 1:7.

and be it further

RESOLVED, b) That in all problems which arise in connection with the application and conduct of these above-mentioned principles of Scriptures, all members of our church unreservedly obey the Savior's command "that ye love one another," and practice Christian charity, forbearance, and understanding with each other, knowing that the same Lord is Head over all, and that His Spirit dwells by Word and Sacrament in all the Churches; and be it further

RESOLVED, c)

1. That all congregations of Synod regard all persons regardless of race or ethnic origin living within the limits of their respective parishes, and not associated with another Christian Church, as individuals whom God would reach with the Gospel of His saving grace through the ministry of the local congregation;

2. That congregations operating in changing communities be encouraged to continue operations in those areas rather than relinquish their properties through sale to other denominations, and that the various District Mission Boards be encouraged to subsidize these congregations when this becomes necessary, so that the souls in those communities, regardless of race or ethnic grouping, may be won and served;

3. That synodical institutions, agencies and offices continue to make no distinction, based upon race or color, in their entrance requirements or employment policies; and be it finally

RESOLVED, d) That since Christians are constrained to do justice and love mercy, we acknowledge our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination, wherever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world.

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

The AME Church stands upon the principle of human equality and the dignity of man. Though founded by persons of African descent in a protest against race prejudice in the Church of God, it has never refused persons of either its membership or ministry because of race or color.

Today we reaffirm this position and call upon our ministry to actively seek to integrate all persons into the church.

We rejoice that the ecumenical church today is recognizing race prejudice and the resultant disabilities which it imposes when sanctioned by social organizations and governmental agencies as a major sin of our generation.

We pledge to continue to work and pray to do all within our power to hasten the day when every citizen in every part of our great nation can depend upon every department of government to protect him in the full exercise of each duty and privilege of citizenship.

We recognize the dilemma of our democracy when it urges the duty of all to vote and give civic service while at the same time closes its eyes to murder, economic reprisals, brutality and intimidation against colored people whose only crime was their determination to exercise the right of participation in the government under which they live.

We assure our full support to all lawful agencies working to eliminate this malignant growth upon the body of democracy.

We deplore the spectacle of law enforcement officers publicly working to develop programs of law evasion and urging resistance to the

declared law of the land. We recognize with gratitude the efforts of the President of the United States and persons in all sections of the country and all walks of life who are endeavoring to speed the day when our country will stand forth in deed and fact as one country, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

We further deplore the exploitation of racism in national world politics and the unwillingness of both governments and church to affirm the full rights of every human being, providing equal opportunity and responsibility for each person to become the best possible.

We therefore, implore the church at every level and all local, state, and national governments to exert every moral, legal and judicial influence to implement the Christian Ethic of Brotherhood and the World declaration of Human Rights.

(Text of statement issued by Council of Bishops at the 35th Quadrennial AME General Conference at Miami, Florida, May, 1956)

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

Board of Christian Education - School and College

August, 1954

Resolution Re: School Integration

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church was organized in 1796 as a protest against segregation and proscription based on color in the John Street Methodist Church, New York City, and

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church has for 158 years subscribed to and actively engaged in all the movements under the Constitution calculated to bring about the fulfillment of the implications of the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church has been part and parcel of the Abolitionist Movement, the Underground Railroad, the post-slavery struggle for education and freedom of opportunity and the modern Civil Rights crusade for human equality and full citizenship of all Americans; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States has recently, May 17, 1954, declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional and has ordered the desegregation of all public schools in the United States;

BE IT RESOLVES, that the Board of Christian Education - School and College, assembled at the Quadrennial General Convention on Christian Education and the General Assembly and National Council of Christian Youth of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church shall go on record as:

1. Thanking God for the Supreme Court decision and reaffirming our confidence in the inevitable fulfillment of American Democracy under the Constitution.

2. Recommending to our far-flung constituency of more than 723,000 people at 44 Annual Conferences in Continental United States active cooperation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American Life.

3. That we authorize, empower and urge our Secondary Schools and Junior Colleges to amend their charters and/or their rules and regulations, if necessary, so as to provide for integrated faculties and student bodies.

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Resolution unanimously passed by the General Conference, meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, May 17, 1954:

We commend the Supreme Court of the United States for its heroic and just decision regarding the matter of declaring segregated schools to be unconstitutional, and we urge all people to accept this decision as a fair and just one; and that we all unite in an effort to secure for all people alike the fullest and richest blessing under what we regard to be the most epochal and significant decision rendered by our Supreme Court since the days of reconstruction.

METHODIST

The Methodist Church
(Adopted by the General Conference, Minneapolis, Minn. 1956)

The teaching of our Lord is that all men are brothers. The Master permits no discrimination because of race, color, or national origin.

The position of The Methodist Church, long held and frequently declared, is an amplification of our Lord's teaching. "To discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and unchristian. Every child of God is entitled to that place in society which he has won by his industry and his character. To deny that position of honor because of the accident of his birth is neither honest democracy nor good religion." (The Episcopal Address, 1952 and 1956).

There must be no place in The Methodist Church for racial discrimination or enforced segregation. Recognizing that we have not attained this goal, yet rejoicing in the progress made, we recommend that discrimination or segregation by any method or practice whether by conference structure or otherwise in The Methodist Church be abolished with reasonable speed. The growing spirit of brotherhood throughout the church strengthens our confidence that, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, we will continue to go forward.

There is a changing racial climate in our world, largely growing out of the teachings of the Christian church. The conscience of society has become increasingly sensitive regarding racial discrimination and injustice. Methodists unite with people of all lands and all faiths in a determined effort to eliminate these unchristian practices. We look to the ultimate establishment of a truly Christian society.

The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community readjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands.

It is our desire to accomplish the realization of Christian brotherhood and full participation by all in every aspect of the church's life. We join other people of good will around the world in moving toward the day when all races shall share richly without discrimination or segregation in the good things of life. Therefore, we resolutely go forward with the work begun with respect to race relations in the church and in our world.

In this spirit, we recommend the following:

1. That the institutions of the church, local churches, colleges, universities, theological schools, publishing agencies, hospitals, and homes carefully restudy their policies and practices as they relate to race, making certain that these policies and practices are Christian.

2. That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches, and in their communities actively work to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin. That parents, teachers and others who work with children and youth help create attitudes which make it easy to live in harmony with those of other races.

3. That Methodist churches in changing neighborhoods, rather than seeking new locations, early prepare their people to welcome into their fellowship all races as they become a part of their community.

   That our pastors, upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving individuals into church membership, discharge that responsibility without regard to race, color, or national origin.

4. That bishops, district superintendents, pastors, and lay leaders seek ways for the implementation of better fraternal relations between the Central Jurisdiction and other jurisdictions where they are adjacent by closer co-operation at annual and district conferences and at local church levels.

5. That Methodists at national and international meetings of the church make provisions for equality of accommodations for all races without discrimination or segregation.

6. That the many racial and national groups which make up our Methodist world fellowship be afforded the opportunity without discrimination to enjoy full participation in all the activities of the church.

WORLD METHODIST CONFERENCE

Section IV of "A Message to the Methodists of the World from the Ninth World Methodist Conference," meeting at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, in September, 1956:

The Conference, composed of representatives from many nations and ethnic groups united in fellowship in Christ, deplores the embittered strife which bedevils human relations. The Conference is entirely convinced that the Church is committed by its very nature to the establishment of a human society in which discrimination based on race or color will no longer exist. The Conference expresses its active concern for those of any color or race who are suffering from political, economic, educational, social, or religious discrimination, or segregation, and the earnest desire that Methodists themselves will initiate, contend for and foster, within their own Societies, a genuine and all-inclusive fellowship.

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

(Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, June, 1955)

5. RESOLVED: That in the area of racial and cultural relations, we urge Christians to practice and seek to spread equality of opportunity for all people; equal pay for equal work; equal protection by law; equality of suffrage; equal recognition of persons as persons without respect to religion, class, or race.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

(Excerpt from report of the Council of Christian Relations adopted by the 94th General Assembly in 1954, and Sustained by Succeeding General Assemblies)

Since segregation of the white and Negro people continues to diminish it is time to determine the church's relationship to this trend. This state of flux is due to two dynamic forces at work, the Federal Constitution and the Christian conscience, the one legal and the other spiritual, the one finding expression in statutes and court decisions, and the other in personal conduct, in the voice and policies of the church. If it be judged that segregation is not merely the separation of two peoples, but the subordination of one people to another, we can, on good evidence, observe that the courts have shown more sympathy toward the Negro than has the church. The church would then find itself in the embarrassing position of having to adjust its sense of morality to measure up to the mores of the state. This would belie its pristine nature. Our Christ was and still is ahead of the times; the customs, traditions, and laws of it. The church must strive to keep apace of its Master or become bereft of His spirit.

Our religious convictions form the dynamic for the making, amending and repealing of laws. We recognize three levels of relationship, the legal, the ethical, and the spiritual. A law is the least common denominator of human behavior. It is a restraint so generally acceptable that it can be enforced without curtailing freedom. Behind every set of laws is a code of ethics which contains the unwritten laws of corporate life. Unwritten laws, as they become generally taught and observed, are subsequently codified. Behind every code of ethics is a concept of God so that ultimately, every human relationship, whether it be voluntary or prescribed by statute, is determined by what a man believes about God. It will be a sad day for the church if these three levels of relationship should be inverted, that is, if our belief in a personal God should permit us to foster a relationship inferior to that which impersonal law demands. If this should happen, the church would lose its status as the conscience of society, its intangible ble, controlling and quickening force.

With special reference to the resolution placed in the hands of the Council of Christian Relations by the 93rd General Assembly for study and recommendations the Council recognizes that in Presbyterian procedure, the General Assembly does not direct that certain changes in educational and cultural patterns be adopted. On the other hand, the Council understands that the General Assembly may properly urge the adoption of such changes in the practices of the Church. In keeping with this procedure, therefore, the following recommendations are offered:

1. That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead rather than follow.

2. That the General Assembly, therefore, submit this report for careful study throughout the Church, and that it especially urge:

(a) That the trustees of institutions of higher education belonging to the General Assembly adopt a policy of opening the doors of these institutions to all races.

(b) That the Synods consider earnestly the adoption of a similar recommendation to trustees of institutions under their control.

3. That the governing bodies of the various conferences held throughout the Church consider the adoption of a similar policy.

4. That the sessions of local churches admit persons to membership and fellowship in the local church on the Scriptural basis of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without reference to race.

5. That in this time of crisis and concern, we commend to all individuals in our communion and especially to all leaders of our churches the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility and persistent good will.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

(Excerpt from Report of the Council on Christian Relations
Approved by 1957 General Assembly)

Within the bounds of our own Assembly there seems to exist a striking example of the violation of the right to worship. Members of the Koinonia community near Americus, Georgia, state that their communal life is not primarily a social or agricultural experiment but an experience in worship. They have professed their allegiance to this nation, they have denied affiliation in any subversive party, they have violated no laws and have made a significant contribution to farming techniques in this area. Yet because their experiment knows no barrier of color they are treated as enemies of society. Their property has been strafed, dynamited, and burned; their children maligned, their lives jeopardized. Even worse, many "respectable" citizens of the area have joined in an economic boycott designed to destroy their financial stability and drive them to ruin. The General Assembly would remind the citizens of this area of the danger of trying to destroy those who dare to live by their Christian convictions, even though they may differ from them in their opinions. The General Assembly commends all Christian individuals and groups in Georgia who have spoken out so strongly against this denial of freedom to worship. Other examples might be given from other areas of attempts to destroy freedom of worship as a basic right of all Americans. The Assembly calls on Christians everywhere to be alert to this grievous threat to freedom of religion.

It is in the Protestant tradition to support the public school system for a free public education as the handmaiden of democracy. Ignorance and prejudice are the weapons of tyranny. Yet we find our school system in jeopardy. There is a shortage of qualified teachers, buildings are

inadequate or obsolete, indecision reigns as a result of the Supreme Court decision. This condition shall continue unless we give the teaching profession the respect it is due, and support financially a service we have received too cheaply. Therefore, the General Assembly urges its members to make every effort to maintain an adequate public school system for all elements of its population and to provide proper compensation for its teachers.

It commends those teachers who have regarded their work a Christian vocation, refusing more lucrative offers to stay at their positions; those mothers of families who fill the breach during this critical shortage; and those qualified young people who are now training to teach as a Christian service to their community. The General Assembly would call attention to the fact that the Christian faith has never countenanced racial discrimination and that the supreme law of the land requires that it no longer be practiced in the public school system. Therefore, during this period of transition every member of the Assembly is urged to work in his own community for an honest and durable adjustment.

One ought to have the freedom of becoming the person intended by his Maker that he should be, and to serve in the place and way for which he was given life. Work in which one may have a sense of fulfilling God's purpose for him should be available to all. Recent figures indicate that less than 3 % of the total labor force in the United States is unemployed. Yet many people, because of racial or national background, encounter great difficulty in obtaining that work for which they are best prepared by their gifts and temperament. In a survey of the employment practices of major business firms in one large American city it was discovered that 18% of 20,000 job orders placed during the last six months with commercial employment agencies barred Jews from consideration. (Anti-Defamation League, Rights, January 1957.)

While there has been a trend in the last ten years toward the use of Negroes in federal, state, and municipal employment, far too many capable people are unable to get into the professions and certain salaried jobs. When such channels open up, it often necessitates moving to a section of the nation strange to them. Discriminatory practices in promotion and upgrading are often found among business firms and other agencies.

As Americans we believe in the "pursuit of happiness" for all citizens. If happiness is to be the lot of the man at work, there must be mutual respect and loyalty between the employer and the employee. This is especially important in an age when automation plays such a prominent part. As mass production tends to depersonalize the activity of the individual worker, it is all the more important that the relations between the employer and employee be Christian. This means the will for the good of the other on the part of each.

There is need also today to consider the lot of the aging, lest their right to satisfying work be taken from them. There are approximately 13,500,000 people over the age of 65, and this number is increasing. Christian business men in places of influence can render a fine service toward the happiness of a great many by giving thought to this problem in the planning of their business.

One of the subtlest deterrents to the effectiveness of the Christian faith is restrictive fellowship. Even that faith itself when pridefully employed becomes a divider rather than a binder. When a particular church or denomination recruits its membership from one stratum of society, it mistakes social compatibility for Christian fellowship. In much of American life churches and secular organizations restrict their fellowship on the basis of economic, cultural, racial, and national factors. It is a type of short-sighted selfishness which prevents such groups from recognizing the good in another and from receiving the good of another. Churchmen are supposed to be the ambassadors of reconciliation. They cannot perform this function if they practice aloofness toward those of a different status. A social climate must be created which will encourage a free concourse of men of good will regardless of their race, status, or national origin.

PRESBYTERIAN

Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

(Adopted by the 168th General Assembly in Philadelphia, Pa., May 29, 1956):

IN RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

Noting that there are serious racial problems to be faced in all sections of our country;

Observing that the problems confronting Christians in the South, the region affected most deeply and directly by the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools and other public services, are generally quite different from the problems confronting Christians in most other areas of the nation;

Realizing that the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. is not a sectional but a national body with members and churches in every one of the 48 states,

The 168th General Assembly addresses itself selectively to our churches and members throughout the nation with respect to the Christian responsibility that the Word of God and the mind of the Church lays upon them, in facing the critical problems of race relations.

No Problem

Realizing (1) that nowhere in our land can Negroes, and to a lesser extent other minority persons, escape the indignity of segregation or discrimination in one form or another, and (2) that the community or church that feels it has no problem because there is no present crisis may have an especially difficult problem;

Recognizing that though an increasing number of churches are actually seeking to bring all persons in their neighborhoods into membership without distinction as to race or social status, nevertheless, many churches while morally supporting integration, are failing to implement their stand

in terms of positive evangelistic effort, and some churches appear actually to be opposing integration,

The 168th General Assembly enjoins ministers and members of our churches:

1. To stop talking about having "no problem" in situations where tension does not exist and the problem is therefore concealed,

2. To stop being content with a mere confession of guilt apart from deeds of repentance,

3. To stop pointing the finger of accusation at areas of high tension or conflict,

4. To begin serious, prayerful study where there is no present tension,

5. To bring about in small groups encounters and frank conversations with minority persons of comparable education and experience, and specialists in the field of human relations,

6. To welcome people of all races in the life and work of their churches,

7. To evangelize in the homes of nearby residents without regard to race with the purpose of bringing them into the fellowship of the church.

Residential Segregation

Emphasizing that it is the policy and purpose of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to work for a nonsegregated society as well as a nonsegregated church;

Noting (1) that in many sections of our country real progress has been made in eliminating segregation in such fields as employment, transportation, hotel and restaurant accomodations, education, and other public services; (2) that in these same sections residential segregation usually continues to be a major problem; (3) that where residential desegregation has occured it has nearly always been in older housing areas that tend to change from segregated white to segregated non-white because of the flight of white residents; and (5) that in most communities practically no new homes have been made available to non-white families,

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon Christians who are comtemplating the sale of property to see as of first importance the need of minority families for equal housing opportunities and adequate housing, and to make their houses available to all qualified purchasers without regard to race;

Directs the attention of homeowners to several studies, available from the Department of Social Education and Action, of the effect of non-white purchases on adjacent property values, demonstrating that values do not necessarily decline, and in fact often rise, after such purchases;

Urges sessions to bring Christians together in covenants of open occupancy which will stem the tendency toward "panic selling," and stabilize their neighborhoods on a nonsegregated basis.

Victims of Reprisals

Noting with respect to the Supreme Court decision affecting racial segregation in public schools:

1. That the governments of at least six states have committed themselves, with substantial support in public opinion, either to oppose absolutely or to delay as long as possible compliance with the decision;

2. That in some areas of our country groups calling themselves by such names as the White Citizens Councils have formed for the express purpose of using "every lawful means" to maintain racial segregation in all areas of life;

3. That economic pressure, intimidation, social and political pressure are commonly used, while racial violence, bloodshed, and murder are not unknown;

4. That men supporting desegregation have lost jobs, have had their mortgages foreclosed, insurance policies concelled, credit cut off, and wholesale deliveries of goods stopped;

5. That some individuals, both laymen and ministers, of many denominations have taken courageous positions in their churches and communities and

6. That several ministers of the Gospel are known to have been forced out of their pulpits because of statements they had made or positions they had taken relative to this issue;

7. That a significant number of Presbyterian, U. S. A., members have been subjected to indignities, intimidations, beatings, cross-burnings, and harassing litigations,

The 168th General Assembly

Assures members of our Presbyteries and churches who may be under persecution of the corporate support of our Church and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance as he may judge to be appropriate;

Urges Christians individually and corporately to help bear the burdens of their fellowmen under persecution, by sending gifts of money to Church World Service for the relief of persons designated as "political refugees in our own country."

Job Discrimination

Noting that discrimination in employment consigns Negroes and other minority persons to the least desirable jobs without consideration of their personal qualifications or training, thereby depriving them of dignity and vocational opportunity,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Presbyterian employers to take such steps as may be necessary to break the pattern of discrimination in employment;

Urges Christians to give individual and corporate support to employers who have courageously employed Negroes on a nondiscriminatory basis, prevailing pattern and attitudes of their community to the contrary;

And urges Christians to give support in the most appropriate ways for a federal Fair Employment Practices law.

Rights for All

Recognizing the efforts of those responsible persons and organizations that have sought through the courts by legal means to secure constitutional rights for all citizens,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Christians to give them their prayerful support and to participate in their efforts.

Corporate Action

Noting that every major denomination has voiced support of the Supreme Court's decisions, but that pressures on individuals and churches at the local level to conform to the prevailing mood have been extreme in many localities;

Being aware that some Christians, both laymen and ministers, have supported the programs of White Citizens Councils and like groups, and a few have assumed positions of leadership in them, and that many Christians are urging ministers not to take positions against segregation;

Acknowledging the impossibility of apportioning degrees of guilt or innocence for a sin that afflicts the whole body of the Church, and that it is the Church's mission to be a prophetic voice of God's Judgment and an instrument of his reconciling grace;

Remembering that the Scripture enjoins us all to "teach and admonish one another" (Col. 3:16), and to "stir up one another to love and good works" (Heb. 10:24), and believing Christians acting corporately and together are stronger in the Spirit than when left to act only as individuals,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the Church Universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in the specific situations in which they find themselves; and

Urges sessions of churches located in communities of racial tension to find ways of bringing Christians and other citizens together in small groups across racial lines to discuss their common problems and goals relative to desegregation.

A PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE 98TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA, MEETING IN KNOXVILLE, TENN., JUNE 13-18, 1956

Statement of Desegregation

We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm our first principles:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth.

2. That He is no respecter of persons.

3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education.

Furthermore, believing that segregation is a violation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ we hereby recommend that the Ninety-Eighth Assembly adopt the following resolutions:

1. That local congregations minister to their own immediate communities, regardless of race, color, national origin, economic or cultural background, win each person to the Lord Jesus Christ and offer full membership and fellowship to all.

2. That all Church-controlled and Church-related institutions extend their ministries to all qualified persons without prejudice to race or cultural background.

3. That boards and agencies of the Church make appointments to staff positions and other employment opportunities in conformity to this principle of integration.

4. The boundaries of presbyteries accord fully with the principles of integration.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Catholic Interracial Council (May 18, 1954)

We are gratified with the clearness, completeness and unanimity of

the decision of the United States Court in the school segregation cases.

This is a logical step in the expansion and perfection of American democracy. The next step is the creation and practice of community educational patterns consistent with the spirit and intent of the court decision.

We are confident that throughout the country thoughtful citizens will support with appropriate efforts this historic reaffirmation of the principle of equality of all men before the law.

FROM STATEMENTS OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., Archbishop of San Antonio, Texas (April 5, 1954): "...The day of racial injustice has passed. The day of Christlike charity has arrived.

Henceforth no Catholic child may be refused admittance to any school maintained by the Archdiocese merely for reasons of color, race or poverty. Students applying to our schools who possess the necessary qualifications of morality and academic standing no longer may be denied a Christian education because of their color."

Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher, Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas (September, 1954): "...But now the highest civil court in the land has judged segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional. This decision clears the way legally for the Church to act more freely in giving to all races the same benefits she is able to provide for the practice of their holy religion.

It is especially urgent that Catholic Negro children be admitted to any Catholic school available in places where there is no Catholic school especially for them. Hence every reasonable effort should be made by the pastor and people to make it possible for these children to attend a Catholic school of the place....

Finally, let me remind some Catholics that persons of every race, creed and nation should be made to feel at home in every Catholic church. Every Catholic church is God's house, not only because it is dedicated to Him; not only because we pray and sing there in His honor; not even because we hear His gospel preached there. Every Catholic church is God's house in a more personal way -- it is where He dwells, body and soul, in the Blessed Sacrament. He is the Host -- we are the guests. All are His, not our, invited guests. Anyone who is good enough for Him to invite, certainly ought to be good enough for us to accept. His Church, you know, is catholic."

Most Rev. Vincent J. Waters, Bishop of Raleigh, North Carolina (August, 1954): "...Beginning with the Fall semester of 1954, our Catholic parochial high schools of the Diocese of Raleigh will register and accept for class work all Catholic high school students no matter to what race they belong, provided that they are Catholics and qualified for high school work."

"...Open all facilities of our Catholic hospitals to Catholic Negroes, in any places where this has not been done already, and to non-Catholic Negroes as far as extra room may permit. Permit qualified Negro physicians and surgeons to take care of these patients whenever possible, especially by offering opportunities for work to Negroes to help solve their problems."

Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, Louisiana - text of letter read Sunday, February 19, 1956, from all Catholic pulpits in the Archdiocese:

DIFFICULT INDEED is the approach to a propitious solution according to Christian principles of justice and charity of the problem of racial integration in our schools, especially in the Deep South where for more than a century and a half segregation has been accepted without serious questions or challenge.

"For months we have prayed, studied and consulted about the problem with a sense of our responsibility for the welfare of all souls that constitute the spiritual family for which in virtue of our office as Archbishop we are responsible before God.

With an appeal to the Holy Spirit we now submit for careful consideration the following results especially regarding the moral difficulties which segregation presents.

"1. RACIAL SEGREGATION as such is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial for the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. Male and female, He created them and breathed into them the spirit of life and commended them to increase and multiply and fill the earth.

"Throughout the pages of the Old Testament and the New there is constant recurrence of this truth, that all mankind has in Adam and Eve one common father and mother and one common destiny namely to serve God in this world and find eternal happiness with Him in the world to come.

"In 1954 Pope Pius XII directed attention to the fact that Christ gave to all the Apostles the mandate to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.'

"The Holy Father in the same document indicates that Christ sent His Apostles, as he had been sent by the Father, to teach all nations everything they had heard from Him (cf.Matt.XXV III, 19-20). The Apostles are, therefore, by divine right the true doctors, and teachers in the Church.

"In the same allocution Pope Pius XII also states that under the guidance of the Holy Father and the Bishops religious teaching may be worked out by capable priests, who as specialists apply the principles of Canon Law and Moral Theology to such questions.

When their conclusions are approved by higher authority, they are regarded as safe norms of conscience and conduct. This is precisely the procedure which we must apply to the problem of race segregation.

2. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men, to die for all men on the cross, to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacraments for all men, to embrace all men in His Mystical Body on earth and in the life of glory in heaven.

"Racial segregation would draw the color line across the inspiring plan of the Redemption and thus sin against the divine providence, the love and the mercy that conceived and carried out the wonderful Mystery.

"Speaking for the Old Testament on this unity of the human race we have the Prophet Malachi stating: Have we not one God created us? Have we not all one father? Why then doth every one of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?

AND ST. PAUL has these pregnant words to offer for the New Testament in his letter to the Corinthians: For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one spirit we have all been made to drink.'

"And our present Holy Father Pope Pius XII refers in a recent allocution to '...that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong.'

" 'A marvelous vision,' the Holy Father calls it, which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in us all; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend, in the unity, of means to secure that end.'

3. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men.

"To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardship and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery.

"Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy. Of violations of charity St. Thomas Aquinas says in his work about the Two Precepts of Charity: That men having the same nature are morally bound to love one another. It is Thomas teaching that... every animal loves its like (Eccles. XIII, 19), wherefore since all men are alike in nature, they ought to love one another. Therefore to hate one's neighbor is contrary to, not only the divine law, but also the law of nature.'

"4. BECAUSE THE emancipation during the War between the States involved certain physical and economic hardships, racial segregation was regarded with toleration but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment.

"Even the Catholic Church considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to Negroes to afford them the

opportunity to practice their faith more freely and educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations, but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent.

"This is attested by most Reverend Archbishop Francis Janssens, D.D., who initiated the programs with the remark that he did so very reluctantly and in the hope that it would be possible after a brief period to have all Catholics worship under the same roof.

"WE COME NOW to the reasons for segregation at least in the school. These reasons are for the most part unwarranted generalizationsin which it is aimed to give the impression that all members of the Negro race and especially all Negro children are tainted with virtually all the alleged defect.

"The amazing fact is that as a race they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc., when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities, respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social institutions and the more dignified ways of life.

"Although living and moving in the maelstrom of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term segregation have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but segregation cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation indefinitely as its advocates envision.

THIS STATEMENT WOULD become unbearably long were we to analyze even briefly the alleged mental defects moral and criminal propensities, economic shortcomings and social disabilities and dangers which form the general basis for continuing segregation.

We are having these allegations examined objectively by competent judges and may announce the result in due time. For the present we can only state that there are differences between the races on these points, but there is also much generalization and much emotionalism.

We wish to assure the clergy, the religious and the laity of the Archdiocese that we are giving to this important problem our most serious thought, study, and consultation, not to speak of the many prayers which we offer daily for Divine light and guidance, because we realize the importance of the issue which is involved.

Nothing would please us more than to be able at the present moment to render a decision that would serve as a guide for priests, teachers, and parents. However there are still many vital circumstances which require further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdom, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned.

HENCE WE PLEAD with all of you for preserverance in prayer in order that the final decision may be in conformity with the will of Christ and the highest interest of souls according to the mind of Holy Mother Church. May we likewise unite in prayer that the decision, when made, will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice and in that unity of mind, heart and will which must always characterize the family of God.

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity.

Prayer and calmness of spirit are much needed in all our hearts and for these we plead in the name of the Divine Prince of Peace: Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you.

May this peace be shared by all of us now and during the time of deliberation, and may it endure in our midst for all times! Such is the prayer of Your Shepherd in Christ.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

Resolution Adopted at 1956 Annual Meeting at Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS: Unitarians are on record as desirous of facilitating the process to nonsegregation in our American public schools, and the full recognition of the rights of all minority groups in our democracy.

WHEREAS: We cannot close our eyes to the realities of a new and belligerent obstructionism, nor to the considerable areas of discrimination that still remain; and

WHEREAS: Law enforcement agencies of several states have failed to cope with the problems involved; and the Federal Government is apparently unable, through the Department of Justice, to deal with the situation under existing statutes;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Unitarian Association assembled at its 131st Annual Meeting Urge our churches and fellowships to exert their utmost moral and spiritual influence to further the aims of the Supreme Court decision, to overcome the fears and prejudices of those who oppose it, and to preserve the integrity of our public school system;

Urges the President of the United States to appoint a bi-partisan committee to study both the immediate and the long-range problems of securing school integration in communities that now oppose it, to suggest the best procedures, to urge that a time table be followed, and to report at suitable intervals on progress that is being made in this matter;

Calls upon the Department of Justice to seek out ways and means which will enable it to guarantee law and order in all American communities;

Urges the Congress of the United States to consider and pass specific laws to implement federal prosecution of crimes against the Constitution, in particular, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation; and laws which

will safeguard the right to vote wherever it is denied or threatened on account of race or color.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE THOMAS JEFFERSON CONFERENCE OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, APRIL, 1956 (REPRESENTING CONGREGATIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN STATES).

"WHEREAS: Unitarians have an historic and frequently-recorded obligation to uphold human brotherhood and freedom for all men; and

WHEREAS: Men of good will of all opinions and persuasions are earnestly working on local and regional levels for peaceful solutions of the difficult problems of racial tensions in the South; and

WHEREAS: We recognize the difficulties of implementing a wise and just course of action which goes against the deep-seated emotions of a significant number of people;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:"

"(1) That we members of the Thomas Jefferson Conference of Unitarian Churches and Fellowships, in annual meeting assembled, to hereby reaffirm our support of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States dealing with compulsory segregation of the races;

"(2) That we favor every attempt to meet and search for areas of agreement and mutual understanding among men of all races and persuasions, and stand ready to foster and join with all such attempts;

"(3) That we respectfully urge the President of the United States, the governors of the separate states, and all persons in civil authority to call and persistently support, within their respective jurisdictions, conferences of good citizens of both races in order that groundwork of healthy communication may be established and just solutions to these problems may be found."

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH OF AMERICA

(Resolution adopted by the 1955 General Assembly.)

In as much as the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that there shall be speedy desegregation in public schools, and as we are in agreement with the principle of racial equality which this decision implements, we hereby resolve that we urge the Universalist Churches of America to assume and maintain leadership roles in their communities to create climates of opinion which will hasten equal educational opportunity.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.
(Statement Adopted by the General Board, National Council of Churches, May 19, 1954, Chicago, Illinois)

Re: Decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on Segregation in the Public Schools

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-reaching effects in the whole nation and the world.

It offers the promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. The decision is a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men.

The complexity of implementing the decision is recognized by the Court which has set the cases for further reargument on the formulation of the decrees. To put the decision into effect will test the goodwill and discipline of people in many communities. Adjustments will be more difficult in some localities than in others. In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN-NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN THE U.S.
October 1953

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court relative to segregated schools in this nation is now pending. Whatever this decision may be, Christian women face the immediate urgency of finding ways to meet the impact of the decision on their community patterns and practices. It is recommended that State and local councils acquaint themselves and their communities with the decision and help all groups concerned to understand its implications and to make the adjustments that may be necessary.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN CSR CHAIRMEN FROM THE FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES

(June 21, 1954-meeting in conference in Atlanta, Ga.)

1. Because of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus, we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship.

Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit.

2. We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals.

3. We believe that the best solutions to our many problems can be reached when all people of all races work together toward a common end, and we urge the women to make every effort to bring together individuals in free discussion.

4. We are all charged with the responsibility of the training and the nurture of children and youth. We pray God's guidance upon us as we seek to shape right attitudes in the home, in the church, in the school and in all areas of life in which we move.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Resolutions adopted at the Second Assembly
of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, Illinois, Aug. 15-31, 1954

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declares its conviction that any form of segregation based on race, color or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urges the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society.

In doing so the Assembly is painfully aware that, in the realities of the contemporary world, many churches find themselves confronted by historical, political, social and economic circumstances which may make the immediate achievement of this objective extremely difficult. But under God the fellowship of the ecumenical movement is such as to offer to these churches the strength and encouragement to help them and individuals within them to overcome these difficulties with the courage given by faith, and with the desire to testify ever more faithfully to our Master.

From its very beginning the ecumenical movement by its very nature has been committed to a form of fellowship in which there is no segregation or discrimination. The Assembly of the World Council of Churches rejoices in this fact and confirms this practice as the established policy of the Council.

This Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches recognizes that one of the major problems of social justice in situations involving racial and ethnic tensions is that of securing for all the opportunities for the free exercise of responsible citizenship and for effective participation by way of franchise in both local and central government activity. It commends this matter to the attention of all Christian people for such action as,

under God, they may be led to take in order to secure the solution of this problem.

ADDITIONAL CHURCHES

Assemblies of God: Mr. Curtis W. Ringness, Assistant Secretary of the General Council, wrote that "No pronouncement has been made by the General Council of the Assemblies of God on segregation."

National Baptist Convention of America: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Churches of Christ: Mr. B. C. Goodpasture, Editor of The Gospel Advocate, wrote as follows: "The Churches of Christ have no central organization or headquarters. Each congregation decides what it should do in the light of New Testament teaching. The New Testament teaches that Christians should obey the law of the land in so far as they are in harmony with the teaching of the Bible. It is our opinion that the churches generally will deal with the segregation question on this principle."

Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints: No answer was received in time to be included in the compilation.

Church of Christ, Scientist: Mrs. Catherine G. Runner, Corresponding Secretary of the Christian Science Board of Directors, wrote as follows: "In the Mother Church there has never been segregation in the seating arrangements nor in the Sunday School. There are many members of the Negro race who are members of the Mother Church. They are admitted under the same regulations as are all the others who apply for membership, and these regulations may be found in the Manual of the Mother Church by our Leader, Mary Baken Eddy.

"Each branch church makes its own rules as to membership in accordance with the provisions of the Church Manual, Article XXIII, Section 1, which include the statement:

" 'The Mother Church of Christ, Scientist, shall assume no general control of the other churches, and it shall be controlled by none other. Each church of Christ, Scientist, shall have its own form of government.' "

Church of God (Anderson, Indiana): Mr. R. Eugene Sterner, Director of Church Service, wrote: "The Church of God, with headquarters in Anderson, Indiana, has taken no official action on the segregation issue. Indeed, this movement is incapable of a united action, inasmuch as it is not, in the ecclesiastical sense, a denomination. Therefore, there is no titular head of the church who would be capable of issuing such a statement."

Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee): Mr. H. D. Williams, General Secretary and Treasurer, wrote: "Our church has not entered this controversial issue. We do have a very progressive work among the colored people in the United States, also outside the United States.

"In the United States they have their own Overseer, they have their annual convention where the appointments of various church officers are made. We have found this to be a very practical and pleasant way of carrying on our work with them. Our colored work outside the United States is under our Foreign Missions Board."

Churches of God in Jesus Christ: Mr. Harold Doan, General Manager of the General Conference, wrote on August 29, 1956: "The Churches of God in Jesus Christ have just completed their annual General Conference and will not meet again as a body until next year. The churches as a conference have taken no definite stand, nor passed resolution on the subject of segregation.

"Most of our churches are in the North and the matter has not been one of personal concern affecting any of our organized churches. Since we are congregational in government and are very loosely organized, any such resolution as you have in mind would have to be passed by the delegates to our General Conference.

"It may seem that we are avoiding the issue, but to date the matter has not been an issue within the church."

Church of the Nazarene: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Greek Archdiocese of North and South America: The following is an excerpt from the resolutions passed by the 13th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, held in Washington, D. C., September 30-October 6, 1956: "We, the clergy and lay representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, assembled at its Biennial Ecclesiastic Congress at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington...convey our brotherly greetings to all of our fellow Americans, irrespective of race, creed or social status, and urge them to cooperate with one another in the spirit of complete understanding and Christian brotherhood for the solution of the pressing domestic and international problems facing us."

United Lutheran Church in America: No answer was received in time for inclusion in this compilation.

Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America: No answer was received in time for inclusion in this compilation.

Religious Society of Friends: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Jehovah's Witnesses: The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society wrote that no resolution has been passed on the question of segregation, but that their position has been clearly stated in a number of their recent publications. An article in Awake!, April 22, 1956, states: "The fact is that true Christians must have no distinction among themselves: There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in union with Christ Jesus. (Galatians 3:28). New World Trans. However, true Christians of both races know that the only real solution to the old world's many social problems and injustices will

come not in man's way, but only when Jehovah God, through his Son Christ Jesus, abolishes all the fears, inequalities and injustices of Satan's old world and replaces them with the blessing of God's righteous new one. Thus, rather than embroiling themselves in political agitation on behalf of their own or some other race, or kicking against the established system, they put their efforts into the far more important work of preaching the good news of God's kingdom to all people showing them the blessings that will come through God's direct intervention, but not in man's way."

Seventh-Day Adventists: Mr. W. R. Beach, Secretary of the General Conference, wrote that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has not felt the need in recent years of making a pronouncement or issuing a statement on the problem of segregation. He gave several quotations from standard publications of the church to illustrate that the church has condemned segregation down through the years. Specifically on the practices of the church, we wrote that Negro and Caucasian brethren fellowship without discrimination in their general meetings and conferences.

"Many of our churches in the north have colored members. They associate with the others on a basis of full equality. Where we have a large number of Negro believers it has proved more satisfactory to have churches for the colored constituency. These churches have been organized into conferences. This, too, was carried out in cooperation with the Negro brethren and agreed to be church, not in the spirit of segregation, but rather that the work of God may go forward under more favorable conditions and more efficiently."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All of the statements included in this compilation, with the exceptions indicated below, were obtained from the organizations responsible for them.

From New South, Vol. 11, No. 10 (October, 1956), published by the Southern Regional Council, statements by the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; B'nai B'rith; United Church Women; Catholic Interracial Council; Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey; Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher; Most Rev. Vincent J. Waters.

From Interracial News Service, May-June, 1956, published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., statement of the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

From "Denominational Statements with Reference to a Racially Inclusive Fellowship," published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., statement of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

The statement by the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel was furnished by the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FILE COPY

REPORT

ON

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

SR
August 28, 1957

On August 27, 1957, an estimated 3,500 pupils registered to attend the first grade of the Nashville, Tennessee, public school system. Among the 3,500 first-grade registrants, there were approximately 126 Negro students who were eligible, under court order, to attend previously all-white schools. Actual school records showed 13 Negro pupils registered with 272 white first graders at five previously all-white schools, and one white pupil enrolled at a formerly all-Negro school. Nashville has for many reasons become a "test case." The test in this instance will determine whether or not resistance by a comparatively small number of individuals can hamper and make ineffectual prepared plans for school integration.

The Southern Regional Council has compiled the following background information concerning the forces presently at work in Nashville, as an aid in interpreting the forthcoming developments there.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY

Nashville, the capital of Tennessee, is a city of approximately 185,000 people (estimate for 1956), located in Davidson County, middle Tennessee. The 1950 U. S. Census listed the population of the city of Nashville as 174,307, of whom 54,726 were non-white. The greater Nashville area contained an estimated 368,100 in 1956; according to the 1950 census figures the total population of this area was 321,758; of that number, 64,381 were non-white residents.

The urban population of Davidson County in 1950 was 258,887, and the rural population 62,871. During the 10 year period between 1940 and 1950, the population of the city of Nashville increased by 4.1%. The median age in the city is 30.5 years, and the median number of school years completed by persons 25 years and older in 1950 was 8.9.

Nashville contained, according to 1954 figures, a total of 461 manufacturing establishments employing 30,543 persons. Principal manufactures included aircraft, beverages, clothing, footwear, grain mill products, heating apparatus, mortuary equipment, printing and publishing, rayon textiles, ships, textile mill products, and tobacco products. The median income was $1,910.00 in 1950. Fifty-two percent of families and unrelated individuals had an income of less than $2,000.00. The median income of non-white families and unrelated individuals was $1,182.00.

Nashville can be characterized as progressive, if compared to other Southern cities, in matters of previous desegregation. Nashville buses are now desegregated, taxicabs do not operate under a segregated system, and the municipal golf courses were opened to Negroes in February, 1956, by Federal Court order. Catholic parochial schools ended segregation in Nashville two years ago, and private colleges (including Fisk University, Vanderbilt University, Scarritt College, and Peabody College) are desegregated to a small extent.

Nashville's Negroes have more representation on official bodies than is common in Southern cities. There are at present 2 Negro City Councilmen, Z. Alexander Looby and Robert E. Lillard. Both are serving their second terms in this elective office. Coyness L. Ennix is the only Negro member of the city school board.

KEY CITY OFFICIALS

Mayor: Ben West

School Superintendent: William A. Bass*

Asst. Superintendent: W. H. Oliver

Acting Chairman, Nashville City School Board: Elmer Lee Pettit

Police Chief: Douglas E. Hosse

* Mr. Bass will retire December 31, 1957. W. H. Oliver will become Superintendent effective January 1, 1958.

VOTER REGISTRATION

Nashville has approximately 145,000 registered voters.

About one-fourth of this total is Negro.

CITY COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA

Nashville's two newspapers are the Nashville Tennessean and the Nashville Banner. Coleman A. Harwell is Vice President and Editor of the Tennessean. The Editor of the Banner is A. C. Dunkleberger.

There are seven A.M. radio stations, one F.M. station, and three T.V. stations in Nashville.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Hume-Fogg High School, where the school board now meets and the scene of current desegregation decisions and plans, was erected on the site of the old Hume School. According to Henry McRaven in Nashville - "Athens of the South," this school's formal opening on February 26, 1855, gave Nashville claim to the distinction of being the first Southern city to establish a public school system.

It is of interest to note that a Negro man was one of the group of nine pioneers who formed a vanguard settlement in the area now known as Nashville (1779). He is described by one source as a servant of James Robertson, who led the expedition; another merely states that he was chosen by Robertson to accompany the group. He was killed by Indians in 1781, during an attack on Freeland's station, about a mile north of Fort Nashborough.

Tennessee was the last of the 11 Confederate states to secede - on June, 1861 and then by a popular vote of 108,399 for and 47,233 against. Nashville was the first large Southern city to be captured by Federal troops (February 25, 1862.)

It is reported that the citizenry got along well with occupying Union forces. Andrew Johnson, twice governor of Tennessee, was the only Southern senator who supported the Union during the secession controversy. In his capacity as Military Governor of Tennessee, Johnson delivered his famous "Moses" speech in Nashville (October, 1864), proclaiming freedom to all slaves with the words, "I will be your Moses and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace." (Lincoln had excepted Tennessee in the Emancipation Proclamation.)

CURRENT STEPS TOWARD DESEGREGATION

It is estimated that 1,435 Negro and 2,065 white first graders will begin attending classes on September 9th. (The total school population in the city in November of 1956 was approximately 27,189 students. Of this total, 17,186 were white and 10,003 non-white.) School officials state that re-zoning of 23 of Nashville's 36 elementary schools placed approximately 126 Negro students in previously all-white schools in the following proportions:
Bailey, 1 Negro student; Buena Vista, 8; Caldwell, 13; Clemons, 4; Cockrill, 1; Hattie Cotton, 7; Eakin, 1; Fall, 14; Fehr, 18; Glenn, 25; Jones, 14; Kirkpatrick, 4; Lipscomb, 5; Ransom, 1; Tarbox, 10. No official statement has been made regarding the number of white students who have been assigned to previously all-Negro schools. However, as of August 25, only 24 transfers had been granted by the school board to students whose parents had requested such action. The 24 included 13 white students and 11 Negro students.

The first request for admittance into a previously segregated public school in Nashville came from two white parents who asked that their children be permitted entrance to a Negro elementary school (Professor Lee Lorch and Doctor

Robert W. Rempfer). This permission was refused in July, 1954; however, in June of 1955 the city school board announced that it would work out plans to comply with the United States Supreme Court order for a prompt and reasonable start toward desegregation of public schools. Mrs. W. O. Benson, then chairman of the school board, stated, "We have no intention of evading the court 's order."

In late 1955, parents and relatives of 21 Negro and 2 white children filed suit for the end of compulsory segregation in the Nashville City Schools (Robert W. Kelley et al v. the Board of Education of the City of Nashville). In a hearing on March 27, 1956, a three-judge Federal Court granted a continuance until the fall term of court, giving the Board an additional seven months in which to devise and adopt a plan of desegregation. It was the opinion of the Court that the board "announced at an early date that it would comply with the ruling of the Supreme Court...and has proceeded to take steps toward that end and is now acting in good faith and with appropriate dispatch." In October of 1956 the school board voted to desegregate the first grade in September, 1957, and to announce the extent and date of further integration in December, 1957, after further study. A Federal District Court announced its acceptance of the plan, in part, but called for a "complete plan" by December 31, 1957.

PARTIAL PLAN

The "partial plan" for desegregation in Nashville includes five points:

1. The abolishment of compulsory segregation based upon race in grade one of the elementary schools will be effective in September, 1957.

2. A plan of school zoning based upon location of school buildings, without reference to race, is to be established for the administration of the first grade before September, 1957.

3. Every student entering the first grade will be permitted to attend the school designated for the zone in which he or she resides, subject to regulations that may be necessary in particular instances.

4. Applications for transfer of first-grade students will be given careful consideration and will be granted when good cause is shown and when transfer is practicable.

5. A valid condition to support application for transfer would exist when a student would otherwise be required to attend a school where the majority of students in that school or in his or her grades are of a different race, or a school which has previously served only members of a different race.

In early 1957, the school board took action to prepare the community and the school system itself for the impending change. A mid-March meeting of the board unanimously adopted a resolution authorizing Superintendent William A. Bass to initiate plans immediately to "inform, elucidate, and help solve problems which may grow out of the efforts...to comply with the ruling...". The board stated that it would "stand firmly back of its agents in their attempt to comply in all good faith with the mandate of law," and called upon citizens for "community cooperation" to make it possible for the schools "to make satisfactory adjustment."

Within a week of the Board resolution, Superintendent Bass held meetings with principals and supervisors, in order to discuss their views. Similar meetings were held with Negro and white PTA groups. An 8-point program of action to secure community support was submitted to the PTA's by Bass, urging the establishment of community study groups to inform citizens of the Supreme Court ruling and the Board's policy, suggesting positive exposition of the board's policy whenever feasible, and emphasizing the need for an understanding that desegregation is a community matter.

Further preparations included the distribution of 10 thousand copies of the board of education's resolution and a summary of the federal court order, and a series of lectures concerning the integration question was planned for Nashville teachers. Literature and books on race relations were to be distributed to the study group.

In May, 1957, preliminary conferences between Superintendent Bass, Mayor Ben West, and Chief of Police D. E. Hosse were held and further talks were planned. Preparation of a brochure listing emergency procedures, to be distributed to all elementary schools, was at that date being considered.

Desegregation preparation in Nashville has taken place against a background of anti-segregation activity on the part of the state legislature. Tennessee's Governor Clement indicated in 1954 that the American people must recognize the Supreme Court as "Supreme in matters of interpreting the law of the land," and in March, 1955, Clement vetoed several bills designed to maintain segregated schools in Tennessee. However, the Governor recommended to the 1957 session of the legislative body of Tennessee a pupil assignment law, giving local school boards the full power to place, assign, and transfer pupils within their jurisdiction on the basis of sociological, physical, psychological, and other factors. The five-point legislation, called "moderate," "middle-of-the-road" by the press, was passed by the state legislature. One of its prime functions is to strengthen the power of local boards to transfer students. The legislation further provides separate school systems if parents of Negro or white children voluntarily elect that their children are to attend segregated schools.

In July, 1957, the Acting Chairman of the School board, Elmer Pettit, stated that if there were "any possible way" to revert to pupil assignment standards set up by the 1957 state legislature, he personally felt that the board

would be willing to consider them. On August 23, in a special meeting, the School Board voted to ask their attorneys to seek a ruling from federal district court on whether the school preference law might be applicable to Nashville, already under court order when the state preference laws were enacted. Pettit stated, however, in announcing this action, that until and unless some action is taken by the court the board must adhere to the original ruling requiring desegregation of the first grade.

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP ACTIVITY SUPPORTING AND OPPOSING DESEGREGATION

No notable instances of racial tensions or violence are known to have occurred in Nashville in recent years. Several interracial groups have been active since the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision, including the Nashville Minister's Alliance, headed by the Reverend Cecil Culverhouse, and the Nashville Community Relations Conference, whose head is Maclin P. Davis, Sr., a prominent industrialist. Both groups urged the 1957 state legislature not to pass any pro-segregation school proposals. The annual interracial Institute of Race Relations held at Fisk University attracts members of the community, as well as participants from other sections of the country.

The bi-racial Community Relations Conference, at the time of its formation in May, 1956, stated that the purpose of the organization was "to preserve the feeling of genuine friendliness" between the races during the implementation of the Supreme Court Decision. During the current preparation for integration, the Conference has served as spokesman for individuals and civic organizations who have pledged support of the Nashville board. Among the organizations who have joined the community Relations Conference in its pledge of support are: The United Church Women, the League of Women Voters, the Nashville Ministers

Association, the American Association of University Women, and the Nashville Section, National Council of Jewish Women. A petition, signed by at least 945 persons, among whom were clergymen, educators, physicians, was made public in August. Petitioners pledged their fullest cooperation with the school board.

CLERGY

Two organizations of clergymen, the Nashville Association of Churches and the Nashville Ministers Association are supporting the school integration program. A letter to ministers of the three major faiths, asking that they support the school board policy and suggesting that they preach sermons dealing with integration, was forwarded to the city's more than 500 ministers on August 23. Many of Nashville's clergymen devoted their Sunday, August 25, sermons to a call to the people to accept school integration in a "Christian spirit."

Both Negro and white Parent Teacher Associations in Nashville have endorsed the first grade desegregation plan, as have the teacher organizations of both races. The Nashville branch of the NAACP, and two state groups, the Tennessee Council on Human Relations and Integration Service, Inc. (Memphis), support school desegregation.

Among the organized groups opposing integration in Nashville are the Parents' School Preference Committee, whose chairman is Chester W. Mason, and the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government. The president of the latter group is Dr. Donald Davidson, an English professor at Vanderbilt; its vice-chairman is Jack Kershaw; and Dr. Clyde Alley is chairman of the Federation's Davidson County chapter at Nashville. Both organizations have appealed to the Nashville board to apply the state's recently enacted segregation laws. A petition with 6,000 signatures, requesting that the state pupil assignment laws be used has been

presented to the school board by the two organizations.

Rallies have been staged by John Kasper (recently in cooperation with Ace Carter, Executive Secretary of the North Alabama White Citizens Council), but have reportedly not drawn over 200 people. The rallies have been held in outlying areas, since city officials have refused permission for them to be held in the city park. The Ku Klux Klan is attempting to solicit members in the Nashville area; a three-state rally was held in Nashville recently, attended by approximately 150 Klansmen. According to Emmett Carr, Grand Titan of Middle Tennessee, the majority were from Davidson (Nashville) County. Earlier demonstrations by resistance groups occurred in January, 1956, when delegations converged on the State Capitol to urge the Governor to support their cause, and again in February of 1957, when a motorcade of 200 segregationists visited the State Capitol and tried, unsuccessfully, to see Governor Frank C. Clement. Nearly 100 state troopers were on hand at the time of the latter demonstration. The 1956 denonstration is reported to have included members of the Pro-Southerners and the Citizens Council, although hate literature which included KKK leaflets was distributed in the lobby of the Capitol.

The Nashville Kiwanis Club aligned itself with opposition forces during a meeting in late August, when it adopted a resolution (presented by Thurman Sensing, executive vice-president of the Southern States Industrial Council) urging continued segregation in the city schools. The Men's Club of Monroe Street Methodist Church has expressed publicly its opposition to school integration. Segregationist groups active in the state-wide area include the Pro-Southerners, the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation, and the Associated Citizens Councils of Tennessee.

An individual who is actively opposing integration plans, the Reverend

Fred Stroud, minister of the Bible Presbyterian Church (not affiliated with other Presbyterian Churches), has warned that integration is "unchristian" and predicted that many parents would not enroll their children in mixed classes. John Kasper has been quoted as saying that he was counting on help from Stroud in his efforts to fight desegregation.

INFORMATIONAL SOURCES IN NASHVILLE

Southern Education Reporting Service--An impartial news service established to present facts concerning segregation issue in South.

Dr. Herman Long, head of Race Relations Department, Fisk University.

Will Campbell, Southern Office, National Council of Churches.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

REPORT ON

CHARLOTTE, GREENSBORO, AND WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

SR
September 4, 1957

In three North Carolina cities on the evening of July 23, 1957, it was announced that Negro children are now eligible to attend schools that have previously been "for white only." School board officials made concurrent statements in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, reassigning, in accordance with the state's pupil placement laws, a total of 12 Negro students to eight schools which have never before admitted non-white pupils. The action of the school boards was historic; no other cities in the Southeast have voluntarily desegregated their public school systems. The strategic location of the three cities and the significance of their pioneering action have made Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem prime subjects for both praise and polemics - from forces both favoring and opposing implementation of the school decision.

The Southern Regional Council's purpose in compiling the following material is to provide informational data about the North Carolina cities. Although a consideration of the individual characteristics of each of the cities will be the substance of this report, state laws governing education provide a backdrop for all three.

Pupil Assignment Law

The 1955 North Carolina General Assembly enacted legislation giving local education boards authority to assign pupils to specific schools "so as to provide for the orderly and efficient administration of such public schools,

the effective instruction of the pupils therein enrolled, and the health, safety and general welfare of such pupils." Although no reference was made to race in the 1955 Assignment Act, a special election in September, 1956, approved a constitutional amendment providing that a "local option unit" could vote on closing the public schools in the event of integration and if such an election was desired, making provision for tuition grants for attendance in private schools if the public schools are closed and for tuition grants enabling individual students to attend private schools if parents object to their attending non-segregated schools, and abolishing compulsory school attendance when individual objection is made to attendance at integrated schools and no segregated school is provided.

Compliance or Contrivance?

Motivation for the recent action of the three school boards is thought by some to have been an honest desire to comply with both state and federal laws and to preserve the system of public schools. John Foster, chairman of the Greensboro school board, stated at the July 23 board meeting: "...It is the sincere purpose of this board to preserve and maintain a system of public school education in Greensboro." In the opinion of others, the words "to preserve and maintain the existing state pupil assignment act" might have been more apt. It is thought that the integration of a small number of students under the pupil assignment act will strengthen the constitutionality of the state legislation when and if it is tested in court. (Tom Pearsall, chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education, is of this opinion. Kenneth Whitsett, Mecklenburg head of the pro-segregationist Patriots of North Carolina, has stated that he was told by Colonel William T. Joyner of the Governor's Committee on Schools that the "sacrifice of some children to mixed schools

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

must be made so that many other children will not similarly be subjected to the evils of mixed schools.")

Whether Federal Courts will consider the tri-city action an act of good faith or an ineffectual placebo may be made known during the coming year. Appeals from 20 of the total of 38 pupils denied reassignment in the three cities have been rejected (August 15th action of the Charlotte school board); an appeal to the judiciary bodies, in all probability, will follow.

Statement of Governor Hodges

The posture of North Carolina's chief official, Governor Luther H. Hodges, was expressed in a press conference on August 29. The Greensboro Daily News stated editorially, "Governor Hodges spoke for the vast majority of North Carolinians when he declared at his Thursday press conference that 'I don't think we need John Kasper' in Tarhellia and that 'the state and the people...will not tolerate any lawlessness or violence' in connection with the school segregation problem...Governor Hodges reiterated that he does not favor integration, and sentiment throughout North Carolina largely backs him up. But orderly processes and obedience of the law are other matters."

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

Background of Board Action

Before the end of the 1956-57 academic year, the parents of nine Negro pupils had applied for the transfer of their children to previously segregated white schools, effective in September of 1957. Action on the applications was delayed by the board until its July meeting. On the evening of this meeting reassignment of six of the nine was approved, one denied, and one was referred to Woman's College, which has in past years handled all assignments to the school involved, Curry High. The ninth application had previously been withdrawn. Five of the six reassignments were to a combination elementary and junior high school, Gillespie Park School; the other remaining student was transferred to Senior High School. According to City School Superintendent Ben L. Smith, the ratio in classes will be 30 white students to one Negro, with the exception of one class at Gillespie Park Junior High School, in which there will be two Negro students. In mid-August, 515 students were enrolled in Gillespie Park School. Enrollment figures in Senior High School have not been announced. Senior High School will register incoming sophomores on September 2; other city registration will be made on September 3, the date on which the Negro students will enroll.

It is reported that Greensboro school officials formulated their plans for the reassignment action during a series of closed meetings with officials from Charlotte and Winston-Salem, North Carolina; however, the boards made individual announcements of transfers and separate policy statements. Chairman of the Greensboro School Board, John Foster, asked

for the understanding and cooperation of all people involved and stated: "Moderation by all the people must be our constant goal. The people of all races must exercise restraint - without malice, but with an overwhelming desire to continue an educational system which has produced the greatest benefit to all." Foster also stated that the board had reserved the right to reassign to other available schools those students whose parents desire such reassignment and pledged a fair hearing to any whose applications for reassignment may be denied.

Plans for the desegregation step in Greensboro began on May 18, 1955, when Doctor Edward Hudgins (board chairman at that time) suggested that the board go on public record as instructing Superintendent Ben L. Smith "to begin a study regarding ways and means for complying with the court's decision." Such a study was begun before the week was over. During the period between this initial step toward integration and the actual desegregation announcement, enactment of state placement laws added greatly to the complexity of the board's study.

In the initial fall semester meeting of school administrators on August 23, Superintendent Smith asked teachers and supervisors to withhold adverse comment on recent board decisions and stated that those principals who cannot support the policies of the board should sever their connections with the city school system.

Present Desegregation

In recent years, there has been much progress toward desegregation of schools and public accommodations in Greensboro. Greensboro Cerebral Palsy School, supported by community contributions and public school funds, is not segregated, nor is the Central Carolina Convalescent

Hospital, which serves victims of polio and whose school accommodations are financed by city school funds. Negro children attend Notre Dame High School, and there have been no incidents of opposition or racial ill-will within this parochial school. The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, located in Greensboro, desegregated in 1956. Bennett College, predominately Negro, has accepted white students; Agricultural and Technical College recently accepted one white student.

In July, 1957, the City Council opened the city's public library to all races; a request to desegregate municipal swimming pools before the 1958 season is presently being considered. A desegregation injunction against the Gillespie Park Golf Club was issued in April, 1957; however, in June a fire damaged the clubhouse and the city council ordered the Golf Club permanently closed. Segregated seating on local buses was ended in April, 1956, and railroad waiting rooms for interstate passengers were desegregated during the same year. Negro and white ministerial associations in Greensboro merged in 1955. In 1955, Doctor David D. Jones was a member of the school board in Greensboro. Doctor William M. Hampton has served two terms as a member of the city council. He did not seek reelection in 1955. Two other Negro candidates for city council seats were defeated in the 1955 election.

Voter Registration

Estimates in 1956 placed the number of Negroes registered in Guilford County at 8,000 which is 35.8% of Negroes of voting age. Fifty-seven and six tenths per cent of white persons of voting age are registered.

Inter-Group Relations

A recent opinion survey conducted by Princeton University research students (in Guilford County) revealed that interviews with some

300 white residents showed 75% of them were against using force to prevent desegregation in public schools, 55% would not close schools to prevent integration, and 45% rejected withholding state funds from integrated public schools. Historically, there has been no record of racial tensions in Greensboro. (Cecil and Nellie Rowe Jones, in their "Greensboro Mayors" series published in the Greensboro Daily News in early 1943, state: "There is no record of any trouble between the Negroes and white people of Greensboro during Mayor Sloan's administration or since." The reference is to Mayor Robert M. Sloan, elected in 1869.) A large number of the original settlers of the city and surrounding Guilford County were Quakers; the North Carolina Friends abolished slavery among themselves in 1774-1776 and by 1816 they had begun to form Manumission Societies which sought to put an end to slave holding. The Underground Railway, although not connected with the Manumission Society, is said by Arnett Jackson ("Greensboro, North Carolina") to have sprung from it, and historians attribute the first depot on the route to Guilford County; some say Greensboro proper was the scene of this first stop toward the North and freedom for escaped slaves. It appears that the majority of citizens in Greensboro had no slaves during ante-bellum days; there is, however, an account of the imprisonment of a minister who had been found to be teaching Negroes to read and write during the years immediately preceeding the war. "Crowds surrounded the jail in Greensboro where Worth (Reverend Daniel Worth) was imprisoned, and it was sometimes feared that he might be lynched." (Guion Johnson, "Ante-Bellum North Carolina.") During Reconstruction days, the Ku Klux Klan was active as a county organization, although

one white and two Negro whippings were the only recorded punishments in the county.

Statistics

The United States Census of 1950 found the city of Greensboro to have a population of 83,000; the Greensboro-High Point Area population was 191,057, and total population of surrounding Guilford County was 191,057. 1956 estimates were: City of Greensboro: 83,000; Greensboro-High Point area: 214,400; Guilford County: 214,400. Of the 1950 total population in Guilford County, 37,264 were Negroes. Guilford's urban population was 126,182 and the rural population, 64,875.

Principal manufacturers in Greensboro include those producing chemicals, clay products, clothing, leather products, machinery, meat products, paper products, rayon textiles, steel products, tobacco products. A 1955 publication states that 214 active industries employ 22,530 persons in the field of manufacturing. Some unionized industries have both integrated unions and plants. The median per capita income in 1950, according to census figures, was $2,370. However, labor department computations for the entire state of North Carolina show that the employment of non-agricultural workers has recently declined (a decline of 5,600 during June of 1957). This trend may be no more than the usual mid-summer slump. The Greensboro Western Electric Company, however, will permanently lay off 100 employees during late summer and several hundred during the next few months.

Leadership

Such cursory historic and socio-economic data would appear to allow the school board action at least an even chance for success

without incident. Perhaps the catalytic factors which will precipitate either peaceful compliance or active resistance to the integration decision will lie in the strength of those who lead the two opposing movements. The Greensboro school board has been firm in announcing its policy. The Greensboro Daily News termed the action "courageous and sensible." It has called on its readers for active support and community leadership to effect the board's integration policy. The Greensboro Record said the action"....reflects a sincere purpose to comply with the law of the land in a manner which will... recognize...social and political factors involved." Organizations which, in consequence of their stated aims and creeds, actively support the board include The American Friends Service Committee (whose Southeastern office, presently located in High Point, was until recently in Greensboro), the NAACP, and on a statewide basis, The North Carolina Council on Human Relations. The North Carolina Association of Rabbis, whose president is Rabbi Simcha B. Kling, of Greensboro, has publicly announced its support. In an early August meeting of the Parent-Teachers Association, only one person announced his approval, although in the words of PTA chairman DeWitt Skinner, the PTA "seems willing to go along with the move." The Textile Workers Union of America, one of the largest unions in the city, by convention action on the national level, earlier passed a resolution condemning the White Citizens Councils, and "allied organizations" and called for national and Southern political leadership towards a peaceful transition to unsegregated schools.

Opposition

Organized resistance groups in the state include the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., the N. C. Association for Preservation of the

White Race, and the Durham United Political Education Council. C. L. Shuping, Greensboro lawyer and counsel for the Patriots, told the board and spectators during the July 23 meeting that they would be "villified, damned, and cursed" for their action. John Kasper has stated that he will stage rallies starting in mid-August in North Carolina to "Educate the people in the use of the law so that they can exert it to the fullest extent." He further stated that he planned to use Durham, North Carolina, as his base of operations in North Carolina. C. L. Shuping of the Patriots said that Kasper's visit "will not serve any good or useful purpose." Many North Carolina newspapers have joined Mr. Shuping in this belief, and have editorially denounced Kasper and his methods in more vehement terms. Kasper made his first appearance in Greensboro on August 31; an audience of some 300 was largely silent.

Public Officials:

Mayor - George Roach

Chief of Police - Paul B. Calhoun

Principal, Gillespie Park School - M. B. Ritchie

Newspapers:

Editor, Greensboro Daily News - H. W. Kendall

Editor, Greensboro Record - Colvin T. Leonard

School Officials:

School Superintendent - Ben L. Smith

Chairman, Board of Education - John Foster

Other Informational Sources:

N. C. Council on Human Relations
Harry Jones, Executive Director
Room 209, 121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

American Friends Service Committee
High Point, North Carolina

CHARLOTTE

Community Statistics

The Negro population comprises 28% of the 134,042 persons who live in the city of Charlotte, North Carolina (1950 census figures; it is estimated that the total population had increased to 150,00 by 1956.) One of the outstanding characteristics of this city, geographically the Southernmost of the cities we are considering, is its mushrooming industrial growth. Total increase of population between 1940 and 1950 was 32.8%. The number of persons in the labor force was 64,840 in 1950, and the median income was $2,731.00. Surrounding Mecklenburg County's population was 197,052 in 1950 - 140,930 were urban residents, 56,122 rural. The Negro population was 49,923, urban and rural combined.

Employment

However, employment in all of North Carolina has shown a recent drop. Perhaps the most significant decline has occurred in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County area where large numbers of textile mills have closed down. Textile employment dropped by 2,500 in Mecklenburg County during the period between 1952 and 1956, affecting 2,685 employees. A recent series in the Charlotte Observer states: "One by one Charlotte's larger textile mills have closed, leaving but three in a town that boasted scores." Although attempts are being made to absorb the unemployed textile workers into other industry, there was a total of 4,900 unemployed members of the labor force in Charlotte in July of 1957, a factor which may be of great significance in the event that inter-racial tensions are precipitated by integration in Charlotte schools.

Figures for this year indicate that the Charlotte area's civilian

labor force totaled 115,000. Among the industrially employed populace, a union source recently stated that in his opinion the prevailing attitude is that of reluctant, eventual compliance with the Supreme Court Decision. There has been little racial tension within union organizations; however, there have been few efforts on the parts of locals to improve Negro rights and economic opportunities.

Community Desegregation

In the community itself, there has been some recent increase in instances of desegregation. Catholic parochial schools are integrated, as is the Johnson C. Smith University (a formerly Negro college, with Presbyterian affiliation). Mercy Hospital (Catholic) began admitting Negro patients in 1954, and permits Negro surgeons and doctors to attend their patients. A bi-racial Clerical Council, composed of Protestant and Catholic clergyman, was formed in 1955 and holds integrated meetings. A Catholic Interracial Council was formed in 1956. Interracial meetings of school principals have been held for a number of years. The city's transit company has discontinued its segregated seating policy; the Bonnie Brae Municipal Golf Course was opened to Negroes by an action of the park and recreation commission in January, 1957.

The Negro Vote

According to the Carolina Israelite, in Mecklenburg County the Negro vote has actually determined the winner in two major elections of recent years. In 1956, approximately 8,750 Mecklenburg County Negroes were registered. This represents 33.9% of the Negroes of voting age as compared to 57.5% for whites. Negro residents of Charlotte are politically active; two Negroes sought public office

in 1955 elections - Charles Vincent Bell and Thomas H. Wyche. The North Carolina state NAACP is credited with having exerted "vigorous leadership" in policically activating the Negro populace; its head is Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte.

Reaction

Editorially, the two Charlotte papers, the Observer and the News, have stated, "We are confident that the basic decision..... will be accepted as the best and wisest solution to the great dilemma of our times," (Charlotte Observer) and "....(the course of action was the only one available) to preserve the public schools and to prevent massive court-decreed integration." Recently a group of 80 to 100 civic leaders viewed the film, "Clinton and the Law," and held a panel discussion on its implications for the impending Charlotte desegregation. State wide support of the action of the Charlotte board has come from the North Carolina Association of Rabbis, the American Friends Service Committee, the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, and the NAACP. Locally, the board is supported by the Charlotte - Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations.

School Board Policy

The Charlotte School Board, however, has had a study committee considering integration since June of 1955. After a total of 40 applications from Negro students for admittance to previously white schools was presented to the Board last spring, a series of conferences were held with representatives from the Greensboro and Winston-Salem school systems, resulting in the July 23 unanimous vote to accept five of the Negro pupils. J. P. Hobson, who presided at the July 23 meeting, stated: "The board has taken this step only with the

greatest concern and after earnest and prayerful consideration of the many complex factors involved." The meeting was opened with a prayer by board member Richard Brown, "We pray for those who will disagree. Enter into their minds and hearts, grant them enlarged understanding, patience, and forebearance to the end that our schools will be preserved."

Parents of 20 of the 35 students whose applications for reassignment were refused appealed to the school board, and were informed by writing of the reason for each rejection. Of the five students who were reassigned, one has since moved into another district, leaving a total of four Negro pupils who will enter the following schools on September 4: Harding High, one 10th grade student; Alexander Graham Junior High, one pupil in the 7th grade; Piedmont Junior High, one 8th grade student; Central High, an 11th grade student. It is anticipated by school officials that there will be a total enrollment of 30,000 this year, an increase of 800-900 over 1956 September enrollment figures.

Resistance

Resistance in Charlotte has been of similar ilk to that in Greensboro. There is a threat of a visit from John Kasper (The latest announced date of the impending visit was the week of August 25th one week prior to the opening of schools. Kasper was in Nashville, Tennessee, however, during the early part of the week.); leaders of the pro-segregationist Patriots denounced Kasper's plans. Kenneth Whitsett, president of the Mecklenburg chapter of the Patriots of North Carolina, angrily accused the school board, during the July 23rd meeting, of providing "the means of mixing the white race."

He presented a petition to the board, which he said bore signatures of 16,000 persons opposing integration. In June a letter was forwarded to members from the Mecklenburg Patriots urging them to make their views known. A group of white parents asked courts to review the board decision; an injunction against the board was denied by the court, however. Monroe, North Carolina was the scene of a Ku Klux Klan rally during the late summer, in which a speaker called for "the Smith and Wesson plan" as the answer to the Pearsall Plan.

City Officials:

Mayor - James Smith

Police Chief - F. N. Littlejohn

School Superintendent - E. H. Garinger

Acting Board Chairman - J. P. Hobson

Newspapers:

Charlotte Observer - C. A. McKnight, Editor

Charlotte News - Richard L. Young, Jr., Managing Editor

Informational Sources:

Mecklenburg - Charlotte Council on Human Relations
Room 209, 121 East 3rd Street, Charlotte, North Carolina

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Room 209, 121 East 3rd Street, Charlotte, North Carolina

WINSTON-SALEM

The history of Winston-Salem reveals segments as dichotomous as is the city name itself. So opposed to violence that in 1862 a proclamation condemning pacificism in the county was issued by the governor, Winston-Salem in 1918 was the scene of a riot and attempted lynching which resulted in the death of five people. Partially settled by men in search of religious freedom (who as early as 1822 did missionary work to help Negroes), the community has seen two crosses burned in 1957, on the lawn of a school to which a Negro student has been legally assigned.

One eleventh grade Negro student was transferred to the previously all-white Reynolds High School by unanimous school board action on July 23. Three reassignment requests from other Negro students were denied; an additional two were recommended for approval but were withdrawn by the applicants "for personal reasons." Board officials had earlier shown a disposition to comply with the Supreme Court desegregation decision; its July 23rd action followed a number of meetings and planning sessions with members of school boards in Charlotte and Greensboro. School Board Chairman E. T. Pullen stated: "The board has made a thorough study of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions, the Pearsall Plan, the assignment law of North Carolina, and the recently submitted applications for change of assignment. Based on this study and on the advice of legal counsel, we have done our conscientious best to act upon these applications in accordance with the requirements of law."

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Population and Employment Statistics

Winston-Salem's city school enrollment was estimated to be 42% Negro in 1956, a higher non-white percentage than that of Charlotte or Greensboro. A total of approximately 18,000 students have been given their assignments for fall quarter, 1957. (This is not a complete total since it does not include new students.) In 1950 the Negro population in Forsyth County was 41,402 of the total 146,135. It is estimated that the 1956 total population had increased to 161,800. The population of the city of Winston-Salem was 87,811 in 1950 (28.4% of this figure were non-whites) and an estimated 93,000 in 1956. The tobacco industry employs large numbers of unskilled workers in this area; other manufactures include air conditioning equipment, canvas products, clothing, confectionary, electronic equipment, foundry products, furniture, knit goods, mortuary equipment, nylon products, radios, and steel products. The median income was $2,406 in 1950, and the median school years completed, among persons 25 years old and over, 8.7.

A factor which may influence the processes of integration is the anticipated lay-off in the Winston-Salem Western Electric Company this fall. 6,000 persons are presently employed; reductions of "less than 10%" will be made between now and early 1958.

Influence of the Negro

According to Chester Davis ("The Negro Vote," Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel - June 30, 1957), it is often said that the Negro vote now represents the balance of power in Winston-Salem. He maintains that the validity of this assertion was shown in the 1957 Mayor's race, which was decided by the Negro vote. In 1950, Forsyth County had an estimated 25,

Negroes of voting age. In 1950 over 50%, an estimated 13,000, were registered (among a total of some 82,000 registrants). Mr. Davis states: "The last known effort of a registrar to bar a literate Negro from registering in Forsyth County occurred in 1952. At that time a spontaneous and hotly indignant outburst from the white community caused the registrar to apologize and the County Board of Elections to register the rejected woman." Winston-Salem has elected two Negro aldermen since 1947. One of them, the Reverend William Crawford, won re-election in 1955. A Negro man, Leander Hill, was appointed a member of the Forsyth County Draft Board in 1955. A strong NAACP organization exists in the city, headed by Cortez Puryear.

Desegregation; Its Opponents and Proponents

As is true in Greensboro and Charlotte, segregation has been effected quietly in both the city bus system and the Catholic parochial schools. In Winston-Salem too, factions resisting integration have been perhaps more voluble than have forces supporting the school board decision. J. S. Kuykendall spoke for the state segregationist organization, the Patriots, at the Winston-Salem school board meeting, basing his opposition to integration on the fact that Negroes pay only $297,000 annually in taxes while whites pay an annual total of $8,541,000. A spectator pointed out that Mr. Kuykendall had voiced a "big argument for a change in the system."

Newspaper Support

The city newspapers are supporting the board action. The Winston-Salem Sentinel stated on July 24th, "The Winston-Salem School Board has

given this city an opportunity to demonstrate that it can comply with the law of the land without disrupting its system of public education," and on July 26, 1957, the Winston-Salem Journal editorially said that the success of the board's "honest effort to comply with the law" depends on the cooperation of the citizens of the community. "The young people who attend Reynolds High School, where a Negro girl has been assigned, can be expected to handle the situation with understanding and tact. Their parents will need to take a similar approach." On July 27th the Journal editorialized, "If he (John Kasper) and others like him insist on stirring up trouble, they can go somewhere else to do it. North Carolina does not need them and does not want them."

Opposition

Kasper selected Winston-Salem for his first public appearance in North Carolina. On the first week-end in September he spoke to a mixed group, Negro and white, of approximately 100 people. He was badly received by the audience and, according to one report "booed down."

The Ku Klux Klan, attempting a revival of its forces in North Carolina, has been active in the Winston-Salem area. A rally was held in early August in Statesville, North Carolina; the "wizard's" condemnation of the Supreme Court, the President, and several North Carolina newspapers drew only scattered applause. Two crosses have been burned on the lawn of Reynolds High; Mayor Marshall Kurfees condemned these incidents, stating "the law shall be upheld and enforced without fear, favor, or partiality."

Public Officials:

Mayor - Marshall Kurfees

Police Chief - James I. Waller

School Superintendent - Dr. A. Craig Phillips

Chairman of Board - E. T. Pullen, Jr.

Newspapers:

(1) Winston-Salem Journal - Reed Sarratt, Executive Editor
J. Worth Bacon, Managing Editor

(2) Winston-Salem Twin City Sentinel

Nady Cates, Managing Editor

Informational Sources:

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONNEL

ENGAGED IN HUMAN RELATIONS ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTH

November 26, 1957
SR/6r

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
1. Alabama Council on Human Relations Room 1218, Comer Building Birmingham 3, Alabama Robert E. Hughes, Director	
2. American Civil Liberties Union 170 Fifth Avenue New York 10, New York Patrick M. Malin, Director Telephone: Oregon 5-5990	A. Richard Finchell, Secretary ACLU of Greater Miami Olympia Building Miami, Florida Patrick S. Kirwan, Chairman Kentucky Chapter, ACLU 619 Upland Road, Louisville, Ky. George A. Dreyfous, Chairman Louisiana Civil Liberties Union 1609 Nat'l. Bank of Commerce Bldg. New Orleans, Louisiana
3. American Council on Human Rights 1130 Sixth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. Elmer Henderson, Director Telephone: Columbia 5-7307	
4. American Friends Service Committee 20 South 12th Street Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania Miss Barbara Moffett, Secretary Community Relations Miss Thelma W. Babbitt Director - Merit Employment Programs Telephone: Rittenhouse 6-9372	Southwestern Regional Office (Tex., Ark., La., Okla., and Miss.) 407 W. 27th Street Austin, Texas F. E. Hutchens, Exec. Secretary Baton Rouge Merit Employment Program 1608 Government Street Wade Mackie, Director Southeastern Regional Office (N.C., S.C., Va., Tenn., Ala., & Ga.) P. O. Box 1307 High Point, North Carolina Tartt Bell, Exec. Secretary Telephone: 2-4025 Merit Employment Program Mrs. Charles Herbin School Desegregation Program Charles E. Davis, Associate Dir.

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
5. American Jewish Committee 386 Fourth Avenue New York, New York Edwin Lukas, Director - Department of Nat'l. Affairs Telephone: Murray 5-0181	Atlanta Area Office 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 703 Atlanta, Georgia Samuel Lubin, Director Telephone: Jackson 3-8451 Southeast Area Office 1208 Congress Building Miami, Florida Seymour Samet, Area Director Telephone: Franklin 3-4749 Southwest Regional Office 523 Fidelity Building Dallas 2, Texas Gustave Falk, Area Director Telephone: Prospect 2830 Central Seaboard Area Office 1625 Eye Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. (New director being appointed) Telephone: District 7-3204
6. American Jewish Congress Stephen Wise Congress House 15 East 84th Street New York 28, New York Will Maslow, Director - Department of Public Affairs	Southeastern Region Congress Building 111 N.E. 2nd Avenue, Room 906 Miami, Florida
7. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith 515 Madison Avenue New York, New York Alexander F. Miller, Director - Community Service Divisions Oscar Cohen, Director - Program Division Telephone: Plaza 1-1800	Virginia, North Carolina Area 403 E. Franklin Street, Room 211 Richmond, Virginia Murray Friedman, Director Telephone: 3-9143 Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina Tennessee 41 Exchange Place, S.E. Atlanta 3, Georgia Arthur J. Levin, Director Telephone: Jackson 3-1618 Florida 330 Seybold Building Miami, Florida Nathan Perlmutter, Director Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas 606 Common Street New Orleans, Louisiana Irving Schulman, Director

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
Anti-Defamation League (continued)	Texas, Oklahoma 1101 Blodgett Street Houston 4, Texas Theodore Freedman, Director
8. Arkansas Council on Human Relations 211 South Izard Street Little Rock, Arkansas Nathaniel R. Griswold, Exec. Dir.	
9. The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention 161 Eighth Avenue, North Nashville, Tennessee A. C. Miller, Executive Secretary Telephone: Alpine 4-1631	
10. Catholic Committee of the South P. O. Box 895 Rock Hill, South Carolina	
11. Race Relations Department - Board of Home Missions, American Missionary Association Division Congregational Christian Churches 287 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York Professional Staff Herman H. Long, Director John Hope, II Galen Weaver Telephone: Grammercy 5-2121	Headquarters: Fisk University Nashville 8, Tenn. Telephone: Chapel 2-3396 Special Integration Personnel: Miss Dorothy Hampton 1530 Benneham Street Raleigh, North Carolina Mrs. Pauline Puryear Hampton Institute Hampton, Virginia
12. United Christian Missionary Society Disciples of Christ 222 South Downey Avenue Indianapolis 7, Indiana Lewis Deer, National Director - Social Education and Inter-Cultural Relations Telephone: Fleetwood 7-1166	
13. National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church 281 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York Division of Christian Citizenship Telephone: Spring 7-9100	The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee P. O. Box 853 Lynchburg, Virginia Telephone: 2-8995

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
14. Florida Council on Human Relations 213 N. E. Second Avenue Miami, Florida William K. Williams, Exec. Dir.	
15. Georgia Council of Churches 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia Edward A. Driscoll, Exec. Sec'y.	
16. Georgia Council on Human Relations 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia Guy H. Wells, Exec. Director	
17. Jewish Labor Committee 25 East 78th Street New York, New York Emanuel Muravchik, Director - Field Service Telephone: Lehigh 5-3700	
18. Kentucky Council on Human Relations 208 West Main Street Frankfort, Kentucky Hugh A. Brimm, Exec. Director	
19. The Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America 231 Madison Avenue New York 16, New York Harold Haas, Executive Secretary Harold C. Letts, Secretary for Social Action	
20. The Board of Social and Economic Relations, The Methodist Church 740 Rush Street Chicago 11, Illinois A. Dudley Ward, Exec. Secretary Telephone: Michigan 2-3707	
21. The General Board of Education, The Methodist Church, Division of the Local Church 1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South Nashville 2, Tennessee Leon M. Adkins, General Secretary	
22. Women's Division of Christian Service Board of Missions, The Methodist Church 150 Fifth Avenue New York 11, New York Miss Thelma Stevens, Exec. Sec'y.	Mrs. E. U. Robinson P. O. Box 516 Gallatin, Tennessee Mrs. H. B. Trimble P. O. Box 725 Emory University, Georgia

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
Women's Division of Christian Service - The Methodist Church (CONTINUED)	Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox 2205 Old Knoxville Highway Marysville, Tennessee Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson, Sr. Route 3 Laurens, South Carolina
23. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 20 West Fortieth Street New York 18, New York Roy Wilkins, Exec. Secretary Telephone: Longacre 3-6890 N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund 107 West 43rd Street New York 36, New York Thurgood Marshall, Director Telephone: Judson 6-8397	Southeastern Director: Mrs. Ruby Hurley N. A. A. C. P. 895½ Hunter Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia
24. National Conference of Christians and Jews 43 West 57th Street New York 19, New York Dumont Kenny, Nat'l. Program Dir. Telephone: Murray Hill 8-7530	Gordon W. Lovejoy National Program Consultant P. O. Box 507 Guilford College, North Carolina Telephone: 4561
25. National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Division of Christian Life and Work Department of Racial and Cultural Relations 297 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York J. Oscar Lee, Exec. Director Alfred S. Kramer, Assoc. Exec. Dir. Telephone: Oregon 4-5000 Division of Home Missions 257 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York Miss Edith Lowry, Exec. Sec'y. Telephone: Oregon 4-6407	Will D. Campbell, Assoc. Exec. Dir. 1716 West End Avenue Nashville, Tennessee Telephone: Alpine 5-3842

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel

National Council of Churches (cont'd)

General Department of United
Church Women
175 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, Gen. Dir.
Mrs. Esther C. Stamats, Director - Christian Social Relations
Telephone: Algonquin 4-7110

26. National Council of Jewish Women
1 West 47th Street
New York, New York
Mrs. Frances Cahn, Exe. Dir.
Field Representatives:
Miss Lillian Chernoff
Miss Edith Davison

27. National Council of Negro Women
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Vivian C. Mason, Pres.
Telephone: Columbia 5-4434

28. National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York
Harry Fleischman, Director
Telephone: Murray Hill 5-0181

29. National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York
Lester B. Granger, Exe. Dir.
Telephone: Plaza 1-0300

Southern Field Division
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Harry L. Alston, Director
Telephone: Jackson 4-7262

30. North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
Rev. Harry S. Jones, Exe. Dir.

31. The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Department of Social Education and Action
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
H. B. Sissel, Assoc. Sec'y.
Telephone: Pennypacker 5-6722

Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculm Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
32. Board of Church Extension, Division of Christian Relations Presbyterian Church in the U.S. 341-B Ponce de Leon, Ave., N.E. Atlanta 5, Georgia Malcolm P. Calhoun	
33. South Carolina Council on Human Relations 1745 Sumter Street, Room 100 Columbia, South Carolina Mrs. Alice Spearman, Exe. Dir.	
34. Southern Leadership Conference 530 South Union Street Montgomery, Alabama Martin Luther King, Jr., Pres.	
35. The Southern Regional Council, Inc. 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir. F. B. Routh, Assistant Dir. Telephone: Jackson 2-8764	
36. Tennessee Council on Human Relations 416 Twenty-first Avenue, South Nashville, Tennessee	
37. Texas Commission on Race Relations 407 West 27th Street Austin, Texas Edwin G. Kloppe, Exec. Dir.	
38. Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights 1244 - 19th St., N. W., Rm. 301 Washington, D. C. Benjamin Segal, Director Telephone: Sterling 3-2194	
39. Unitarian Service Committee, Inc. 9 Park Street Boston 8, Massachusetts Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director Hylan Lewis, Assoc. Director	Galen Martin Box 887 Knoxville, Tennessee

National Offices	Southern Offices or Personnel
40. United Auto Workers Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department 526 St. Paul Place Baltimore, Maryland William H. Oliver, Co-Director Earl Henderson, Field Representative Regions 8 and 9	
41. The Workmen's Circle 175 East Broadway New York 2, New York William Stern, Director - E.S. Division Telephone: Orchard 4-3400	
42. Virginia Council on Human Relations 1409 Chowan Road Richmond 26, Virginia John H. Marion, Exec. Director	
43. National Student Council - YMCA 291 Broadway New York 7, New York Maynard Catchings, Assoc. Sec'y. Telephone: Digby 9-0700	Southern Area Student Council Y. M. C. A. 706 Standard Building Atlanta 3, Georgia Alfred C. Payne, Exec. Dir. Paul Rilling, Project Dir. Telephone: Jackson 1-0352
44. National Board - YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York 22, New York Mrs. Savilla M. Simons, General Secretary Telephone: Plaza 3-4700	Southern Regional Office 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Suite 201 Atlanta 3, Georgia Miss Florence C. Harris, Correlator Telephone: Jackson 5-2381

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

return to Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council

Borrowed 9/2/77 - es

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

OF

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

May/1958

INTRODUCTION

In December of 1957 the Southern Regional Council arranged to have Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted social psychologist, visit Little Rock, Arkansas. Dr. Clark was asked to present an informal report of his observations of the Negro community in Little Rock and his impressions concerning the psychological adjustment of the nine Negro students who were attending Central High School. This Special Report represents a portion of Dr. Clark's original report.

My observations of the Negro community in Little Rock occurred during the period of December 21, 22, and 23 and December 27 and 28. These observations and my discussions with various individuals in the Negro community lead me to the tentative conclusion that the events surrounding the use of federal troops to assure the attendance of the nine Negro students to the previously all white high school in Little Rock, have had no harmful effect on the Negro community. On the contrary, the morale of Negroes in Little Rock appears to be quite high. This present high morale seems to be supported by a sense of pride in the dignity and courage of the Negro students, admiration for the leadership and skill of Mrs. L. C. Bates, and a firm determination on the part of all segments of the Negro community that there shall be no retreat in the process of school integration.

In general, it appears that the Negro community in Little Rock has become more unified as a consequence of these recent tensions. There seem to be no significant differences of opinion between the upper middle-class, professional group of Negroes, and the working class Negroes. What differences there are seem superficial. For example, working class Negroes are more likely to express their feelings about the presence of Negroes in Central High School in a little more flamboyant terms. For example, a Negro bootblack stated, "I know one thing. Those white people better not be foolish

enough to hurt one of those colored children. They're not bothering anybody. They better leave them alone. It'll be hell in Little Rock if they lay a hand on one of those kids." A Negro waitress in one of the night clubs in Little Rock stated in fluent language her admiration of the nine Negro students who were attending Central High School. She was lavish in her praise of the leadership of the Bateses and was most pleased when she found out that my companion was Mr. L. C. Bates. After expressing her admiration she stated, "When you gonna get some more of our children in that school? They can always pick on a few. They wouldn't be smart if we had a couple of hundred kids there. I sure wish that my child was old enough to go to that school."

Upper middle-class professional Negroes are more restrained in their expression of admiration and respect for the nine children and the Bateses. They generally indicate their support by calling the Bateses and inquiring whether there is anything that they can do to help. They also have increased their general interest in the affairs of the NAACP and they have increased somewhat their financial support of the organization's effort. In general, however, their backing is expressed in the form of what appear to be genuine compliments and congratulations of the Bateses, expressions of pride in the dignity and restraint of the nine Negro students; and backing in the reflected glory which their

collective behavior has brought to the entire Negro community. They seem no less determined than the working class Negroes but they clearly express their determination for continued progress in integration in different terms and in a different manner. This seems to be true not only in Little Rock but also in other surrounding communities in Arkansas such as Pine Bluff and Hot Springs.

From one perspective, it may be stated that the Negro community has become more isolated from the white community. There is some evidence that some type of peripheral contacts with whites have become strained or have been terminated by the tensions surrounding the integration of Central High School. On the other hand, many of the upper middle-class Negroes contend that this is more apparent than real. They argue that there were really no genuine and meaningful contacts between the white and the Negro community prior to the recent tensions; that what appeared to be fairly smooth and adequate relationship was merely the Negroes' accommodation to an inferior status and the whites' willingness to accept this accommodation as evidence of good relationship between the two groups. The changes in pattern of relationship which has developed since the difficulties at Central High School are seen by these individuals as the understandable reaction of many whites when Negroes seek to improve their status in the community. Rather than seeing these changes as negative,

Negroes tend to see them as inevitable manifestations of the true nature of the relationship between the groups.

The Negroes believe it is true that certain types of interracial groups have been less effective and have been operating under greater difficulties since the Central High School incident. They point to the fact that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations seems to be having more difficulty in getting open support. They also state that the interracial ministerial alliance has become practically dormant.

In this latter case, they believe that the ineffectualness of this group is the result of lack of clarity and courage on the part of the ministers themselves. They believe that the pro-segregationist whites have seized the initiative and have succeeded in intimidating the more liberal and moderate members of the white community. These Negroes seem quite clear in their evaluation of these moderate, less extreme whites. They do not seem to have very much compassion or respect for them. They tend to believe that their lack of courage and the ease with which the extreme pro-segregationist whites were able to immobilize them reflected a basic lack of conviction on the part of the moderate whites and a tendency not to jeopardize their own status by taking a position for justice and law and order when it involved problems of race relations.

There are some exceptions which Negroes in general tend to recognize. There are some whites who maintain rather positive and close relations with the leaders of the Negro community.

Their aid has been invaluable although, for obvious reasons, they cannot be publicly identified.

While there appears to be no direct, overt and systematic collaboration between Negroes and white groups in Little Rock at this time, some of the Negro leaders believe that the majority of the white people are determined that there be no further incidents which will add to the difficulties and stigma that the city has already received in the national and international press. The following incident illustrates the basis for their opinion:

A Negro girl boarded one of the desegregated buses in Little Rock and took a seat beside a white woman. This woman, who was obviously an extreme pro-segregationist, began to berate the Negro girl and insisted that she should move to the back of the bus. When the Negro girl refused to move, she became more extreme in her denunciation and name-calling. A majority of the people who were on the bus were white. As this woman threatened and raved, they became more and more tense and seemingly embarrassed. This white woman got up and made a threatening gesture toward the Negro girl as if she were going to strike her. As she did this, a number of white people jumped up and restrained the white woman. Another white woman led the Negro girl to a seat beside her. As this was done, the whole bus relaxed and the incident was closed with the exception of the fact that the pro-segregationist woman kept muttering something about the large number of "nigger lovers" who now

infested Little Rock. It may be of further interest to note that this incident was reported to Mrs. Bates by one of the white people on the bus and later confirmed by the Negro girl who was involved.

There seems little doubt that the Negro community in Little Rock has not been intimidated by the intense and at times violent behavior of the pro-segregationist whites. They look upon the activities of these pro-segregationists as pathetic and ridiculous attempts to save a lost cause. They even have a tendency to look upon the violence as essentially ridiculous even though cruel. Mrs. Bates has refused to repair one of her picture windows which was broken by a pro-segregationist. The night after I left her home an incendiary bomb was thrown on her front lawn. Again, she refused to have that portion of her lawn repaired. She feels that these symbols of the stupidity of the opposition should remain to mock the extreme bigots and as a challenge to the ineffectual moderates.

The Negro community may be characterized as fearless, determined, and stolid. There is an almost oriental quality in the relentless refusal to move backwards. This stolidity is supported by a strong feeling that they are on the right side of this issue, that history is on their side, that international and national imperatives make the position of the pro-segregationist untenable. The Negro community does not seem to be in a mood for further compromises or temporizing of their right to attend non-segregated schools. They seem prepared to present

many other Negro students for entrance in Central High School and other white schools in the city.

Adjustment of the Nine Negro Students Attending Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas

From general observation of these students in a social situation; observing them individually in their homes and in their relation with their parents, their siblings, and their friends; from some individual discussions with them, and discussions with individuals who know them and have been observing them throughout the current school term, I have arrived at the following conclusions about their overall adjustment:

(1) These students have reacted extraordinarily well to the tensions, threats and anxiety surrounding their attendance at Central High School. They are aware of the problems and dangers. Many of them have borne directly the brunt of organized harassment and hostility perpetrated by a hard core of about fifty white students in Central High School. In general, they react to the jostling, name-calling, taunts, and threats with disciplined restraint.

It must be pointed out, however, that being different personalities they differ in the weight that they give to this harassment. Some like Gloria Ray tend to minimize the significance of this ordeal and dismiss all but the most severe incidents as being petty. For example, Gloria insists that she will not report the large number of minor incidents and is proud of the fact that the only time she appealed to the school authorities was when a white boy attempted to push her down the steps and threatened her by saying "I'm going to get

you out of this school if I have to kill you."

Others like Elizabeth Eckford, Jefferson Thomas, and Terrence Roberts are quite disturbed at the cumulative cruelties which they have had to bear. They seem too proud to whine about it but they reveal their annoying anxiety by indirect indications of dread. For example, Elizabeth stated rather frankly that she did not look forward to going back to her gym class without the protection of Minnie Jean. She sincerely hoped that Minnie Jean's suspension would have been lifted by the time the holidays were over. She felt that Minnie's size and manner tended to reduce the open physical cruelties and taunts which are most severe in the gym class.

(2) All of the students, with possibly one exception, seem to be reacting most positively to being thrown into the public spotlight. There seems to be no evidence of any severe distortion in this perspective of themselves. In short, they do not seem to be suffering from a celebrity psychosis.

They accept with a quiet grace and dignity the many indications of respect and admiration which come from the Negro community. It is my belief that they have been helped to maintain an even balance in this regard by the keen intuitive insights and guidance of Mrs. Bates and by the seemingly very good relationship with their parents.

Their relations with their siblings seem quite close. The older siblings seem proud of them and the younger siblings seem properly respectful. I was particularly impressed by the

general warmth and closeness which seem to characterize the relationship between these children and their parents and siblings.

(3) Their relations with their former classmates and the community in general also seem to be quite good.

An example of this was a fact that when Gloria Ray gave a party during the holidays, many more of her friends at Horace Mann High School came than were expected. There was good natured banter as illustrated by the running gag that they expected her to introduce them to some of her new friends at Central High School. On the other hand, some of the Negro children - presumably a small minority - who are still attending Horace Mann School have expressed some rivalry or jealousy by indicating that they would not want to go to Central High School. They don't want to go some place where they aren't wanted and they think that the nine Negro students who went did so only to get "cheap publicity." All of the students are aware of the existence of this sentiment but none of them seems unduly disturbed by it. They tend to dismiss this as a sign of acceptance of segregation on the part of the individuals who hold this opinion. They are supported by the fact that the majority opinion in the Negro community is most favorable and rejecting of this negativistic point of view.

(4) In general, these nine students are quite aware of the importance of their pioneer role. They have been made so keenly aware of this that they are willing to accept the personal discomforts and abuse "so that other Negro students will have an easier time."

There seems to be little or no evidence that they have suffered significantly so far. They have received a great deal of public attention, support and acclaim. They have managed to maintain their personal balance and stability. If there is a significant danger inherent in this situation and their relationship to it, it is the danger that they do not seem sufficiently aware of the very real possibility of physical harm which might be inflicted upon them. They tend to dismiss the threats as being of no significance - as silly - as an indication of the meanness and stupidity of a small group of white hoodlums inside of the school. They do not believe that these threats will be carried out in spite of repeated incidents. It is my personal opinion that while it is understandable and necessary that they maintain this relatively optimistic view of human nature, there is a strong possibility that this might not be justified. I had the uneasy feeling that it is quite possible that some irresponsible fanatical hot head might harm one or more of these children. This impression seemed to be supported by the unwillingness of the school authorities to deal firmly with the small group of repeated trouble makers and also by the understandable unwillingness of the Negro students to make an issue out of the many petty, disturbing incidents.

Summary Impressions:

(1) The Negro community has been unified rather than disrupted by the Central High School desegregation incidents.

There is some evidence that prior to the actual event one would have characterized the Negro community in Little Rock as uncoordinated and consisting of many groups with conflicting and divergent interests. Now it appears that the school integration issue has served to mobilize and unify the group and has increased its morale and pride significantly.

(2) The present psychological health of the nine Negro students seems to be good. They are accepting their role with poise and dignity. They have been helped significantly by the wise guidance and counsel of Mrs. Bates, by the warmth and support of their families, and by the admiration and respect which they have received from the immediate community and from the nation. Of special significance also is the evidence of international concern and support which they have continuously received.

(3) On the negative side is the fact that the overt spontaneous expression of hostility towards them which reached its peak just before and for some time after the presence of federal troops in Little Rock has been displaced by a more systematic, effectively directed campaign of harassment and petty cruelties directed toward them by a hard core of between 50 and 100 white students. These incidents of cruelties and abuse are particularly severe in gym classes, the lunch room, and in the halls between classes. They are less likely to occur in the actual academic classrooms. It appears that this hard core group has been organized and its activities directed

by adults outside of the school. They seem to have orders to concentrate on particular individuals.

They have successfully isolated the Negro youngsters by directing their initial campaign of intimidation against those white students who in the early weeks of the term attempted to show signs of friendliness and acceptance of the Negro students. These white students were maligned and threatened - in some cases to the point of hysteria. They communicated to the Negro students that they would no longer be able to show any overt sign of friendliness towards them. Furthermore, those who direct the activities of these white students seem to have been successful in immobilizing most, if not all, of the school officials through name calling and other forms of intimidation. As a result, the school officials do not seem free to deal with any other than the most extreme forms of cruelties in any effective way. Through this many pronged attack the small group of pro-segregationists have succeeded in making the day to day life of the Negro students within Central High School almost intolerable. They have not completely succeeded only because of the determination, stolidity, humor and courage of the Negro community in general and the nine students and Mrs. Bates in particular.

It is my belief that these students will continue to attend Central High School and that more Negro students will present themselves for admission during the next school term. One serious danger which should not be discounted, however, is the danger that if the organized hoodlums are not effectively

restrained and are permitted to continue their campaign of harassment and cruelty they will seriously harm one or more of the Negro students. If this happens, I believe Little Rock will be in for a most serious form of racial disturbance. The one thing which I believe the Negro community could not tolerate would be any serious physical harm inflicted on any one of those nine Negro students.

Little Rock demonstrates that one cannot judge the readiness of the Negro community to endure the hardships or meet the challenge associated with desegregation before the fact of desegregation. It appears that the actual facts of desegregation and the demands made upon the individuals and the community when the issues are joined tend to mobilize the positive potentials in the community and reduce the effect of the negative potentials. The potentials for greatness are actualized by the realities rather than in anticipation of these realities. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be equally true in the appraisal of the effect of the desegregation incident on the white community. This later impression, however, must be held with the reservation that no systematic study of the white community was conducted by this observer. Furthermore his impressions reflected the perspective of a Negro seeing the situation through the eyes and feelings of the Negro community.

The tragedy of Little Rock is not to be found in anything that has happened to the Negro children or in any psychological scars which they must bear. Apparently, centuries of

oppression have immunized them and given them the necessary protective defenses for survival. The real tragedy of Little Rock is what is happening to the white children in Central High School - the fact that potentially decent human beings are being required to bow to the brutality of a tightly organized minority. This tragedy reflects the larger tragedy. The decency in the whites of the South is not backed by the fervor and conviction or the courage which is shown by fanatical racists. Without regard to the integration issue - without regard to what happens to Negroes because they will survive, this is a serious omen for that region and certainly for the nation.

- : -

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BACKGROUND SUMMARY

ON

CHARLOTTESVILLE, ARLINGTON, NORFOLK, AND NEWPORT NEWS,

VIRGINIA

August 11, 1958

(A supplement to the Background Summary on Virginia, these background reports on the communities under court order to desegregate in the fall of 1958 were compiled for consultants of the Southern Regional Council and other agencies working in the field of human relations.)

ARLINGTON COUNTY
(VIRGINIA)

Though all who have lived and labored with the South these last four years have had by now full opportunity to learn the risks of prediction, there is consensus throughout the region that 1958's crucial contests over school segregation will occur in Virginia. For several reasons, Arlington County will be watched with particular interest among the four or five Virginia localities which will meet the issue this Fall.

ARLINGTON

The situation in Arlington County is different from that in the other areas of Virginia which are under court order to desegregate, because there is a large group--certainly the majority of articulate citizens--within the white population who would prefer integration to the closing of the public schools.

Four white schools in Arlington have been ordered to admit seven Negro children when the schools open on September 4th. In addition, at least twenty-five other Negro children have applied for admission to white schools since the order for admission of the seven was made in September 1957.

Should the schools admit the children, they will be closed under state law, if applicable statutes are enforced. Nevertheless, in Arlington the school board has so far made no move, as for example, Charlottesville has done, to enable it to avoid admitting them.

It is extremely unlikely that the governor, who is personally charged with the enforcement of the segregation laws, will allow the schools to re-open on any but a segregated basis, since he will doubtless see Arlington as the thin end of the wedge piercing a chink in the armour of state-wide and state-directed opposition to integration to which he is committed. On the other hand it seems quite clear that the citizens of Arlington are going to attempt by all legal means to keep the schools open. If the schools are closed, they become the personal responsibility of the governor. His immunity from suit may mean that the state's position may be legally unassailable. Virginia has, in short, built its legislative defenses with such thoroughness that a test of strength between federal rights and state policy seems inescapable.

There has been, however, talk of a tax-payer's strike if necessary to persuade the governor to listen to the county's point of view. The small proportion of state funds in the Arlington School budget suggests that it would be possible for Arlington Schools to be run without state funds.

SECTION II

Population, Voter Registration, Income, Employment and Education

The proximity of Arlington County to the seat of the federal government accounts for the rapid growth in its population (from 135,449 at the census of 1950 to an estimated 158,410 in 1956, an increase of 17% in six years) and for its notably "un-Virginian" attitude toward the question of school segregation. Many of its inhabitants are in-migrants and non-Southern.

The moderate attitude toward school desegregation is facilitated by the small number of Negroes in the community. Only 7,203, or about 4½%, of the population is Negro, according to the 1956 estimate. A large proportion of these, moreover, are well-to-do. The median income among non-white families in the County in 1949 was higher than the median income for the State (white and Negro) as a whole, and the number of school years completed was substantially the same; a large number of Negroes--at least a third of those employed in major industrial categories--are employed in "white-collar" jobs, and an estimated 1,185, or over 16% of all Negroes, are registered voters, this again being above the average for Virginia--white as well as Negro--as a whole, which runs about 10% of the population. (A straight line projection from 1950 census data would indicate that 26% of Negroes over 21 were registered voters.) The percentage of Negroes who are registered voters is, however, below that for the white people of the county. Arlington itself of course is one of the highest-income and best educated of all American communities.

Employment

As might be expected, the largest occupational category is Public Administration, which accounted for the employment of over one-third of the employed

men and one-half of the employed women living in the area. Many of the residents of the county are commuters to Washington. Among the Negroes, the largest single occupation is domestic service, with public administration coming second, trade third, and professional occupations fourth.

The figures given in the preceding text are summarized below:-

ARLINGTON COUNTY
Relevant Data

	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL	NEGRO AS % OF TOTAL
Population 1956*	151,207	7,203	158,410	4½
Voter Registration 1956*	38,528	1,185	39,713	3
Voter Registration as % of Population	25	16	25	--

	WHITE	NEGRO	NEGRO AS % OF WHITE	ALL VIRGINIA WHITE & NEGRO
Median Income 1949	$4,580	$2,297	50	$1,593
Average ** Years of School Completed	12.7	8.0	62	8.1

* Estimate
** 1950 Census data, among population of 25 years old and older.

SECTION III

The Struggle in The Courts

1955 In July of 1955 the NAACP filed a petition for desegregation in Arlington, as it did in the course of the latter half of that year in Norfolk, Newport News, Alexandria, and the County of Isle of Wight. The petition was virtually ignored until the NAACP brought suit in May of the following year.

1956 May In May, 14 parents and 22 children, some of whom were white, filed suit against the school board in the case of Clarissa S. Thompson, et al v. County School Board of Arlington County, Virginia et al. The white plaintiffs were subjected to some harassment and one of the two families involved--Jack G. Orndorff, chairman of the disbanded Arlington Citizens' Clearing House on Public Education, his wife and child,--withdrew from the suit in June. The other white family, Mrs. Barbara S. Marx and her two children, continued in the suit; Mrs. Marx was elected to the state board of the NAACP later in the year.

The Arlington Chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties (in future abbreviated to the Defenders), embarrassed by the presence of white plaintiffs in an integration suit, offered to pay tuition for the Marx and Orndorff children to attend an integrated school in Washington. The offer was refused.

July Federal Judge John T. Bryan delivered judgment on the Arlington case in July, after having ruled that John G. Epaminonda and two other attorneys who charged that the NAACP was illegally practising

in Virginia, could not properly intervene. The defendants in the case had filed a motion for dismissal of the suit on the grounds that the plaintiffs could not sue for relief because they had not exhausted all their legal remedies, that the state's policy for school operation had not been decided for the coming year, and that "the applicable federal decision did not require integration."

Their motion was set aside by Judge Bryan, who ordered the ending of segregation in the elementary schools by January 31, 1957, and in high schools by the beginning of the 1957-58 school year. In his opinion, Judge Bryan said the Supreme Court decision did not "compel the mixing of the different races in public schools":

> Indeed, just so a child is not, through any form of compulsion or pressure required to stay in a certain school, or denied transfer to another school, because of his race or color, the school heads may allow the pupil, whether white or Negro, to go to the same school as he would have attended in the absence of the ruling of the Supreme Court. Consequently, compliance with that ruling may well not necessitate such extensive changes in the school system as some anticipate.

The inevitable passage to higher courts and down again followed,

1956 Sept. complicated by the passage of the laws of the Extra Session of the General Assembly, in the interim between Judge Bryan's decision and the appeal to the Court of Appeals of the Fourth Circuit. In asking for dismissal of the case the defendants pleaded that the state of Virginia had not given its consent for the board to be sued, and the Negro plaintiffs had not actually sought admission to the white schools and therefore could not properly come to the court for relief.

Dec. The court dismissed the plea saying that:

> A suit for such relief is not a suit against a state within the meaning of the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution but is a suit for the protection of individual rights under the Constitution by enjoining state officers and agencies from taking action beyond the scope of their legal powers. . .
>
> In view of the announced policy of the respective school boards any such application to a school other than a segregated school maintained for colored people would have been futile.

In January 1957, Judge Hoffman of the U. S. District Court

1957 January — had ruled that the Virginia Placement Act was unconstitutional in so far as it applied to Negroes seeking admission to white schools. This decision the Supreme Court refused to review in October 1957.

July — Consequently in July the NAACP had asked Judge Bryan for a second desegregation decree, and also to authorize Arlington parents to ignore the Placement Laws. Judge Bryan refused to do the latter but ordered desegregation when schools opened in September, 1957.

August — Arlington Negroes then applied to the Placement Board for transfer to white schools, (all transfers from one school to another were and are required to pass through the Placement Board) and were, as expected, refused.

Sept. — When the schools opened eight Negro children applied for admission to white schools and were turned away. The NAACP, on behalf of 7 of the children, then asked Judge Bryan for immediate enforcement of his ruling, and an order to that effect was issued by the Judge on September 14th. The order directed the school authorities to admit the children on September 23rd and specifically restrained the school board "from refusing to. . .enroll or educate them at the school to which they had made application for admission." He said he could not "fairly require the plaintiffs even to submit

their applications" to the Pupil Placement Board and added that, "Submission to that act (Pupil Placement Act) amounts almost to assent to a racially segregated school. But even if the form be signed 'under protest', the petitioner would not have an unfettered and free tribunal to act upon his request."

(In the same month, however, Judge Bryan refused to order admission to school without Placement procedure in the case of a white boy, son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel G. Kletin, because the race question was not involved.)

An appeal from Judge Bryan's order was of course inevitable,
1958 February and stays were granted while the case proceeded to the Court of Appeals of the Fourth Circuit, and, when that was unsuccessful, to the Supreme Court. The refusal of the Supreme Court to grant a writ of certiorari was followed by a conference between Judge Bryan and the attorneys concerned, at which it was agreed that his order of September 14, 1957, was still in force. That is, the School Board is directed to admit, notwithstanding any failure on the part of the pupils to comply with the Placement Act, the seven specified children to four specified schools--such explicitness gives less space for maneuver to the Arlington School Board than enjoyed by any of the other Virginia boards faced with more general orders for desegregation.

SECTION IV

The Schools and the School Board

Education

Approximately 23,000 pupils attend Arlington's public schools, of whom 1,523 are Negroes. (In 1958 there were 9,824 white high school students and 11,421 white elementary school pupils.) There are 44 schools for white pupils and four for Negroes in the County. The "Negro" schools are:-

Hoffman Boston Junior and Senior School

Hoffman Boston Elementary School

Drew-Kemper Elementary School

Langston Elementary School

The last of these is in the north of the county, the other three in the south.

The white schools comprise two high schools--Washington-Lee in the north and Wakefield in the south--six junior high schools, and twenty-eight elementary schools. The four white schools presently involved in the integration suits are Washington-Lee High School, Swanson and Stratford Junior Highs, and Fillmore Elementary School. Negro students have applied to other white schools, among them, Gunston Jr. High, Wakefield Jr. High, and Kenmore Jr. High.

Each school and its environs form a school district; it was estimated in 1956 that only about sixty Negro children lived in areas served by white schools.

The chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, which since the spring of 1956 is responsible for appointing the School Board, is Ralph R. Kaul.

The Chairman of the School Board is James G. Stockard.

The Superintendent of Schools is Ray E. Reid, formerly Assistant Superintendent of the Virginia Department of Education and Director of the State Board of Education Office of Institutional Services. Mr. Reid was appointed in June of this year, succeeding T. Edward Rutter, who resigned in April 1958.

The school budget in 1956/7 was $9.6 million, of which $1 million was federally contributed, and $1.3 million from the State. It is estimated that local taxes in the County would have to be raised by 20% to make up for the loss of State Aid if the schools were integrated.

The School Board

1955 July — Although the School Board took no action on the original petition of the NAACP in July 1955, it was not hostile to desegregation--nor indeed were the residents of the county, as shown by the defeat of all candidates for both the school board and the state legislature backed by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in the elections of November. The report of the Gray Commission was made in November, and in January, 1956 the Arlington School Board unanimously issued the following statement:-

Nov.

1956 January

> The Arlington School Board interprets the Gray Commission recommendations and vote Monday, January 9, 1956 for the constitutional convention in Virginia to mean that no child in Virginia shall be forced to attend a school in which children of both white and Negro races are enrolled. The Arlington public schools as a division of the public school system of Virginia will comply with any action taken by the state legislature.

The Arlington School Board also believes that legislation will be enacted to carry out the proposed Gray plan and that in order to meet the Supreme Court's decree for 'deliberate speed' in desegregation, it will be necessary to provide schools in which children of both races may attend classes.

Assuming that the legislature will enact the provisions recommended by the Gray Commission, the Arlington School Board adopts the following policy:

Integration will be permitted in certain elementary schools in the fall of 1956.

The Arlington School Board will continue the policy of determining elementary school attendance areas on a geographical basis.

Children whose parents object to their attendance at an integrated school will be assigned to a school that is not integrated.

Parents who ask to have their children assigned to schools outside their own school districts will be responsible for their children's transportation to and from school.

Certain Arlington junior high schools will be integrated in the fall of 1957; certain senior high schools will be integrated in the fall of 1958. For those grade levels, also, a plan will be put into effect permitting transfers of those students whose parents object to their attending integrated schools.

Any child in Arlington may attend a non-segregated school if his parents so desire. The Arlington School Board does not anticipate the necessity of paying tuition grants for children to attend private schools. (source: Southern Schools News, Feb. 1956)

At the same time, the board announced a plan to hold a $9,430,000 bond referendum for new school construction. The referendum was later rejected by a vote of 6,653 to 5,720.

This, the first--and, so far, only--announcement by any district in Virginia that it was proposing to permit integration provoked severe reactions in the General Assembly, then meeting

in regular session.

Delegate Frank Moncure of Stafford County, well known segregationist, presented a bill to the House which replaced the elected Arlington County School Board by one appointed by the Arlington County Board of Supervisors. Arlington had hitherto been the only area in Virginia whose school board was elected; the new arrangement placed her on the same footing as the cities and some other counties (in other counties the circuit judge appoints a school trustee electorial board which appoints the school board). County Boards of Supervisors themselves are elected by the residents.

The incumbents of the school board were allowed to serve out their terms.

A further blow was struck at the County by a bill presented

March by John Boatwright, later chairman of the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, which prohibited all federal employees in executive positions and all for whom service would result in a conflict of interest, from serving on school boards. Three members of the Arlington Board were federal employees.

The Board was not called upon to make any further policy decisions, as the integration issue was then lost in the flood of

1957 Sept. litigation to which the real parties were the State Government and the NAACP. In 1957, the action emerged from the court room long enough for the principals of four white schools to refuse, as they were instructed to do, admission to 7 Negro students on the grounds that they had not complied with the 1956 Placement Act.

Elections to the Board of Supervisors

Nov. In November, elections to the County Board of Supervisors were held. The candidate of the liberal-moderate Arlingtonians for a Better county, Herbert L. Brown, Jr., won by 14, 015 votes to 11,560 over J. Maynard Magruder, a former delegate supported by the conservative Arlington Independent Movement. This gave the liberal group a 3-2 edge on the board for the first time in five years. However, the old conservative dominated board was adjudged by Virginia courts to be responsible for filling two School Board vacancies. Therefore the conservative faction will have a majority on the school board (until the terms of three members expire in 1959) while a liberal faction will control the governing county Board of Supervisors.

Resignation of the School Superintendent:-

1958 April T. Edward Rutter, superintendent of schools, resigned in April. Ray E. Reid was appointed to succeed him.

Assuring of Salaries to Teachers

In April also the school board assured teachers that it would do its best to continue their salaries during any racial crisis; Gov. Almond later pointed out that under Virginia Law teachers would continue to receive their salaries until their contracts expired or to the end of the school year, which ever was longer.

In the same month the school board refused to allow The Community Council for Social Progress to hold an integrated meeting

May in a school room. The case was taken to the circuit court, but the Judge, Emery N. Hosmer, refused to grant an injunction against

the board.

May A referendum on May 13th to enable a school bond issue of $3½ million for the building of a new white high school five blocks from a Negro neighborhood was approved.

SECTION V

Activities of the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities

The Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities (Thomson Committee) conducted an investigation into the circumstances of the filing of the original Arlington suit (of May, 1956) on September 19th and 20th, 1957. The Committee, whose hearings were private, interrogated 15 witnesses, among them Jack Orndorff (who had withdrawn from the suit on account of the "extremely adverse psychological effect the foul and vicious telephone calls we have received have had upon our family" in June of 1956); Mrs. Margaret I. Finner who had entered the case when Orndorff withdrew, and who criticized the use which the committee made of hidden tape-recorders in preliminary interviews with prospective witnesses; and David H. Scull, the vice president of the Fairfax County Council on Human Relations, who made a prepared statement saying that the Committee lacked proper jurisdiction and was part of a legislative program of intimidation. Mr. Scull found himself indicted on a charge of contempt for his "rash" words and the refusal to answer the questions of the committee. He received a ten day sentence and a fifty-dollar fine; both are still pending the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, to which the case has proceeded.

The chairman of the Committee, Delegate James M. Thomson, stated after the hearings that "the testimony clearly indicated that the attorneys fees and/or court costs have been paid by others than the plaintiffs in the suit...the individual plaintiffs did not have the control of their suit."

He was sharply rebutted by 12 of the plaintiffs, who, in an open letter to the committee, declared the charges were preposterous and that the attorneys had conducted the suit in accordance with their wishes, securing favorable decisions in five court actions since the suit was filed in May 1956.

October 1957

In October, Delegate Thomson asked for a list of the textbooks and reference books used in four North Virginia communities, of which Arlington was one. The then superintendent, T. Edward Rutter, supplied the list of text books, but refused the list of reference books. Two members of the committee protested their chairman's action, and Delegate Harrison Mann wrote to the committee "to stay out of Arlington schools." At the same time Delegate Kathryn Stone was taking up with the chairman the matter of the committee's having questioned witnesses as to their religious beliefs, but was unable to get a satisfactory reply.

1958 February

When the Assembly next met Mrs. Stone introduced a legislative amendment requiring that public sessions be held by the committee formed to replace the Thomson Committee and the Boatwright Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice; she alone voted for the amendment.

The County Organization

County Board of Supervisors, chairman Ralph R. Kaul.

The County Board on July 6th unanimously passed a resolution asking Governor Almond to do nothing to destroy or impair the public school system, and urged the Governor to give "his most earnest consideration" to the views of the Committee to Preserve

the Public Schools, which was to meet with the Governor on July 9th. It also voted unanimously to support any legal means to keep the schools open.

County Manager A. T. Lundberg told the County Board that "our entire planning (for September when the schools open) is based on one premise--that we will maintain peace and order without fear or favor."

Lundberg also declared that Arlington County police have "all the tools they need" to handle any school integration problems, and that present ordinances appeared to be sufficient, except for "two or three items" which he would bring before the Board.

Police Chief William Fawver, has been quoted as refusing to reveal if any special plans have been made by his 172-man police force, lest "we tip our hands."

School Board Chairman James G. Stockard, says that officially the board is unprepared. "We have done absolutely no planning since about two years ago."

Newspaper: Northern-Virginia Sun, edited and published by C. C. Carlin, Jr. Pro-law and order and compliance, hopes to see the schools kept open.

SECTION VI

Private Action on The Schools Issue

Opinion in Arlington upon the schools issue is sharply divided, and a large number of civic groups have taken a stand upon the matter.

1958 April

In April sides over the school issue began to be formed. In his pulpit the Rev. Ross Alan Weston of the Unitarian Church of Arlington was denouncing segregationists, while the 10th District Fundamental Education Organization of the Commonwealth of Virginia was organizing itself under the leadership of Jack Rathbone. After the refusal of the Supreme Court to review Judge Bryan's decision in May, a rival organization, The Committee to Preserve the Public Schools in Arlington was formed at a meeting attended by some 600 or 700 residents. The Rathbone group has set about creating a school system, while the latter group, bolstered by a membership of over 1,000 with the support of the county Board and most of the civic organizations in Arlington, has held a meeting with the Governor (July 9th) and has announced that its legal committee is at the disposal of anyone wishing to bring a suit to keep open the public schools.

June

Two polls have been held among the parents of the white Stratford Junior High School, the school to which the largest (eleven) number of Negroes has applied. The first was made by the Northern Virginia Sun and asked 391 members of the school's PTA by mail whether they "favored" keeping the schools open, even if it should mean "some measure of integration." Over one-half of those polled replied, 154 saying "yes" and 40 "no."

Dissatisfied with the results of this poll, Jack Rathbone took another and announced on July 9th that according to his poll, in which 650 parents were interviewed and asked if they preferred segregated or integrated schools, 456 were in favor of segregation, 139 for integration, and 55 declined comment.

The conclusion appears to be that the parents of Stratford Junior High prefer segregation to integration, and an operative, public school to either.

Tenth District Fundamental Education Organization of the Commonwealth of Virginia, formed April 1958; acting secretary Jack Rathbone, executive secretary of the Arlington chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. The purpose of the organization as it has declared it is:

> To set up and create an effective standby organization ready to take over at a moment's notice the continued education of our children should persistent, evil forces foreign to our commonwealth, abetted by badges and bayonets of federal bureaucrats, place one Negro pupil in one white school or one white pupil in a Negro school anywhere in the 10th district.

The Fundamentalists set about collecting pledges, arranging for buildings and teachers and collecting child volunteers to enroll in Negro schools on an eye-for-an-eye basis as Negro children enroll in white schools. The enrollment of a white child in a Negro school would of course close it.

The Fundamentalists sought unsuccessfully to postpone the school board's referendum on the $3½ million bond issue which was held in May, 1958, and, again unsuccessfully, opposed a proposed

transfer of seven hundred students to prevent over-crowding in some schools.

By June the Fundamentalists had collected $15,000 in pledges and said that they hoped to have sufficient buildings by September. A model "Grammer (sic.) and Academic High School" at 2043 Wilson Boulevard, was scheduled to open on July 21st to show what the commission could do, but the opening was delayed on account of the organization's failure to comply with zoning laws.

Arlington chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Executive Secretary - Jack Rathbone.

Arlington Citizens Council, a group independent of other Southern White Citizens' Councils.

The Committee to Preserve the Public Schools in Arlington, formed June 1958. President--O. Glenn Stahl--a former president of the school board.

The Committee was formed in June at a meeting attended by 600 or 700 residents and headed by Warren Cox, a former member of the school board. The Committee emphasizes that it is not concerned with the integration issue, but only with keeping open the public schools; it now has over 1,000 members. Representatives of the Committee met with Governor Almond on July 9th, and said after the meeting that the group is not prepared to institute action to keep the state from closing the schools, or to regain control of them if they were closed, but that the group's legal committee was ready to assist any individual plaintiff who might seek to bring a court action.

Groups supporting the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools or supporting desegregation:

The County Board of Supervisors

Arlington Civic Federation (representing 37 citizen groups)

Twenty-six (out of 39) of the white P.T.A.'s

Arlington Citizens Committee for School Improvement

Council of the Arlington Parent Teachers Association (which has also established a committee to study ways of keeping the schools open)

Arlington League of Women Voters

*Arlington Council of United Church Women

*The Democratic Executive Committee

*The Republican Executive Committee

*The Community Council for Social Progress

*In favor of integration, October 1957.

The Arlington Citizens Committee for School Improvement, Vice Chairman, Mrs. Howard M. Lehman, said in April that it:

> Views with deep concern the attempt by a small group to undermine the public schools by encouraging the development of a private school system in Northern Virginia. We would not deny any parent the right to support a private school for his child if he so desires, but we would urge the parents who believe in public schools to join with us in working for the best possible education for our children.

It also has announced its support of the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools.

Church groups

The attitude of church groups is important in the integration dispute, not only because of their positions in relation to the

consciences of the congregations, but also because, in the Sunday schools, they have the best, and often only considerable, group of buildings in which private schools might be operated.

The Arlington Council of Churches, a representative body of churchmen and ministers, has opposed the use of church facilities "as a substitute for the continuation of the public school system," but the decision is not binding on individual congregations. It is felt that most clergymen agree with the attitude of the council, but that the congregations may be split on the issue.

Twenty-eight clergymen of ten Protestant denominations have announced that they will oppose any applications to use church buildings as a means of circumventing the Supreme Court's decision.

Unitarian Church of Arlington

The Unitarian Church of Arlington has been frequently in the news on the integration issue. The Rev. Ross Alan Weston, who once compared the "Byrd democrats" to the "brutes of pre-historic times," and who denounced the committee on Law Reform when it met in Arlington, devoted one sermon in April, 1958 to a criticism of the Defenders. In response that organization distributed several thousand copies of a reprint of an editorial from the Richmond News Leader attacking Weston. Appended to the editorial was a reminder that horse-whipping has not yet been out-lawed in Virginia. The reminder has not as yet been heeded.

The Unitarian church came again into the newspapers when one of its members, Mrs. Robert A. Eldridge, Jr., a Negro parent of one of the children applying for admission to a white school,

refused to leave her white friends at a church picnic in Bon Air Park. She was arrested for disorderly conduct, but the charge was dismissed by Judge Bryan.

Personalities

Stone, Mrs. Kathryn, delegate from Arlington to the Assembly, a persistent opponent of the policies of the State Government. Mrs. Stone was one of four to vote against the "Little Rock" bill in the spring of 1958. She is a member of the House General Laws Committee and coordinator for the Society for the Preservation of the Public Schools.

Rathbone, Jack, executive secretary of Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, Arlington Chapter. Acting secretary of 10th District Fundamental Education Organization.

Weston, Rev. Ross Alan, rector the Unitarian Church of Arlington.

Fenwick, Charles R., State Senator from Arlington. Has stated that, "presumably it is just as unconstitutional to require enforced integration as enforced segregation." He recently suggested to the Committee to Preserve Public Schools that the "simplest" way to keep schools open was to persuade the Negroes not to apply for admission.

Franz, Richard L., President of the Arlington County Council of P.T.A.'s.

Lightsey, William M., Immediate past president of the council of P.T.A.'s, was instrumental in organizing the Committee to Preserve Public Schools.

Stahl, O. Glenn, former president of the School Board, Chairman of the Committee to Preserve the Public Schools in Arlington.

CHARLOTTESVILLE
(VIRGINIA)

In Charlottesville, by August 1st thirty-four Negro children had applied for admission to four of the town's six white schools. Here, at the home of Mr. Jefferson's University, will occur one of the climatic tests of the Virginia policy of "massive resistance."

Desegregation was ordered by Judge John Paul of the U. S. District Court in July, 1956. Implementation has been delayed by a succession of appeals. These are perhaps not yet finished. Bereft by Judge Paul's decision of the protection of the Placement Act of 1956, the local school board has devised its own assignment plan. The series of examinations set up by that plan has been boycotted by the Negro children, whose parents, on July 28, 1958, requested the court to invalidate the entire procedure. On August 11, 1958, Judge Paul upheld the Placement Plan of the school board.

If final obstacles are cleared, and the children enroll for Fall classes, then the school system of Charlottesville will be exposed to the enforcement of Virginia's second-line defense of segregation laws, including the possibility of school closings and withdrawal of state financial aid.

Monticello overlooks the town and the University, which has helped supply leaders to all sides of the segregation dispute. Dr. Colgate W. Darden, the retiring President of the University, whose views are of more than local importance, has been a principal spokesman for Virginia's moderates. Two other University figures are Professor E. J. Oglesby and Dr. David Wilson, M.D., leaders in the segregationist and integrationist factions respectively.

In 1956 two members of the School of Education, Dr. B. J. Chandler and Dr. Douglas S. Ward, sprang temporarily into prominence when they published a plan for solving the school question. They were also critical of the state for dropping the local option procedure suggested by the Gray Commission. Both resigned from the University shortly afterwards, however, and have left the district.

The University itself has been partly integrated since 1950; there were seventeen full-time Negro students among a total student population of some nine and a half thousand last year, and feeling among the students seems to be more tolerant than in the community. Last summer a Negro student and his family were assigned to Copeley Hill, a graduate residential unit at the University, and a poll found the majority of residents to be not unfavorable to such an assignment.

The presence of the University is Charlottesville's greatest distinction. There is some industry in the town, but of the thirty or so manufacturing plants only three - a silk mill and two woolen mills- are of any size. Textiles was the area of manufacture employing the largest number of people in 1950: 686 whites and Negroes.

The Southern and Chesapeake and Ohio railroads also provide employment. Among the Negroes, domestic service for the women (511 employed) and non-domestic service workers for the men (588 employed) were the largest employment categories.

The segregation issue has not so far caused much disturbance in Charlottesville; a few crosses were burned during 1956 after the court ordered desegregation, an attempt to break up an inter-racial meeting was made by racist John Kasper during the same year, but apart from this there has been little trouble. The attitude of the city government seems to be in favor of segregation, with the school board more emphatic on the issue than the city council, which is reportedly in favor of holding a referendum to determine the attitude of the citizens. There is no machinery to enable such a course to be taken and the suggestion was dropped, but three of the five councilmen were reported to have said that the people would prefer integration to the long-term closing of the schools.

The schools whose fate sits at present in the balance are, as is usual in a University town, good, and Charlottesville children rate higher than the national average on achievement tests. The two Negro schools, Jefferson Elementary and Jackson P. Burley High School,* are in the center of the Negro district; only one white school, Venable, serving a high income-district and much of the University population, is situated close to a Negro residential district. The other white schools are Lane High School, and McGuffey, Johnson, Clark, and Burnley-Moran elementary schools.

*operated jointly with Albermarle County.

POPULATION and INCOMES IN CHARLOTTESVILLE

	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL	NON-WHITE AS % of TOTAL
Population 1950 Census	21,249	4,720	25,969	18%
1956 Estimate	24,616	5,359	29,975	18%
% Increase	15.8	13.5	15.4	
Public School Population 1956	3583	1038	4619	22.5%
Elementary	2586	776	3362	23.1%
High School	997	260	1257	20.8%
Income, 1949 Median for Families and non-related individuals		$1,303	$2,169	60.1%

THE LEGAL BATTLE IN CHARLOTTESVILLE

Charlottesville was not directly involved in an integration

1955 Oct. suit until October, 1955, when the NAACP filed a petition with the school board asking for an end to racial segregation in the schools in the name of forty-three children from the two Negro schools in the city.

Oct. 13th The school board replied quickly:

> It was not the intent of the Supreme Court's decision of May, 1954, and subsequent decree of May 31, 1955, to disrupt a system of public education. Therefore, the problem confronting the board is to find a solution which will conform to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law and be acceptable to parents and taxpayers who use and support the public schools.

1956 May But the school board did nothing for the next seven months, until a suit was filed in federal court in May, 1956. The board then asked that the suit be dismissed on the grounds that it (the board)

June was an agency of the State of Virginia which had not given its consent to be sued, and that present policy did not deny equal opportunity to the Negro children.

July 12th Federal District Judge John Paul, highly critical of the state's "deliberate and well-conceived ... policy of delay", ordered the city to make plans for desegregation of the schools in September, 1956.

Aug.27th As was expected, his order was appealed in August and the Judge granted a stay to allow the appeal.

Oct. Dec. 1956 Briefs were filed before the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in October and the case came up in December. The case, Allen v.School Board of Charlottesville , was heard together with Thompson v.School Board of Arlington by Judge Parker, Sobeloff, and Soper, who gave judgment on December 31, unaminously affirming the

the lower court's order:

> A suit for such relief is not a suit against the state within the meaning of the 11th amendment to the Constitution, but is a suit for the protection of individual rights under the Constitution by enjoining state officers and agencies from taking action beyond the scope of their legal powers...
>
> In view of the announced policy of the respective school boards any such application to a school other than a segregated school maintained for colored people would have been futile...

1957 January 15th — Nevertheless, a second stay was granted to allow for an appeal to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, in March 1957, refused to review the order.

March 25th

1957 July — When the plaintiffs went back to Judge Paul to ask for an implementation of his order of the previous year, the situation had been changed by the passage in 1956, of the Placement Act. The local school board was no longer responsible for the assignment of pupils to the schools, which had become the function of the State Placement Board. The school board therefore argued that all pupils were required to proceed via the Placement Board and that the children in the case had not done so.

The Placement Act, however, had already been judged unconstitutional insofar as it applied to Negroes in Newport News and Norfolk cases and an appeal was at that time pending in the Supreme Court. Judge Paul therefore ordered that his 1956 injunction become effective at the beginning of the semester following a decision by the Supreme Court of these other cases.

1957 July 26th

October — In October, the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal.

1958 May 13th — No Negro children, however, applied for admission at the beginning of the 1957-58 second semester, and the battle hung fire until May of this year.

In May, Judge Paul, in conference with the attorneys in the case, said schools must desegregate in September; a few days later applications for admission to three white schools were mailed to the school superintendent, Fendall R. Ellis, on behalf of 26 children, 22 of whom were among the 44 of the original suit.

July On July 28, attorneys for the Negro children asked the District Court to invalidate the Pupil Assignment Plan instituted by the Charlottesville school board, and already boycotted by the Aug. Negro applicants for school transfers. Judge Paul upheld the board's assignment plan in a decision on August 11, 1958.

ACTION ON THE PART OF THE SCHOOL BOARD

The school board has been placed in an awkward dilemma. If it does not desegregate its members will find themselves in contempt of court; it it does, the schools may be closed by the Governor.

July 1958 Upon the advice of city attorney, John S. Battle, Jr., the board announced on July 16th that they planned to hold a series of achievement tests on July 21-22, for children who had applied for entrance to a school attended by students of another race. These tests were to be followed by personal interviews on July 28-29, and the children would also have to satisfy a residence requirement. At July 16th the same time as the tests were announced, the school board revised the school district boundaries. As was stated in the introduction, the Negroes in Charlottesville live mainly in an area in the center of the city around Jefferson Elementary School, with another small community living just behind the white Venable Elementary School.

The revision of the board was to create a sixth school district in order, it hoped, to rid itself of fifteen of the Negro applicants to white elementary schools. The new school districts apply only to children seeking enrollment in a school occupied by members of the other race.

The school board's tests for the Negro children applying for entry to white schools were boycotted by the children on July 21st and 22nd. Oliver W. Hill, NAACP attorney who has been appearing for the children, told the Washington Post:

July 22nd

> ... It appeared to us the tests were discriminatory and merely an effort to evade the Court's order. For that reason, we determined not to take the tests at this time, but to take up the matter with the Courts.

PRIVATE ACTION ON THE INTEGRATION ISSUE

Following Judge Paul's order of July 1956 directing desegregation, nearly 100 people came to an executive committee meeting of the Charlottesville branch of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties which has everywhere been active against integration in the schools. The stays of his order granted by Judge Paul obviated the necessity of any action by private groups to set up private schools, but segregationist were active in the area for the rest of the year.

In August, John Kasper, executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens' Council, addressed a meeting in the city. Later he had three others were arrested for soliciting members for an organization without a permit. On August 23, Kasper several times interrupted a meeting called to organize a Charlottesville Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in the Westminister Presbyterian Church. A cross was burned outside the church while the meeting was in progress.

Opinion in Charlottesville, however, as elsewhere in Virginia, was hostile to the type of resistance advocated by Kasper, and the City Council a few days later passed a resolution of opposition:

> ... to the activities of any individual or group of individuals which are designed to incite the emotions and prejudicies of the citizens of Charlottesville on questions related to the issues of racial segregation or integration.

A second pro-segregation rally was held in September and addressed by Asa Carter of the Alabama White Citizens' Council; a Charlottesville branch of the Seaboard White Citizens' Council was formed subsequent to the meeting.

In December 1956, another cross - the fourth to be burned since mid-August - was burned outside the house of Dr. Frank D. Daniel, finance chairman to the Charlottesville Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Other crosses burned during the fall had been before homes of officers in this organization.

1957 was a quiet year in Charlottesville, all activity being concentrated on the legal front.

After Judge Paul's announcement in May 1958 that he expected desegregation in the fall, the opponents of integration became more active. An organization to run private schools in the event of the public schools' closing was formed during early July, and incorporated during the course of that month as the Charlottesville Educational Foundation.

One of the Foundation's original three temporary directors, D. B. Marshall, stressed that the organization's purpose "is to provide educational opportunities - not to debate the segregation issue." However, the specimen articles of incorporation were prepared by the Co-ordinating Committee to Maintain Efficient Education in Virginia, and submitted to a group of thirty-eight parents representing each of the city's white public schools, by E. J. Oglesby, president of the Charlottesville-Albermarle Chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Mr. Oglesby, a mathematics professor at the University of Virginia, vice-chairman of the Albermarle County School Board and member of the Coordinating Committee referred to above, is probably the most articulate and emphatic of the opponents of desegregation. His most succinct observation on the school issue was perhaps made in August of last year when he said, "To say that the decision of the Supreme Court is the law of the land and we've got to obey it is pure bunk."

Another leader on the segregation side is State Senator Edward O. McCue, who has recently been discussing the possibility of the churches' allowing the use of their Sunday-School buildings for private schools. The clergymen themselves declared at a meeting of the Charlottesville and Albermarle Ministerial Association on July 15 that they were opposed to the use of church property for private schools. A survey of 17 churches published by the Charlottesville Daily Progress on July 18 indicates, however, that although a majority of the clergymen of all the major denominations were opposed to the use of the churches, the ministers of the local Church of God, the Christian

Science Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Christian Church, (First and Market Streets) and the Monticello Pilgrim Church favored the use of their churches should the public schools be closed.

Senator McCue has suggested that the congregations, to whom he is appealing will be readier to allow use of Sunday schools than are the ministers.

Opinion among the white people of Charlottesville seems to be opposed to integration, but also opposed to the closing of the public schools. Two surveys have been recently made among the parents of Venable school, the school to which the largest number of Negro pupils - 14 - have applied. The results are summarized below.

POLL OF VENABLE PARENTS BY VENABLE P. T. A.

Early June 1958 . Respondents not asked to sign replies.

	NUMBER	%
Parents polled	459	100
Parents preferring measure of integration	177	38.6%
Parents not replying or replying without indicating preference	154	33.5%
Parents preferring closed Venable School	128	27.9%

2nd Poll of Venable Parents, Conducted by Independent Parents' Group -June 27,'58

	NUMBER	%
Parents polled	446	100
Parents not replying or disqualified	245	55%
Parents preferring integrated schools	14	3%
Parents preferring segregated schools	187	42%
This group was further asked to check one of the following preferences:		
Prefer child to attend integrated Public School in the event of Integration	22	5%
Prefer segregated private school in the event of public school integration	171	38%
No reply	8	2%

CHARLOTTESVILLE ORGANIZATIONS & PERSONALITIES

CITY OFFICIALS:-

Mayor - R. M. Davis

Police Chief - J. E. Adams

City Attorney - John S. Battle, Jr.
City Attorney and Counsel to the Charlottesville School Board

SCHOOL OFFICIALS:-

School Superintendent - Fendall R. Ellis

Director of Instruction for City Schools:

Dr. Artley O. Hutton

SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS:-

Chairman -	R. Stanley Goodman	- banker
Vice Chairman -	Harry A. Wright	- business man
	J. H. Michael, Jr.	- attorney
	Dr. J. G. Wall	- dentist
	P. A. Wallenborn	- business man
	Earl Thacker	- accountant
	Roscoe Adams	- business man

COMMITTEE TO TEST NEGRO CHILDREN SEEKING TRANSFERS:

Chairman - F. R. Ellis (Superintendent of public schools)

J. E. Reitz (Science teacher Lane High School)

Lillian Butt (History teacher Lane High School)

Dr. Mott Robertson (Principal, Venable School)

Edith Smith (Visiting teacher)

SCHOOLS, WHITE

		Number of Applicants from Negro Students, 8/1/58:
Lane High School	.....	13
McGuffey Elementary	.....	6
Burnley-Moran Elementary	...	0
Johnson Elementary	.....	1
Clark Elementary	.....	0
Venable Elementary	.....	14

SCHOOLS, NEGRO

Jefferson Elementary .....

Jackson-Burley High School (operated jointly with Albermarle County)

VENABLE SCHOOL

Principal: Dr. Mott Robinson, also member of Committee giving achievement test to the children

President of P. T. A.: Mrs. Lester A. Wilson, Jr.

Leader of splinter group holding second poll of Venable parents: Mrs. H. M. Burrows, Jr.

NEWSPAPER

Charlottesville Daily Progress

Publisher: C. E. Lindsay

Editorial Writer: C. R. Babcock

Prosegregation editorially, objective in news columns

ORGANIZED GROUPS-

Anti-segregation

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,

Charlottesville Branch -

President: George R. Ferguson

Attorney appearing for the school children:

Oliver W. Hill, of the Virginia Chapter lives in Richmond

Virginia Council on Human Relations: Charlottesville Chapter -

President - Mrs. B. A. Makielski, succeeded Mrs. Morris Brown , Summer, 1958.

Pro-segregation

Defenders of State Sovereignty & Individual Liberties,

Charlottesville Chapter:

President - E. J. Oglesby

MEMBERS OF GROUP SEEKING TO INCORPORATE A PRIVATE SCHOOL SYSTEM:

D. B. Marshall	... (Venable)
John L. Sauder	... (Lane)
Mrs. Harry W. Wheeler	... (McGuffey)
J. Edwin Travis	... (Burnley-Moran)
Alpha J. Miller, Jr.	... (Johnson)
J. Butler Yowell	... (Clark)

Schools in parenthesis are schools which their children attend.

CHURCHES

Charlottesville and Albermarle Ministerial Association

President: Rev. C. Warner Crum

CLERGYMEN AGAINST USE OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS AS PRIVATE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO A POLL CONDUCTED BY THE CHARLOTTESVILLE DAILY PROGRESS

First Baptist Church (Dr. H. Cowen Ellis)

Westminister Presbyterian Church (Rev. Jan W. Owen)

Immanuel Lutheran Church (Rev. Robert G. Schoenheider)

Belmont Baptist Church (Dr. C. S. Paschall)

First Presbyterian Church (J. L. Lancaster, Acting Moderator)

Wesley Memorial Methodist Church (Dr. C. Warner Crum)

Holy Comforter Catholic Church (Very Rev. J.Bernard Moore)

First Methodist Church (Dr. John H. Davidson)

Thomas Jefferson Memorial Unitarian Church - (Rev. Henry H. Cheetham)

Christian and Missionary Alliance Church - (Rev. John Kozy)

St. Marks' Lutheran Church (Rev. John F. Byerly,Jr.)

CLERGYMEN UNCOMMITTED ON ISSUE:

Christ Episcopal Church (Rev. H. A. Donovan)

CLERGYMEN FOR USE OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS AS PRIVATE SCHOOLS:

Church of God (Rev. Jonah G. Perry)

Christian Science Church (Mrs. Eleanor Shaw, Practitioner)

Greek Orthodox Church (Rev. Demetrius Heliopoulos)

Charlottesville Christian Church (Rev. Lowell Jackson)

Monticello Pilgrim Church (Rev. G. W. Puffenbarger)

PEOPLE OF IMPORTANCE NOT INCLUDED ABOVE:

John S. Battle, Sr., former governor, resigned position of counsel to the school board after his appointment to the Federal Civil Rights Commission, November, 1957.

BOYLE, Mrs. Sarah Patton
Wife of professor at University of Virginia, author of article "Southerners Will Like Integration" in Saturday Evening Post, 1955. Leading Integrationist.

DARDEN, Colgate W.

President of the University of Virginia, resignation recently announced, former governor, in favor of local option on schools issue.

McCUE, State Senator Edward

Segregationist

HILL, William R., Charlottesville's representative in the Virginia House of Delegates; stated in July, 1958 that he favors local option, an approach which will .... "preserve our system of free public education."

MORAN, Charles E., Director University of Virginia Press
"Negroes never will be full-sized citizens until they have actual equal opportunities".

OGLESBY, E. J., Professor of Mathematics, University of Virginia, president, Charlottesville-Albermarle Chapter: Defenders of State Sovereignty & Individual Liberties; Vice chairman: Albermarle County School Board; member Co-ordinating Committee to Maintain Efficient Education in Virginia.

NORFOLK

One hundred and fifty-one Negro children have applied for admission to white schools in Norfolk when the fall term begins on September 8th. This large number suggests that the technique of declaring children ineligible on grounds other than race would stand little chance of success in Norfolk. It would uncomfortably stretch the credulity of a federal judge to contend that, among 151 students, there is not one who is assignable to a white school. On July 28, 1958, however, legal action was begun in federal court, asking that the local pupil assignment plan be declared invalid, and nearly half the 151 - following the example set in Charlottesville - boycotted the placement tests which were the preliminary step in Norfolk's newly created pupil assignment plan.

The attitude of the school board is more flexible than that of the State Government; the Board has announced that the federal court order "will be obeyed and appears to face the future with a certain resignation.

Norfolk itself is a city of 291,896 inhabitants (1956 estimate) of whom 73,787, or roughly a quarter, are Negroes. It has a median income of $2,018 (families and unrelated individuals, 1949) for all its inhabitants and of $1,398 among its Negroes. These figures are higher than for Virginia as a whole. The median schooling is ten years plus; for Negro residents alone it is seven years. This is, for Virginia, a high educational level.

The great industry of the Norfolk-Portsmouth area is the naval yards; nearly 28,000 men and 7500 women were, at the last census, employed as "Government workers." This was roughly a quarter of all employed workers. Among the Negroes 7720 men and 1675 women were "Government workers." The largest occupational classification for Negro men was still that of "laborers" (10,156 out of 28,926 employed); and for women was "private household workers" (7346 out of 16,671 employed).

It was estimated that 9,328 Negroes in Norfolk were registered voters in 1956 (out of residents of voting age numbering 42,028 in 1950). City transportation facilities have been desegregated since April, 1956, when the Virginia Transit Company dropped the segregated seating policy in Norfolk.

Recent incidents of friction between whites and Negroes in the Titustown area of the city have resulted in the creation of a 2-man (Negro) police squad to patrol the area at night. The Titustown Civic League complained that some white citizens were harassing Titustown residents, and that police previously patrolling the area were "abusive."

Earlier this year there were racial incidents in which a group of young servicemen were beaten up and several cars were stoned.

THE LEGAL BATTLE IN NORFOLK

1955 Nov. The NAACP filed a petition with the School Board in November 1955 asking for the schools to be "placed on a non-discriminatory basis." At about the same time similar petitions were made in Arlington, Charlottesville, Newport News and Prince Edward County. In the Norfolk case the board replied that it was

awaiting orders from the State Board of Education, and there

1956 May — the matter rested until May of the following year, when school and city officials, together with Newport News, asked for a special session of the Assembly to deal with the problem of segregation. The Assembly, however, did not meet until autumn, when the new policy of the State Government had been formulated.

June — Meanwhile the case of Leola Pearl Beckett et al v. School Board of City of Norfolk et al was filed, and the school board asked the courts to dismiss the suit on the grounds that the State of Virginia, whose agent the board was, had not given its consent to be sued and that its present policy did not deny equal opportunities to Negro children.

October — In October the passage of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the General Assembly gave the defendants an additional argument: they asked dismissal of the case on the grounds that the Placement Act provided an adequate administrative remedy for the children.

1957 January — Judge Walter E. Hoffman of the Federal District Court ruled upon the Norfolk case and upon the case of Atkins v. School Board of Newport News in January.

He dismissed the arguments of the School Board, declaring that the Placement Act was "unconstitutional on its face." Subsequently he ordered a plan of desegregation completed by August 15, 1957, to be effective in September. The decision was very important for Virginia, since the Placement Act was the state's first line of defense in its policy of massive resistance; appeals quickly followed. The case came before the Court of Appeals of

May — the Fourth Circuit in May, and in June the court refused to review

Judge Hoffman's ruling. A stay was granted to allow an appeal

June to the Supreme Court. In September, Judge Hoffman granted a temporary injunction at the request of several Negro parents

Sept. restraining enforcement of the Placement Act in Norfolk, Suffolk and Nansemond County. He said that to refuse to grant the injunction would be to reverse his previous holding that the act was invalid.

Oct. The Supreme Court's refusal to grant a writ of certiorari was of the greatest importance both locally and state-wide. The NAACP immediately announced that it would seek an order to desegregate the Norfolk schools in February, 1958. Action on the Charlottesville case had been suspended by Judge John Paul until the Supreme Court had decided upon the Norfolk and Newport News cases. The measure of the State Government's concern was shown by the fact that the Placement Act was forthwith amended when the General Assembly met in January in order, it was hoped, to enable it to be sustained in the courts. The amended act has not yet been tested in the federal courts.

1958 June On June 7th, a motion for September desegregation was heard by Judge Hoffman, and it was agreed that the desegregation order of February 1957 was still in force, and would be effective in September.

July On July 28, Judge Hoffman was asked by Negro petitioners to rule invalid the Pupil Assignment Plan of Norfolk, described in the next section.

EDUCATION IN NORFOLK

An enrollment of 45, 930 children is expected in Norfolk's schools when they open on September 8th. The anticipated breakdown between levels is:

Elementary	- 28,488
Junior High	- 10,930
High School	- 6,512

There are fifteen non-sectarian private schools in the city, with an enrollment last year of 1,307 pupils. It is thought that there is room in these schools for possibly 650 additional children. A charter is being sought by a group seeking to establish other private schools in the event of the public schools being closed by the Governor under the segregation laws.

There is a probability that this will happen. Negro children at the moment compromise some thirty-one per cent of the pupil enrollment, and 151 of them applied for admission to white schools before the deadline for application for transfer, July 25th. Nine of the city's 54 schools are involved. They are:

Maury, Norview, and Granby High Schools

Blair, Northside, and Norview Junior High Schools

Meadowbrook, Surburban Park, and Norview Elementary Schools

All the white secondary schools in the city are involved.

The School Board on July 18, 1958, announced details of its Pupil Assignment Plan. The criteria set by the board, and now challenged in court, are as follows:

The assignment shall:

(1) Not endanger the health or safety of the child assigned to or the children already enrolled in the school;

(2) Not interfere with the proper administration of the school;

(3) Not interfere with proper instruction of pupils already enrolled in the school;

(4) Be made after consideration of the applicant's academic achievement and the academic achievement of the pupils already within the school to which he is applying;

(5) Be made with consideration for the residence of the applicant;

(6) Consider the physical and moral fitness of the applicant and their relation to the general health and welfare of the pupils already enrolled in the school;

(7) Consider the mental ability of the applicant seeking enrollment;

(8) Take into consideration the social adaptability of the applicant seeking enrollment;

(9) Take into consideration the expected emotional and social adjustment of the pupil to the school to which he is assigned;

(10) Take into consideration the cultural background of the applicant and that of the pupils already enrolled in the schools.

The board also said that the assignment must not "unnecessarily burden any class or class room or any entire school by the assignment thereto of more than a proper and workable proportion of the total number of students in the public schools ..."

(Many schools in the city are already operating at capacity level.)

The assignment plan has not yet been put to use, and it remains to be seen how many, if any, Negro students will pass its meshes. The board's plan calls for a series of tests, followed by interviews conducted by one or more committees of five persons each, drawn from the schools and appointed by the school superintendent, J. J. Brewbaker.

Over one-half of the 151 students seeking admission to white schools have taken the tests and a number of these have been interviewed, although it appeared the tests and interviews would be boycotted by those remaining.

According to Mr. Brewbaker there is no plan for the redrawing of school districts, or for the assignment of pupils to schools outside their district, as has occurred in Charlottesville.

The School Board has declared that it will obey the court order, even though this may involve closing the schools. After the meeting on July 17th at which details of the assignment plan were agreed upon, the board said, in a published statement:

> The Norfolk school system is in a precarious predicament. By federal court order, which will be obeyed, we may have to admit colored children to our white schools. If this comes to pass those schools are closed by state law ... how long they would remain closed we have no way of knowing ...

The school superintendent has also said that the authorities intend that whatever they do will meet the court tests, since "it would be useless to try to place a child in a way which didn't meet the court test."

PRIVATE ACTION ON THE SCHOOLS ISSUE

The white citizens of Norfolk appear to be fairly united in their desire for segregated schools, though there have not as yet been any racial incidents in Norfolk over the question - except for the hanging of a Negro in effigy from the flag pole of Norview High School in the spring of this year.

In August of 1956, after the opening of the NAACP's suit and at the time of the extra -session of the General Assembly called to act upon the anti-segregation issue, a group of citizens from the Norfolk-Portsmouth area presented the then governor, Thomas B. Stanley, with a petition asking him and the General Assembly "to do whatever is necessary to prevent mixed schools anywhere in Virginia." The petition bore thirty-thousand signatures, and a spokesman said that only 2% of those asked to sign had refused to do so.

On the other hand, the six delegates from Norfolk voted solidly in the General Assembly against the cutting-off of funds to integrated schools. The fact that they were all re-elected to the General Assembly of 1958, in spite of the opposition of three pro-resistance candidates, suggests that Norfolk, though favoring segregation, may be less convinced of the virtues of "massive resistance" than the impressive number of signatures to the petition would lead one to believe.

ORGANIZATION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Application to the State Corporations Commission for a charter for an educational foundation (Tidewater Educational Foundation) to help meet the emergency created by the desegregation decisions and the probable closing of some of all of Norfolk's public schools, was made on June 25, 1958. The group seeking incorporation includes W. I. McKendree, president of the city council of PTA's, a member of the Co-ordinating Committee to Maintain Efficient Education in Virginia and a member of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Two attorneys, one teacher, and a past president of the city council of P. T. A's complete the list. The incorporators have announced that, should the schools be closed, they will ask the school board to grant leaves of absence to its teachers so that they can be employed by the foundation. Should the governor find that he is unable to re-open the schools on a segregated basis, the foundation will ask him to authorize the city to issue a temporary use permit, or to lend, lease or sell the school to the foundation (whether the governor would be able to do this is very doubtful, since he himself has said that in his view the decision of the court in the Seashore State Park case would prevent his doing so).

Besides the funds which would become available to the foundation in the form of tuition grants, the foundation also plans to solicit funds from business establishments, organizations and individuals, and from the Norfolk Community Fund.

ORGANIZATIONS & PERSONALITIES IN NORFOLK

City

City Manager: Thomas F. Maxwell

Police Chief: Harold Anderson

City Attorney: Leonard H. Davis

Schools

School Board

Chairman: Paul Schweitzer

School Superintendent: J. J. Brewbaker

Attorney for the School Board

- Leigh D. Williams

Newspapers - Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch

Va. Journal & Guide - P. B. Young, Edt. & Pub.

Virginian Pilot

ORGANIZATIONS IN NORFOLK

Anti-segregation

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Attorneys from the NAACP have conducted the Norfolk case throughout. The organization also has been the target of state legislative and investigative harassment. In August, 1957, two NAACP attorneys, Victor J. Ashe and J. Hugo Madison, invoked the fifth amendment rather than testify before the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities as to who had paid the court costs and attorney's fees in the Norfolk case, and as to whether a meeting of witnesses subpoenaed before the committee had been held the previous night. They later decided to appear before the

Committee providing they were granted counsel.

WOMEN'S INTERRACIAL COUNCIL

PRO-SEGREGATION

Co-ordinating Committee to Maintain Efficient Education in Virginia

Chairman - L. S. Pendleton

The following members of the committee live in Norfolk:

William I. McKendree

Charles Jennings

Harvey White

Coleman H. Coley

F. R. Ford

Defenders of State Sovereignty & Individual Liberties

Tidewater Education Foundation

President: James G. Martin, IV

Members of group active in organizing Tidewater Educational Foundation

James G. Martin ,IV , attorney

William M. Guerry , attorney

Hal S. Bonney, history teacher at Norview High School

Kathleen S. Griffin, Immediate past president of the City Council of P. T. A.'s.

William I. McKendree

PERSONALITIES

BREWER, Rev. James , Unitarian minister

Submitted motion to the Virginia Council of Unitarian Churches and Fellowships, April 1958, urging the General Assembly to repeal the school segregation laws in favor of local option. The resolution was passed.

DAWLEY, Edward A., Stood for election as (Independent) delegate to the House of Assembly, 1957. Mr. Dawley, who is a Negro, was defeated.

JORDON, Joseph A., Norfolk attorney

Attempted to get an injunction to prevent the referendum of January 9, 1956, on the grounds that the proposed constitutional change was illegal, because it was a plan to maintain segregated schools, contrary to the Supreme Court's ruling.

KING , H. Rives, Presbyterian minister, elected Presbytery representative to the Council of the Synod, July 1958.

The Council of the Synod is against the closing of the Public Schools.

McKENDREE, William I., business man

President of the City Council of P. T. A.'s, member Co-ordinating Committee for the Maintenance of Efficient Education in Virginia; the Defenders of State Sovereignty & Individual Liberties, and the charter group seeking to incorporate private schools.

SUMMERS, Councilman Ezra T., proposed that all white, all Negro, and integrated public schools be provided the choice for each child to be made by his parents.

NEWPORT NEWS

Newport News has, like Norfolk, been ordered to effect desegregation plans when its schools open in September. Three Negro children have applied for admission to white schools in the town. The situation is somewhat complicated by the consolidation on July 1, 1958, of the city with the adjoining area of Warwick. The consolidation has caused the population to jump from 45,000 to 120,000 and the proportions of Negroes in the total to fall from 45% to about 35%. The consolidation has created a new city, a new government, a new school system and new school officials. It is certain that the school board intends to argue that the consolidation is a cause for delay of the desegregation order.

The old Newport News is an industrial city with a large Negro population. The Warwick area is suburban, composed of residential and farm property, with a lower percentage of Negroes in its population and higher income and educational levels. The median number of school years completed among the population of the old Newport News was in 1950 only 8.5 for males and 9.2 for females, while in Warwick it was higher, the male median being 10.0 and the female median 10.8. Similarly, the median income in Newport News for families and unrelated individuals was $2,290, and $1,469 for Negroes, while in Warwick it was $2,372 and $1,717 for Negroes. The high proportion of Negroes in the city of Newport News--22,423 out of an estimated 1956 population of 44,778--was a strong inducement for consolidation, since it was felt that so high a proportion of Negroes was a threat to white control of the city council.

However, in Newport News in 1956 only 3,341 Negroes were registered to vote (out of a potential of 11,754 over 21 even in 1950). Seven thousand nine hundred thirty-nine whites were registered. The increase in population caused by the addition of Warwick will bring to voter registration lists only 868 Negroes and 8,152 whites (1956 estimates). Unless there has been a startling increase in Negro registration since 1956, the decrease in the voting strength of Negro residents caused by consolidation with Warwick is significant. Based on these estimates, Negro residents , who had constituted 29.6% of the total registered voters, will comprise only 20.7% of totals for Newport News and Warwick combined.

The Negro inhabitants of old Newport News were represented on the school board by one member of that race, Dr. C. Waldo Scott, who has been dropped from the new School Board. A certain liberality among the populace can be deduced from election returns for the 1956 referendum, in which almost one-half opposed the Constitutional Amendment (2,708 for; 2,504 against). In Warwick, 3,789 favored the Amendment, while 1,532 opposed.

Struggle in the Courts

Newport News lies within the same federal district as Norfolk, and the course of events in the courts has been the same, except at the beginning. The petition to the school board was filed earlier in Newport News. Another difference may occur soon since it is possible that further litigation may be necessary in Newport News as a result of that city's consolidation with Warwick. Newport News,

as yet, is not involved in a court test of pupil assignment policy as is Norfolk, since no such plan has been formulated. The course of events is otherwise identical with that of Norfolk, but it will be briefly recapitulated here.

1955 July — In July of 1955, 590 Negro parents petitioned the school board for integration in September. The board refused by a four-to-one decision. The member voting for the petitioners was Dr. C. Waldo Scott, a Negro. In September ten Negro children applied for admission to Thomas Jefferson elementary school and were rejected. A week later however, the school was turned over to Negroes exclusively on the grounds that the action was necessary to relieve overcrowding.

Sept.

1956 April — In April of 1956 a petition to require the city of Newport News to desegregate was filed on behalf of some eighty students in the U. S. District Court of Norfolk. In May, city and school board officials of Newport News and Norfolk asked for a special session of the assembly, which was not called until August. In January 1957, Judge Hoffman ruled for the plaintiffs and ordered desegregation plans completed by August 15, 1957, to be effective in September (Atkins et al v. School Board of Newport News); in July the Court of Appeals of the Fourth Circuit upheld the lower court's decision, and in October the Supreme Court refused a writ of certiorari. In a June 7th hearing it was agreed between Judge Hoffman and the attorneys of the two sides that his earlier desegregation order was still in effect; that is to say, desegregation of the schools is ordered to become operative this September in Newport News.

May

1957 July

October

1958 June

Action of the School Board

Action of the school board has been minimal. By July 3rd three Negro children had applied to white schools, and the school superintendent, Dr. R. O. Nelson, has said that he intends to seek legal advice and possibly consult the State Pupil Placement Board as to his course of action.

Private action in Newport News

There has so far been no move in Newport News--as there has in all the other cities where desegregation has been ordered--to set up a system of private schools, nor has there been any history of racial disturbances because of the school issue in the city. In June 1957, William Stephenson, president of the Peninsula White Citizens Council, handed a petition, said to be signed by 5,600 residents, to the City Council asking that body to deny funds to racially integrated schools.

In both old Newport News and Warwick, Catholic elementary schools have admitted Negro children since September 1954.

Organizations and Personalities in Newport News

Officials of Newport News (after its combination with Warwick):

Mayor: O. J. Brittingham, Jr.

City Manager J. C. Biggins (Newport News City Manager for 33 years)

Superintendent of Schools: The old superintendent was Dr. R. O. Nelson

School Principals:
Thomas Jefferson Elementary: Miss Ethel Taylor

Newspapers: Daily Press (A. M.)

Times Herald (P. M.) editor, W. M. Harrison

Organizations, pro-segregation:

Coordinating Committee to Maintain Efficient Education in Virginia

President: L. S. Pendleton

Members from Newport News (old)

Worth Martin

Anderson Smith

William McL. Ferguson

Richard McMurran

Peninsula White Citizens Council

President: William Stephenson

Anti-Segregation

NAACP

Peninsula Council for Community Cooperation

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BACKGROUND SUMMARY ON VIRGINIA

August 11, 1958

(This special report on Virginia has been drawn together for consultants of the Southern Regional Council and for other agencies working in the field of human relations. Since it is expected that news representatives will be interested in the coming events in Virginia, the report also is being distributed to some members of the press.)

VIRGINIA

Four Virginia school districts are under court order to desegregate this coming September. In Arlington County, Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Newport News, there will occur the first decisive tests of the efficacy of Virginia's policy of "massive resistance." The suit against Price Edward County--one of the original desegregation cases decided by the Supreme Court in 1954--is presently at another milestone in its tortured career through the courts; the county has been allowed the "deliberate speed" of seven years to desegregate, but must also report to the federal court next January as to its preliminary preparations.

"Massive Resistance"

The Virginia story, though it has not yet had its climax, has had dramatic intensity from the time in June, 1954, when Senator Byrd declared for "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's decision of a month earlier. That decision had at first been received calmly. Governor Stanley had stated that he

> contemplated nothing precipitate, but would call together representatives of the state and local government to consider the matter and work toward a plan which would be acceptable to the citizens and in keeping with the edict of the court.

Senator Byrd's statement, issued with the confidence that his long unquestioned political leadership would assure obedience to it, had the effect of overriding the governor. More importantly, it meant that the Deep South would again have in Virginia its traditional and valued leader, that Virginia had chosen once again, despite its internal differences, to identify itself with the policies of the Deep South whose culture it shares only in part.

The People of Virginia

Virginia has never had, and now less than ever, a single , unifying attitude toward the Negro, such as is common to some of the states farther south. There are southside counties where the concentration of Negroes is high and the cultural patterns are those of the Black Belt; such a county is Prince Edward. There are mountain counties in the west with almost no Negroes. There are the counties of the central Piedmont, reflecting the racial attitudes typical of the Carolina Piedmont--indifference, satisfaction, impatience. There are areas, such as Arlington, Norfolk, and Newport News, so heavily infiltrated with non-Southerners as to be hardly different in their outlook from urban centers of the North.

More than a score of Negroes were last year enrolled in the University of Virginia, where Negroes have attended since 1950. Catholic parochial schools were partially desegregated several years ago. And transit systems in Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke have all quietly been desegregated in the last several years.

On the other hand, Virginia has not yet adopted, or been forced to adopt desegregation in other public facilities such as beaches, state parks, golf courses. The state closed one public park when it was ordered desegregated by the court.

Statewide, Virginia's Negro population in 1950 was 22.2 percent of its total population, as compared with 24.7 percent in 1940. As in other Southern states, its Negroes became increasingly an urban people: the number of Negroes living in urban areas increased 26.6% from 1940-50, in

rural non-farm areas 58.4%, and declined in rural farm areas by 31.4%.

Delay By Legislation

Since Senator Byrd's "massive resistance" plea, the Virginia strategy can be shortly described as based on a prolific enactment of legislation, designed to block in varied ways Negro entrance into the school, and Negro entrance to the courts; this plan of statutory obstruction has been supplemented by a willingness to devote effort, time and public money to protracted litigation, drawing out to the fullest length the remaining days of segregated schools. The mark of success is that public school segregation has remained undisturbed for the three years following the Supreme Court's implementing order of May 1955.

The Gray Commission

Virginia directed its efforts first along lines proposed by the so-called Gray Commission, created in August 1954. This body, which reported back to the legislature in November 1955, outlined a program which at least on its face might have satisfied the criterion of "deliberate speed." By early 1956, however, it became apparent that the Commission's report was to be in fact rejected in favor of less moderate measures. The Commission was recalled by the Governor in May 1956, and told, "Most any act that's passed is subject to a test to see whether it's valid--you can imply from that that I would not be averse to trying some." The Gray plan had been predicated on local option; its acceptance would have allowed the differences within the state to be reflected. In its place, Virginia turned toward a monolithic posture of state resistance.

Legislative Action

Here, in summary, is the legislative record of resistance to desegregation:

1. The first step was to amend the state constitution to permit tuition payments by the state to private schools. A resolution to this effect was passed by special session of the General Assembly in late 1955, approved by a popular referendum in January 1956, and formally adopted by a Constitutional Convention in March.

2. A second step, of more emotional than practical force, was the passage in February 1956 of an interposition resolution, "against encroachment upon the reserved powers of this state."

3. Of more real importance was the state action taken in the same month against the only local school board which had announced in favor of desegregation. The Arlington County school board was henceforth not to be elected, but appointed by the County Board of Supervisors.

4. The real spate of legislation came, however, in November. Measures were directed at two ends: the protection of segregated schools; the crippling of the NAACP.

5. The primary means to the first objective was the Placement Act. This transferred the function of pupil assignment from the localities to a state board. One of the criteria to be observed was that of maintaining "efficient schools," defined in a separate act as being segregated schools. This feature principally led Judge Hoffman, U. S. District Court, to hold the law "unconstitutional on its face"; his decision was upheld in the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court in October 1957, refused to review. Accordingly, in March 1958, the legislature amended the Act, eliminating the "efficient school" requirement, and generally modelling the Act on the North Carolina statute which has so far withstood court attack. Whether the new Placement Act will

furnish a legal basis for further postponement is an as yet unanswered question. It should be noted too that the act defining "efficient schools" still stands, and authorizes the Governor to declare a state of emergency wherever "inefficient" schools exist.

6. Other laws require the closing of a school to which a child of the race other than that served by the school has been assigned; place closed schools under the immediate, personal control of the Governor; and authorize the Governor to make tuition grants to children attending segregated, non-sectarian schools. Also:

7. No child can be forced to attend an integrated school; school boards are not required to furnish bus transportation, but may provide it for children on tuition grants as well as for those attending public schools; and teachers may continue in the state pension system even if instructing in the "private" schools.

8. In March 1958, two other acts, known as the Little Rock Act, and the Little Rock Jr. Act were passed. The first directs the closing of a school if desegregation is being enforced by federal troops or other personnel (persumably, federal marshals.) The second permits the Governor to extend the closing to all schools in the same district; the purpose being, of course, to close Negro as well as desegregated "white" schools.

9. The anti-NAACP legislation is almost too complicated to summarize. Its candid purpose has been harassment and enfeeblement of the NAACP. Its result has been to force the NAACP to defend itself in order to be allowed to combat segregation. Federal courts have to date invalidated two of the measures-perhaps the most burdensome of them all. Two special committees of the legislature have also been actively "investigating" the NAACP. These were

the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities, chaired by Senator John D. Boatwright, and the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, chaired by Delegate James M. Thomson. The committees are now to be replaced, and their work continued, by a single, joint committee.

VIRGINIA

Section II

Population, Income, Schools

POPULATION

The population of Virginia in 1956 was estimated to be 3,799,174, a 14.5% increase over the census figure of 3,318,680 for 1950. In 1956, 817,281 or just over 24 per cent were Negro. The non-white population, however, is very unequally distributed over the 98 counties and 32 independent cities which make up Virginia. In 31 of the northern, western and southwestern counties Negroes make up less than 10% of the total population, while in the 24 eastern and southeastern counties - the "southside" - the Negro population exceeds 50%. It is in this area that the greatest difficulty in desegregating is expected.

INCOME

Income levels in Virginia are below the national average, but above those of the South as a whole.

Per Capita Income, 1955	
Virginia	$1,535
Southern Region	$1,292
United States	$1,847

SCHOOLS

There are 114 school districts in Virginia, all of which contain Negroes. The method of selection of school superintendents is not uniform throughout the state. The financing of the public schools is partly federal, partly state, and partly local. Statewide, the proportions run 42% by

the state, 51% from the localities and 7% from the federal government. The proportion contributed by the state in the western parts of the state where opposition to integration is least tends to run considerably higher than the average.

Negro teachers are in general better qualified academically than the white, a difference which is reflected in the average pay, which is $3,340.00 for Negroes and $3,280.00 for white teachers. There are 6,394 Negro and 21,113 white teachers, and school enrollment is currently 566,600 white and 184,400 colored children, that is, one teacher per 29 colored children and one per 27 white children.

Expenditure per child of school age was $215.00 in 1956-57, which placed Virginia 40 among the States of the Union.

There has to date been no integration in any public school in Virginia, though there has been a limited amount in the Universities, and certain Catholic parochial schools integrated without incident after the Supreme Court decision.

The present State Superintendent of Public Instruction is Dr. Davies Y. Paschall, who was appointed by the Governor in the spring of 1957 upon the death of Dr. Dowell J. Howard, the previous Superintendent.

SECTION II

VOTER REGISTRATION

The best estimates available of voter registration are given below:

Estimated Voter Registration in Virginia

	White	Non-White	Total	Non-White As % Total
Population, 21 yrs. old and over, 1950	1,602,669	422,670	2,025,339	21
Registered Voters 1952	643,747	69,326	713,073	10
Registered Voters (1952) As % of Population over 21 (1950)	40	16	35	
Population, 21 years old & over, 1956	N.A.	N.A.	2,043,000	N.A.
Registered Voters, 1956	792,329	83,098	875,427	9
% Increase Registration 1952 -56	23	20	23	-

POLITICS

Virginia is, traditionally, aristocratic in its attitude towards government, the number of Virginians actively interested in politics is small, and the percentage of those eligible registered as voters is smaller than the national average. Virginia's attitude towards politics is well illustrated by the constitutional referendum of 1956, in which 450,318 people voted. This, the most exciting occasion for voting in recent years, produced a record turnout of some 57% of the registered voters. The issue at stake was directly related to the segregation issue.

Virginia is Democratic in its politics, although the traditionally solid backing of Senator Harry F. Byrd, the senior Senator from Virginia, has shown some signs of cracking in recent years. In the 1953 gubernatorial campaign the Republican candidate, Ted Dalton, polled nearly 45% of the votes, and, within the Democratic party itself there has been a tendency for some groups-for example the "Young Turks" who led the opposition to the referendum of 1956 - to deviate from the policies of the Byrd machine.

The most important and enduring figure in Virginia's politics is without a doubt Senator Byrd, Senator from Virginia for the past 25 years, and originator of the doctrine of "massive resistance."

The present governor, J. Lindsay Almond, formerly attorney general, is also an emphatic advocate of segregation. He was elected in 1957 by an almost two-to-one vote over the Republican candidate, Dalton, on the platform of legal last-ditch defense of segregated schools.

Before Governor Almond, who was inaugurated in January, 1958, the gubernatorial chair was occupied by Thomas B. Stanley, who after an initial hesitation, took the position of resistance to segregation advocated by Senator Byrd.

STATE ORGANIZATION

The Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General of Virginia are elected for four-year terms; the next such election will be in November, 1961. The State Senate and House of Delegates meet once every two years and may be called into special session by the Governor at any time. They are next scheduled to meet early in 1960.

Section III

THE STRUGGLE OVER INTEGRATION

May, 1954 The fact that one of the original cases (Dorothy E. Davies et al, v. County School Board of Prince Edward County et al) upon which the Supreme Court decision was handed down directly involved Virginia meant that the state was involved in the school desegregation issue from its beginning. As has been mentioned, the first

June reaction of the governor was not conclusive, but the policy of Virginia was set in the path it was to follow when Governor Stanley declared, in something of an about-face on June 25th, that he would use "every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools in Virginia."

August THE GRAY COMMISSION

A commission of 32 members from the legislature was appointed to study the problem in August, its chairman being State Senator Garland Gray, an avowed opponent of integration. The "southside," where opposition to integration is strongest, was heavily represented upon the commission; the fact that it was drawn entirely from the legislature naturally precluded Negroes from sitting on it.

SEASHORE STATE PARK

June In the summer of 1955 Seashore State Park was closed after four Negroes sought to enter it

July 1955-Oct. 1956 It was later decided in the courts that the State could neither operate the park itself upon a segregated basis, nor lease it to anyone who would do so. This decision is important in that

the reasoning may be, and in the judgment of Governor Almond would be, applicable to the public schools.

INTERPOSITION

In 1955 also, the ancient doctrine of Interposition was revived and eagerly seized upon by a number of southern states who saw in it a weapon against the edicts of the federal government. The doctrine has roots that go back to the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 99, which declared, in part: -

"In the case of a deliberate palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the social compact, the states, which are parties thereto, have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil."

The doctrine was first resurrected from the dust by William Old, later a circuit judge in Chesterfield County. The pamphlet which he wrote and published came to the attention of James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader and achieved wide publicity through the columns of his paper. The doctrine was endorsed by a conference of four southern governors held in Virginia in January and a resolution "interposing the sovreignty of Virginia against encroachment upon the reserved powers of this State, and appealing to sister states to resolve a question of contested power" was passed with only 2 votes in the Senate, and 5 of the Delegates opposing.

1955 December

1956 January February

The attention given to the interposition doctrine served to place Virginia firmly to the fore in the southern stand on segregation and to complicate the issue with the old and emotive

cry of States' Rights. But although similar resolutions were passed in other southern states, the doctrine of interposition was not of any effect, save as a rallying cry, since, indeed, a stand upon these grounds would have committed the states to a resistance more active than the wholesale resort to legal barriers- the avowed Virginian Policy.

THE GRAY COMMISSION REPORT

The unanimous report of the Gray Commission was made in November 1955. The keystone of its proposals was the assignment of pupils to schools on the basis of:

1955 November

"The welfare of the particular child as well as the welfare and best interests of all other pupils attending the school . . . and a provision for the payment of tuition grants to pupils attending private non-sectarian schools."

The report of the commission had been held back while the legality of this last measure under the state constitution was adjudged in the Virginia Courts in the test case Almond v. Day, relating to the education of war orphans. On court's ruling that tuition grants were unconsitutional, the governor called the Assembly into special session and, by votes of 93 to 5 in the House of Delegates and by 38 to 1 in the Senate, the motion to take a referendum was approved. The referendum was endorsed by a vote of 304,154 to 146,164 in January, and the forty delegate Constitutional Convention of March amended, by unanimous decision, Section 141 of the constitution by insertion of the passage quoted below (the section orginally forbade public funds to be appropriated to a

1956 January

school not exclusively owned by the state or locality):

"Provided first, that the General Assembly may, and the governing bodies of the several counties, cities and towns may, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by the General Assembly appropriate funds for educational purposes which may be expended in furtherence of elementary, secondary, collegiate or graduate education of Virginia students in public and non-sectarian private schools and institutions of learning, in addition to those owned or exclusively controlled by the state or any such county, city or town."

The report of the Gray Commission clearly envisaged a degree of integration in the public schools of Virginia, and the purpose of the recommendations contained in that report was to minimize by the pupil assignment plan, the amount of integration, and, by the payment of tuition grants, to ensure that no child was forced by lack of alternatives to attend an integrated school. At the beginning of the year it was widely expected that the proposals of the Gray Commission would be implemented by legal changes in time to forestall any compulsory integration orders that the courts might make for the 1956/57 school year, and in time to allow such communities as wished to begin integration in the fall.

1956 February

A motion to continue segregation for the school year 1956/57 passed the House of Delegates, which also in March declared that State policy was opposed to the mixing of the races in public school athletics.

THE ARLINGTON SCHOOL BOARD

1956 February — A change in attitude on the part of the State government first became apparent when the hitherto elected school board of Arlington - the only county which had publicly announced its intention to integrate in the coming school year - was replaced by a board appointed by the county supervisors.

RECALL OF THE GRAY COMMISSION

May — By May it was clear that the Gray plan had been shelved when the commission was recalled by Governor Stanley and told:

"Most any act that's passed is subject to a test to see whether its valid--you can imply from that that I would not be averse to trying some."

July — Later the governor, in a message to the Commission said:

"I cannot endorse or recommend any legislation, or action, which accepts the principle of integration of the races in the public schools ..."

The Attorney General, J. Lindsay Almond, was also urging the need for preventive legislation, saying in a press statement urging the calling of a further special session of the Assembly:

"I have fought to the end of the legal rope, and as counsel for the state it is my judgment that we must have state legislation ...in order to meet the attacks of the NAACP."

With the methods, the purpose, and the foe thus defined for them, the commission had little trouble in repenting of its original report. In August the General Assembly was recalled

August

and a number of bills presented to it by the governor.

THE ACTS OF THE 1956 EXTRA SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

September The bills passed into law on September 26th struck in two directions, the one part being concerned to maintain segregation and the other to weaken the power of the NAACP to challenge the state in the courts. A detailed summary of the Acts is included in the next section.

'THE NAACP ACTS'

Here it is sufficient to say that the NAACP, in company with all other organizations engaged in racial activities or participating in litigation in which they had pecuniary interest, was required to file details of the sources of its funds, directions of its expenditures and the names and addresses of all its officials, employees, members and contributors.

Further it was made a crime for any person or group "not having a direct interest in the proceedings" to finance legal proceedings against the state or any of its officers.

This act rendered it impossible for the NAACP to support suits against anyone employed by the state, such as school boards or school superintendents, and also made possible discrimination against its members - a threat which the NAACP claimed caused its membership to drop by 5,700 members from 1956 to 1957.

LAWS RELATING TO SCHOOLS

Chapter 70 On the school front, the acts of the Legislature provided a series of defenses against integration. A Placement Board, with

state-wide powers was set up under terms of reference which effectively precluded assigning any child to a school for children of the other color, by requiring that the Board consider:

"Such other relevant matters as may be pertinent to the efficient operation of the schools..." An "efficient school" was defined in a separate act as excluding any in which children of the two races were taught together.

The members of the board, which began work in January, were later announced by the governor to be Hugh V. White, a school superintendent, Andrew A. Farley, a newspaper man, and Beverly Heth Randolph, a lawyer.

As a second line of defense, the governor was empowered to close, at the request of a locality, any school which was integrated and to re-open it on a segregated basis, or pay tuition grants for the children to attend private non-sectarian schools.

State funds are to be automatically cut off from integrated schools, and it was also provided that no child was to be forced to attend an integrated school, that schools were no longer required to be open nine months of the year, nor to provide transportation for their pupils. The assignment of teachers was made the prerogative of the school boards, and a provision was made for the payment of pensions to teachers employed in private non-sectarian schools organized after the passage of the act.

That is to say, the effect of the acts was to cause, at the first attempt at integration, the public school concerned - and all other schools of the same class in the school district to vanish

into thin air, while somewhere nearby a non-sectarian private school, supported by local and state funds in the form of tuition grants, staffed by private teachers included in the state pension funds, and out of reach, since it was a private school, of the edicts of the Supreme Court, would spring into being.

It should be noted that although the "local option" amendments brought in the Assembly were defeated, the locality had still the opportunity to run its schools on an integrated basis, though without state funds. As was noticed earlier, the contribution to the schools made by state funds in many of the districts where race prejudice is least run above the average of 42% for the state. So that the chance of this happening is small.

COURT ACTION UPON THE PLACEMENT ACT

1957 January

The Placement Act is the only act of the laws relating to schools which has yet been tested in the courts - a natural result of the fact that until it was set aside there was no need for the other acts to be called upon, and therefore no opportunity to test them.

In the cases of Adkins v. the School Board of Newport News and Beckett et al v. the School Board of Norfolk the defendants pleaded that the suits should be dismissed on the ground that the Placement Act provided adequate administrative remedy for Negroes seeking admission to white schools. Judge Hoffman, however, roundly declared that the act, taken in the context of the acts supporting it, was "unconstitutional on its face." This judgment

October

was upheld by the Court of Appeals of the Fourth Circuit, and

in October the Supreme Court declined to review it.

NAACP Attorney Oliver W. Hill, commenting on the case after the Supreme Court decision, said: "For all practical purposes the Pupil Placement Act is dead...it can no longer be used anywhere in Virginia as a defense against a de-segregation suit, and that has been the only reason for its existence."

The point as to whether the act was valid when its operation was in no way related to racial segregation was settled in the case of DeFabio v. School Board of Fairfax County, in which the State Supreme Court held that in this case, involving a white parent, there was no federal question involved, and no violation of the Virginia constitution. (In June 1958, the Supreme Court refused to review.)

1957 December

The Placement Act was amended by the 1958 regular session of the General Assembly to bring it into line with the North Carolina Placement Act, which had been upheld by the courts.

PASSAGE OF THE NAACP LAWS THROUGH THE COURTS

1957

The "NAACP Laws," as they are commonly called, were, of course, challenged in the courts. The proceedings lasted throughout 1957 and judgment was not finally handed down until January 1958, when a special three-judge federal court ruled that Chapters 31, 32 and 35 of the Acts of the 1956 Session were unconstitutional. In delivering the majority opinion on Chapters 31 and 32 (relating to the registration of organizations engaging in racial activities or financing law-suits) Judges Soper and Hoffman declared: -

1958 January

"We find that the activities of the state authorities in support of the general plan to obstruct the integration of the races in schools in Virginia, of which plan the statutes in suit form an important part, brought about a loss of members and a reduction of the revenues of the association (the NAACP) and made it more difficult to accomplish its legitimate aims...Statutes... were clearly defined to cripple the agencies that have had the greatest success in promoting the rights of colored people to equality of treatment in the past and are possessed of sufficient resources to make an effort at this time to secure the enforcement of the Supreme Courts' decree."

On Chapter 35 (barratry) the two judges held that:- "It is not within the power of the state to make it a crime for any corporation...to pay in whole or in part the expenses of litigation if it has only a general philanthropic or charitable interest in the litigation..."

By agreement of all three judges, judgment on Chapters 33 and 36 of the Acts (relating to "running and capping" and to litigation against the state or its employees by persons not having an interest therein) was withheld pending interpretation of the statutes, which the judges termed "vague" and "ambiguous," in the state courts.

Suits have been filed in the Richmond Circuit Court (<u>NAACP v. Harrison and NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund v. Harrison</u>) challenging the constitutionality of these laws, but the cases are not expected to come up for hearing before November 1958.

ACTS OF THE 1958 SESSION

1958 January

As the views of the courts upon the NAACP Laws were being handed down, further resistance measures were being initiated in a new group of bills passed by the House of Delegates and signed into law by the new governor, J. Lindsay Almond.

The 1957 election of the former Attorney General to the Governorship by an almost two-to-one vote (327,933 to 188,538) over the Republican candidate Theodore Roosevelt Dalton has been said by some to suggest that the segregation issue has given "a formidable shot in the arm" to "the aging Byrd machine." Governor Almond's campaign was fought almost entirely upon the platform of "massive resistance," or as he put it, "the honorable and legal last-ditch defense of our public schools," and the decline in the proportion of the vote (from 45% in the 1953 gubernatorial election to 37% in 1957) given to the Republican candidate, a segregationist in favor of local option, lends support to this view.

The hand of the state had been greatly weakened by the judgment of the courts in the Placement Act and the NAACP laws;

1958 March

the bills which received the governor's signature in March remodeled the Placement Act, enacted a further voter registration law, provided against the occurence of "Little Rock" in Virginia, and removed the local option which localities previously passed on the invocation of the governor in the case of any school integration, and provided for the establishment of another committee to replace the two whose activities in investigating the NAACP during the previous year are discussed below.

The segregation measures of the 1958 Session were all passed by overwhelming votes in both chambers of the Assembly. Since those dealing with the schools may be invoked by the state during the coming year, they are summarized, together with those acts of the special session which are still in force, in section IV.

THE COMMITTEE ON LAW REFORM & OFFENSES AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The two legislative committees which were re-created as one by the 1958 Assembly were the Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities (Chairman, John D. Beatwright) and the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice, (Chairman James M. Thomson.)

1957 Delegate Thomson's Committee had conducted, against a background of protest as to both its activities and methods, lengthy investigations throughout 1957 and had made a report in October of that year. In its report the Committee charged that the NAACP, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and various NAACP branches in Virginia had been guilty of "maintenance" (the offense of meddling in a suit without having an interest therein); the organization and certain of its attorneys were charged with barratry, 10 NAACP lawyers and certain of its state officials with the unauthorized practice of law. This last charge was important as the 1958 Assembly required full registration with the state corporation commission of all companies charged with the illegal practice of law.

The Committee also alleged that certain plaintiffs in

segregation suits in Virginia were not advised of and did not authorize their appearance as plaintiffs and that the suits were "prompted, directed and conducted and financed by the NAACP or its affiliates."

The Report of the Committee of Law Reform and Racial Activities was similar, though less specific. The terms of both Committees expired at the end of 1957. Neither the name of the new Committee nor the name of the new chairman has as yet been announced. It is considered probable however that Senator Boatwright will continue his work as the new chairman.

Section IV

ANTI-INTEGRATION LAWS AND JUDGMENTS

(Summarized from Race Relations Law Reporter, December 1956- April 1958)

I. LAWS RELATING TO SCHOOLS

The following laws enacted by the 1956 Special Session of the General Assembly and by the 1958 Regular Session are as yet uncontested in the courts:

THE 1958 PLACEMENT ACT (The 1956 Placement Act having been declared unconstitutional)

Chapter 500 of the Acts of the 1958 Assembly invests all powers of enrollment and placement of pupils and determination of school districts in the hands of the Pupil Placement Board. The Board is appointed by the governor to serve during his pleasure. It has power to administer oaths and serve subpoenas. Appeal from the decision of the Board is to the Circuit Court. Any parent who conscientiously objects to the signing of a placement board application may execute it "under protest" without prejudice to his claims. All sections of the act are separable, i.e., if one part is held unconstitutional the rest remains in force.

The terms of reference of the Board are: "the Pupil Placement Board shall enroll each pupil in a school in each school district so as to provide for the orderly administration of such public schools, the competent instruction of the pupils enrolled and the health, safety and general welfare of such pupils."

GOVERNOR'S POWER TO CLOSE SCHOOLS AND PAY TUITION GRANTS

Chapter 68 of the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session, as amended by Chapter 631 of the Acts of the 1958 Session, provides:

"That the assignment of a child of one race to a school of the other and the enrollment of such child, or children, shall automatically divest

the school authorities of making the assignment or enrollment of all further authority, power and control over such public school ... and such school is closed and is removed from the public school system and such authority .. shall be and is hereby vested in the commonwealth of Virginia to be exercized by the governor of Virginia ..."

Immediately upon the enrollment and transfer of control the school is closed and shall not be re-opened until the governor is of the opinion that the peace of the district will not be disturbed nor any pupil enrolled in an integrated school unwillingly. The governor is required to re-organize the school, its personnel, curriculum and facilities and to make re-assignments of pupils in order to fulfill the requirements for re-opening.

If the governor is satisfied that the school cannot be reopened he may re-assign pupils and teachers to other public schools in the same subdivision, and failing that, he may and the authorities of the locality may pay tuition grants from the funds which would have been used to finance the school. Such grants may be expended in attendance at private non-sectarian schools only.

When the school is able to be re-opened, its control returns to the locality. If the governor concludes or if the school board <u>and</u> board of supervisors of the locality certify that the school cannot be reopened on a segregated basis, the governor <u>may</u> so proclaim in which event the school shall be returned to the locality, and it and all other schools of its class in the subdivision shall become subject to the applicable provisions of the laws of this state. (Amended section, by replacement of "or" in 1956 Act, by "and," underlined above and, similarly, of "shall" by "may.")

The Commonwealth declared all actions pursuant to this Act to be its Acts and declined to be subject to a suit in the courts upon them, unless brought

by the State's Attorney General. All parts of the act are separable.

STATE CONTRIBUTION TO TUITION GRANTS

Chpater 56 of the Acts of the Extra Session of 1956

"Whenever the amounts .. to which any (locality).. would otherwise have been entitled for the maintenance of its .. school system .. shall be withheld as prescribed by law, the amounts so withheld shall be available to such.. (locality).. for the furtherence of the .. education of the children .. in non-sectarian private schools .. and for the payment of salaries and wages of unemployed teachers in state and teaching positions and other public school employees, who are under contract..." Teachers may be paid until the expiration of their contracts or of the school year, whichever is the longer.

Each pupil is to be entitled to the total funds available to the locality, divided by the number of pupils.

LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO TUITION GRANTS

Chapter 57 of the Acts of the Extra Session of 1956

Authorizes localities to raise money by a property tax or appropriate money from general levies for the purpose of paying tuition grants to children attending non-sectarian private schools, and may provide transportation for them.

QUALIFICATION FOR TUITION GRANTS

Chapter 58 limits the payment of tuition grants to children who have been or are in attendance at integrated schools, whose parents make an affidavit that they object to their child's attending an integrated school. It provides that any locality providing transportation for children at its public schools must provide transportation or aid with a transportation grant to pupils qualifying for the payment of a tuition grant.

REMOVAL OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING REQUIREMENT

Chapter 59 of the Acts of the Extra Session of 1956:

"Not withstanding any other provision of law, no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled."

CUTTING OFF OF STATE FUNDS FROM INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Chapter 71

Prohibits expenditure of state funds for support of "any system of public elementary or secondary schools, which is not efficient." Schools of each locality are divided into two classes: elementary and secondary. An "efficient" system is defined as a class of schools within which there is no racial mixing. (Thus, if one elementary school of a district is desegregated, all elementary schools of that district become "inefficient.")

OTHER ACTS OF THE 1956 SESSION STILL UNCONTESTED BY THE COURTS WERE:

TRANSPORTATION

Chapter 60 amends 22-72 of the code of Virginia:

"County boards may provide for the transportation of pupils, but nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring such transportation."

SCHOOL BOARD ASSIGNMENT OF TEACHERS

Chapter 61 of the 1956 Extra Session makes the placement of teachers and principals to schools the prerogative of the school board, and gives the division superintendent authority to assign or reassign them to their positions therein.

INSTANTANEOUS TRANSFER OF SCHOOL FUNDS

Chapter 62 allows local school boards to transfer funds to the payment of tuition grants without the consent of the tax-levying body.

DEFENSE OF SCHOOL BOARDS

Chapter 63 provides that the school boards, members thereof, and school officials may employ the Attorney General or other counsel in their defense, the expenses being a charge against the treasury of the locality, in suits brought against them by virtue of their duties.

PENSIONS FOR TEACHERS

Chapter 64 provides that teachers in schools organized after the passage of the act, may, with the consent of the Board of Trustees of the Virginia Supplemental Retirement System, participate in the state pension scheme.

LEGAL ADVICE

Chapter 65 permits the Attorney General to give legal assistance and advice to the school boards.

REMOVAL OF OBLIGATION TO OPEN SCHOOLS FOR NINE MONTHS

Chapter 66 removes the obligations of the school board to open the schools for at least nine months of the year, and provides for proportionate reduction in state funds.

TUITION GRANTS TO PRIVATE SCHOOL PUPILS

Chapter 67 makes numerous technical changes in the laws regarding city and county budgets, including the conferring of new authority to make tuition grants to pupils attending private, non-sectarian schools.

ACT ESTABLISHING AN EFFICIENT SCHOOL SYSTEM

Chapter 69 of the Extra Session of 1956:

Declares that a state of emergency exists wherever an efficient system of public schools is not operated. In such a case the commonwealth shall

operate an efficient system of schools, to be financed by the state and contributions from the district equal to or greater than those already required.

The act declares that an efficient system of elementary public schools "means and shall be only that system within each county, city or town in which no elementary school consists of a student body in which white and colored children are taught." There is a like declaration regarding secondary schools.

No suit may be brought against a local school board in any manner involving such state schools except by the Attorney General.

THE "LITTLE ROCK" BILL

Chapter 41 of the Acts of the 1958 Session Section 2

"Whenever, except upon application of the General Assembly of Virginia or the Governor ..... any military forces or other personnel pursuant to the order or direction of any Federal authority enter upon the premises of any public school or in the vicinity thereof, for the purpose of policing its operation, or to prevent acts of violence, or alleged acts of violence, the school shall thereupon automatically be closed, and its operation suspended.

"Upon the closing of any public school pursuant to this Act, the Governor shall assume all control and exercise all authority with respect to such school..."

THE "LITTLE ROCK JR." BILL

Chapter 319 of the Acts of the 1958 Session empowers the governor to close, at his discretion, any or all schools in the same division as any closed under Chapter 41 above.

II. ACTS AGAINST THE NAACP

Still outstanding from the Acts of the 1956 Extra Session of the Virginia

General Assembly are chapters 33 and 36. Chapter 33 states that lawyers accepting employment from any person or organization violating the acts relating to the other "resistance" acts are guilty of malpractice; and it makes a "runner and capper" (person guilty of the offense of soliciting businees for lawyers) of any person or organization employing a lawyer to bring a suit to which he or it is not a party or has no pecuniary right or liability.

Chapter 36 states that it is a crime for any person not having "a direct interest in the proceedings" to solicit, give or receive contributions to commence or prosecute legal proceedings in state or federal courts against any of the officials of the state. Further, both parties and lawyers in litigation against the state must file affidavits that they have not given or received any money or other valuable considerations (regular lawyers fees excepted) for bringing the suit.

The above laws are expected to come before the courts in November, 1958.

The regular Session of the Virginia General Assembly of 1958 passed two bills aimed at the NAACP. Contributions to an organization supporting or helping support court litigation in which it is not a party or has no direct interest are no longer deductible from State Income Tax. Any non-stock corporation accused of the illegal practice of law is required to produce its membership rolls in answering the charge or else lose its charter.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Little Rock: A Look at the Record

September 16, 1958

A year of tension, violence, and many legal moves has finally culminated in the closing of all senior high schools in Little Rock. Accusations are being hurled in attempts to fix the blame for closing of the schools.

A chronology of early events as the Little Rock story developed may help to clarify the picture. With so many events crowding one upon the other, it is easy to disregard early elements which shaped the present situation.

The following chronology is taken from press reports written at the time of the actual events.

On May 22, 1954, just five days after the Supreme Court held public school segregation unconstitutional, the Little Rock School Board issued a policy statement to the effect that it would comply with the Supreme Court decision when the Court outlined the method to be followed and the time to be allowed.

On May 24, 1955, the Little Rock School Board adopted a plan of gradual integration under which high school grades would be desegregated starting September 1957, if a third general high school (Hall High School) was completed by that time. During the following six years, the remaining classes would be desegregated with the lower grades as the last to be affected. A liberal transfer policy was to prevail, students to be permitted to transfer to schools where their race was in the majority. This plan was formulated just seven days prior to the Supreme Court ruling which instructed local school boards and federal district courts to desegregate the schools with "all deliberate speed."

Om January 24, 1956, 27 Negro students attempted to register in Little Rock schools but were refused.

On February 8, 1956, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a suit in federal court charging that 33 Negro students had been denied admittance to four Little Rock schools solely because of their race.

On August 28, 1956, Federal Judge John E. Miller dismissed the NAACP suit, declaring that the Little Rock School Board acted in the "utmost good faith" in setting up its plan of gradual desegregation. The NAACP appealed the suit.

On March 16, 1957, Wayne Upton and Henry V. Rath were elected to the Little Rock School Board by conclusive margins over two avowed segregationists. Upton and Rath had endorsed the gradual desegregation plan.

On April 27, 1957, the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the Little Rock School Board plan, and the NAACP subsequently announced it would not appeal the suit. Thus, the stage was set for entrance of nine Negro students into all-white Central High School on September 3, 1957.

On August 27, 1957, Mrs. Clyde Thomason, recording secretary of the pro-segregationist Mothers' League of Central High School, filed suit in Pulaski Chancery Court, seeking a temporary injunction against school desegregation. Governor Orval Faubus appeared before the court and testified that from unidentified sources he had heard reports of possible violence sufficient to convince him that desegregation should be delayed. Subsequently, Pulaski Chancellor Murray O. Reed granted the temporary injunction sought, basing it on testimony of Governor Faubus that desegregation would lead to violence.

On August 30, 1957, Federal District Judge Ronald N. Davies nullified the Pulaski Chancery Court injuntion and ordered the School Board to proceed with its gradual plan. Another order by Judge Davies enjoined "all persons in any manner, directly or indirectly," from interfering with desegregation. Following the decision, the School Board called for cooperation and understanding from the public in a "peaceful solution" of the problem.

On September 2, 1957, without advance notice, Governor Faubus called out the National Guard because of "evidence of disorder and threats of disorder." After that, the School Board instructed nine Negro students not to attend the school on opening day, September 3, 1957.

On September 3, 1957, Judge Davies again ordered the school desegregated. Governor Faubus elaborated on his stand that "evidence of disorder and threats of disorder" led to his order and said that he had not instructed National Guardsmen to bar Negroes from Central High. When asked by reporters for evidence of the "threats of disorder," the Governor refused to elaborate except to say that he would document his earlier report of caravans of citizens converging on Little Rock and of students arming themselves with knives and guns. As to the report that students were arming themselves, Governor Faubus said that he had the State Police make a check on the Saturday before and had found the reports to be true. He said a similar check in North Little Rock by the State Police found "a run on some places of trade there but not as much as in Little Rock." He denied that he had changed his position on school desegregation and said that his position squared with an earlier one that desegregation was a local matter to be handled by local officials. Governor Faubus added that "this is my responsibility. I said that as long as this could be handled on the local level

without trouble I wouldn't interfere."

On September 4, 1957, nine Negro students were barred from Central High School by National Guardsmen, and Governor Faubus admitted they were turned away on his orders. An article in the Arkansas Gazette of September 4 revealed that a survey of stores in the Little Rock and North Little Rock areas revealed no instance where the sale of firearms or knives had increased in recent weeks or was greater than the seasonal average for that time of year. Little Rock and North Little Rock police reported they had seen no caravans of out-of-city segregationists converging on Little Rock.

Governor Faubus telegraphed President Eisenhower to stop "unwarranted interference of federal agents" with his, the Governor's action.

Mayor Woodrow Mann of Little Rock issued this statement in answer to Governor Faubus:

> If it were not for my own respect for due process of law, I would be tempted to issue an executive order interposing the City of Little Rock between Governor Faubus and the Little Rock School Board.
>
> As it is, I can only express my deep personal resentment at this wholly unwarranted interference with the internal affairs of this city by the governor.
>
> The people of Little Rock recently had a School Board election and elected by an overwhelming vote the School Board members who advocated a projected court approved Little Rock plan (of gradual desegregation).
>
> The governor has called out the National Guard to put down trouble where none existed. He did so without a request from those of us who are directly responsible for preservation of peace and order. The only effect of this action is to create tensions where none existed.
>
> I call the governor's attention to the fact that after almost a week of sensational developments brought about by his own action, the Little Rock police have not had a single case of inter-racial violence reported to them. This is clear evidence that the governor's excuse for calling out the Guard is simply a hoax.

> I am sure the great majority of the people of Little Rock share my deep resentment at the manner in which the governor has chosen to use this city as a pawn in what clearly is a political design of his own. If any racial trouble does develop, the blame rests squarely on the doorstep of the Governor's Mansion.

On September 5, 1957, the School Board asked the Federal District Court to temporarily suspend its order. President Eisenhower notified Governor Faubus that the Federal Constitution "will be upheld by every legal means" and asked that he give "full cooperation to the United States Court." Two days later, Judge Davies denied the School Board's suspension request and said that the plan of desegregation "is not, and never was, anything other than the plan of the duly authorized representatives of Little Rock....In an organized society there can be nothing but ultimate confusion and chaos if court decrees are flouted, whatever the pretext."

On September 8, 1957, Governor Faubus went on television to reaffirm his stand and insist that the federal government retreat from its insistence on desegregation of Central High. He again declined to produce evidence of reported violence. In opening the interview, a reporter asked Governor Faubus if he disputed "the authority of the federal government to order integration in the schools of Little Rock." His answer was, "I do not."

On September 9, 1957, Judge Davies directed federal authorities to bring injuntion proceedings against Governor Faubus and two National Guard officers to prevent them from interfering with desegregation.

On September 14, 1957, Governor Faubus conferred with President Eisenhower at Newport, Rhode Island. Afterwards, Governor Faubus said the Court decision "is the law of the land and must be obeyed." (Almost a year later, Governor Faubus repudiated this statement, saying the White House required him to endorse the Court order as a prerequisite to further negotiations

with President Eisenhower.)

On September 20, 1957, Judge Davies ruled that the troops had not been used to preserve law and order and enjoined Governor Faubus and the National Guard from interfering with integration. The Governor's attorneys walked out of the hearing before it was concluded. Early in the evening, Governor Faubus removed the National Guard from the school, and Little Rock police moved in. Governor Faubus left over the weekend for the Southern Governors Conference at Sea Island, Georgia.

On September 23, 1957, a mob of about 1,000 white persons went on "a rampage of fighting, cursing, and crying" as the nine Negro students slipped through a side door into Central High School. James T. Karam, Arkansas Athletic Commissioner, whose wife was with Governor and Mrs. Faubus at Sea Island, was reported on the "segregationists' battle line" at Central High School. According to an Associated Press correspondent, "Karam frequently was observed at Governor Faubus' news conferences in the Governor's mansion when the National Guard was keeping out 'unauthorized persons'." A staff correspondent for the New York Post filed a story charging that Karam was much in evidence in the mob around Central High School.

President Eisenhower called the rioting disgraceful and signed a proclamation clearing the way for use of federal troops.

On September 24, 1957, members of the 101st Airborne Division rolled into Little Rock, and the Arkansas National Guard was placed under federal orders.

On September 25, 1957, the Negro students entered Central High School under troop escort. Rep. Brook Hays of Arkansas called on Little Rock's "latent leadership" to assert itself.

On October 1, 1957, President Eisenhower said Governor Faubus had reneged on an agreement conveyed to him by four Southern governors just as all parties were on the brink of a solution. The four governors accused Governor Faubus of changing the meaning of his statement after the President had accepted it.

On October 2, 1957, 25 business and civic leaders at Little Rock adopted a "Statement of Objective and Rededication of Principles," urging residents "regardless of their feelings on the subject of segregation... (to) uphold those who enforce laws without reservation."

On October 7, 1957, Governor Faubus charged that federal troops had invaded a girls' dressing room in the school. The White House said the charge was vulgar and untrue. Earlier, Governor Faubus accused the FBI of holding teen-aged girls incommunicado, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover denied the charge and accused the Governor of disseminating falsehoods.

On October 9, 1957, Governor Faubus took the position at a press conference that only the withdrawal of the Negro students would end the crisis at Central High School.

The remainder of the school year was conducted under military guard. Legal action continued, and the State Legislature late this year passed a law in emergency session allowing Governor Faubus to close Central High School. The impasse has resulted in the formal closing of Central High School and three other senior high schools in Little Rock after the Supreme Court had ordered Central High to proceed with integration in a ruling handed down September 12, 1958.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH--1958

(In 1956, the Southern Regional Council conducted an extensive survey on Negro voting in the South. This report represents the preliminary findings of a year-long study now being conducted by the Council as a follow-up to the earlier survey. A more detailed report will be published when the findings are completed.)

November 2, 1958

The Negro Voter in the South -- 1958

In 1956 the Southern Regional Council surveyed the status of the Negro voter in the South. At that time, it was found that about 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes had registered to vote, as contrasted with 60 per cent of the eligible white population.

In all, an estimated 1,238,000 Negroes were on the voting rolls in eleven Southern states.(1) This figure indicated the slow but steady growth of Negro suffrage in the region which began with the outlawing of the white primaries in 1944.

The intervening two years since the survey was made have brought increased racial tensions in the South, passage of the first federal civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, a long list of federal court decisions to speed the Negro toward full legal equality and new state laws to delay change in racial patterns. How have these events affected the trend toward increased use of the ballot by Negro Southerners?

Preliminary findings of a follow-up survey being made by the SRC indicate that, for the region as a whole, Negro registration showed little change from the 1956 total. In some states the number of Negro registrants rose appreciably, but these gains were largely offset by sharp drops in other states due to purges and statewide re-registration.

The fact that Negro voters held their own was in itself something of an achievement in view of trends during the past two years and in the face of disinterest prevalent nationwide at the time of off-year elections.

(1 Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.)

In certain areas it undoubtedly has become more difficult for Negroes to register, because of new voting restrictions and stricter applications of the old requirements. In some sections where political leaders have fanned racial prejudices, Negroes are even more hesitant about attempting to register than they were two years ago. But, in many parts of the South, lack of political consciousness remains the greatest barrier. Leaders of both races long have contended that if all bars to Negro voting were removed tomorrow, there still would not be a great rush to the polls. This is not expected until Negroes have been able to raise their economic and educational levels, their leadership has been broadened and they have reached a position where their political participation promises more tangible results. Neither the new civil rights legislation nor the federal agencies created by it promise any quick or dramatic improvement in Negro suffrage. Even where registration boards are cooperative, a gradual process of political education obviously will be required. All this should not obscure the fact that the trend is upward and that the long range prospect in the South is for a Negro registration comparable to the white.

Currently, there are an estimated 1,266,488 Negroes registered in the eleven Southern states. Figures from six states are from official sources; in the others, the totals are estimates of veteran capitol news correspondents who consulted with state officials and political workers.

State-by-state figures:

	Negro Registration[2] 1958	Negro Percentage of Total Registration
Alabama	60,000	6.9
Arkansas	64,023	11.4
Florida	144,810	9.1
Georgia	158,051	12.4
Louisiana	130,000	13.7
Mississippi	35,000	6.8
North Carolina	150,000	7.5
South Carolina	57,978	10.8
Tennessee	185,000	13.2
Texas	150,000	6.8
Virginia	131,626	14.1
Totals	1,266,488	10.9

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, where official figures show a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped. The sharp decline of registration of both races in South Carolina was attributable in large part to the total re-registration this year, as is required every 10 years in the state.

Registration increased among both white and Negro citizens in

(2 Totals are official for Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia. For details see Appendix.)

North Carolina and Virginia. In Louisiana, the white registration rose while Negro registration fell sharply, from 161,410 to 130,000, due chiefly to widespread purges in several parishes. Pro-segregation groups in Louisiana have made a concerted effort to strike Negro voters from the rolls.

The very slight increase in the number of Negroes registered in the region--24,488 more in 1958 than in 1956-- came in a mid-term election year when, in the country as a whole, registration was down approximately four million from 1956, the Associated Press found in a survey (Oct. 22, 1958).

In addition to the problem of apathy which plagues political workers in every state during the years between presidential elections, another factor has had an effect upon Negro registration in the past two years. Some Negro leaders have been preoccupied by immediate problems of local discrimination and court tests of state and city segregation laws, which left little time for registration drives.

Two states, Georgia and Virginia, have passed laws making registration more difficult and Alabama seems headed in that direction.

Suits challenging registration laws have been brought by Mississippi and North Carolina residents. The Rev. H. B. Darby of Prentiss has filed a suit which in effect seeks to prove that registration laws in Mississippi were designed to be administered arbitrarily and that they are used to discriminate against Negroes. A three-judge federal court panel has the case under advisement. In North Carolina a Negro woman has carried her challenge of the state's literacy test to the Supreme Court of the United States. Mrs. Louise Lassiter of Seaboard,

who says she can neither read nor write, has contended she is entitled by the Constitution to a vote despite North Carolina's registration laws, which require literacy tests.

In many ways, the 1958 picture varies little from that of 1956. In the areas of high Negro population and low income and educational levels, it remains generally difficult if not impossible for Negroes to register, particularly in the areas of "hard core" resistance to local change.

However, these problems are now engaging the attention of federal officials to a greater extent. Gordon M. Tiffany, staff director of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, has announced that his agency is making field studies of voting complaints in three states--Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The Commission hit its first snag in Macon County, Ala. In October, the County Board of Registrars there refused to let two Commission staff investigators inspect its voting records. They acted on the advice of State Atty. Gen. John Patterson, Democratic governor-nominee. Patterson held that under state law these are not state records and need not be turned over. The Commission staff members wanted to examine the records as part of their investigation of complaints that Negroes have been denied the right to register to vote in Tuskegee and surrounding Macon County. Following the refusal by the registrars, the Commission voted unanimously to hold a hearing December 8 in Montgomery on the Macon County complaints. Members indicated they will subpoena the county's registration records if necessary.

The Justice Department's new Civil Rights Division has filed suit accusing officials of Terrell County, Ga., with discriminating against Negroes seeking to vote. The suit, filed in Federal District Court, is directed against Terrell's five election registrars and deputy registrars. In essence, the Government charges the registrars with "arbitrary refusal to register Negroes who demonstrated themselves to be fully qualified to register." The complaint said that among a group of Negroes denied registration on April 7, 1958, were four college graduates, all school teachers, and a fifth who attended Tuskegee Institute. The complaint alleges they were turned down for failing to pass a literacy test. The court is being asked to issue an injunction prohibiting Terrell County from following different procedures in the processing of voting applications of Negro and white citizens and from applying more stringent standards in the literacy tests of Negroes.

Terrell County was in the news earlier this year because of racial troubles. On June 8, the Washington Post and Times Herald reported not only of unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to register but charges of police brutality. Subsequently, federal investigators proposed indictments based on the deaths of two Negroes, the pistol wounding of a third, the beating of a fourth and the allegedly illegal detention of a third. However, a federal grand jury in August refused to indict three Dawson policemen under the civil rights statute.

Congress gave the Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department different roles under the Civil Rights Act passed in 1957. As set forth in the act, the Justice Department can seek court orders to enforce voting rights but does not have subpoena powers. The Commission

can investigate cases to determine the status of civil rights anywhere in the nation and ways to protect them. The Commission has the power to subpoena witnesses and hold hearings to obtain information, but it has no enforcement powers. The subpoena power is backed by the power of the federal courts to punish refusals to obey as contempt. The Commission is charged with reporting its findings and recommendations for further legislation to the President and Congress by September, 1959, when the agency expires.

Appointment of the Civil Rights Commission and creation of the new division of the Justice Department have not brought immediate benefit for prospective Negro voters in all parts of the South. Both agencies face opposition, not only in Macon County, Ala., but elsewhere, as can be seen from statements by some officials. For example:

In Birmingham, Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Conner said in September he would refuse to cooperate with any civil rights investigation by federal authorities. Connor said any persons arrested by federal officials in civil rights or integration cases in Birmingham would not be placed in the Birmingham jail.

The Georgia judge who appoints the Terrell County registrars, Walter I. Geer of Colquitt, reacted to the voting suit there with a threat to jail any FBI agents who investigate his court "in a high-handed, menacing manner." The Associated Press quoted Judge Geer as describing the suit as an "arrogant, unwarranted, high-handed effort of radical Republican leaders to intimidate the people of Terrell County."

In Clayton, Ala., Circuit Court Judge George Wallace, who once threatened to jail FBI agents investigating jury rolls in his circuit,

said in January that records of his court would be closed to civil rights investigators. He said that any federal agent who persisted in trying to get information in violation of his order "will be treated as...having committed contempt in the presence of the court."

Meeting in Clayton while the Civil Rights Act was pending in Congress, the Barbour County, Ala., grand jury echoed Judge Wallace's sentiments. The county grand jury said that it would "recommend that the citizens of this county and the law-enforcement officials of this county refuse to aid in the politically and spitefully inspired civil rights investigations of our citizens."

Also, while the bill was being debated, Alabama Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick predicted that white people of the state would resort to a total boycott of Negroes "if Congress passes this outrageous civil rights bill and the Negroes attempt to avail themselves of its provisions."

Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman said the bill would be nullified "if we remain firm, cool and calm."

Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin said, "We're not going to have a federal judge tell us who can vote and who can't."

On the more positive side, Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida said he had no objections to the Civil Rights Commission's announced investigation of Negro voting rights in Florida, provided it was carried out in a sound manner.

Nevertheless, while the Civil Rights legislation undoubtedly toughened resistance to Negro voting in some areas, at the same time it heartened many Negroes who moved ahead in their effort to enroll more of their race. The two most active regional groups working in this field

have been the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spearheaded by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. of Montgomery, Ala. was formed in 1957 by Negro leaders throughout the South in a "crusade for citizenship." Its announced aim: to aid and encourage Negroes to register and vote and to gather facts, where resistance is met, and present them to duly constituted authorities.

Upon passage of the civil rights legislation, the NAACP announced a goal of 3,000,000 Negro voters in the South by 1960. The Wall Street Journal (Aug. 7, 1958) reported that "although it is too soon to predict the outcome of the Negroes' newest battle for the ballot, Negro leaders frankly admit it's off to a modest start."

"We are doing a groundwork job with no thought that each month will show a spectacular increase worthy of headlines," Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said.

Donald S. Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, has suggested that various aspects of the current scene "raise the question whether we have not perhaps reached a temporary plateau in the move toward re-enfranchisement of the Southern Negro. In its unvarnished form, the proposition is that in most areas of the South, a Negro with political consciousness, who really wants to vote, can overcome the relatively mild obstacles in his way. Similarly, in the rural black belt the obstacles are so formidable and the number of politically-conscious Negroes so relatively few that it is hard to foresee a substantial increase in registration in the near future."(3)

(3 "The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," The Journal of Negro Education, summer, 1957)

Strong said that part of the problem of increasing the number of Negro voters is that of overcoming indifference to politics on the part of many. He suggested that "if all extralegal obstacles to Negro voting could suddenly be swept away, Negroes would not rush to the polls." He pointed out a comparison between the enfranchisement of women and the enfranchisement of Southern Negroes. He said that it was not until 36 years after women had been given the vote, in 1956, that they voted in substantially the same numbers as men. He drew another analogy with various immigrant groups and said only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous merchants were they able to command a respectful hearing in politics.

"Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites," Strong added.

While Strong said that eleven years of Negro voting in the South "constitute a success story," he concluded that "despite the progress of the past decade, it is probable that the second million votes will come harder."

Developments in the various states in the past two years include:

ALABAMA: In 1957, the Alabama legislature gerrymandered Tuskegee's city limits and cut the town's area in half, thus placing about 410 of the community's 420 Negro voters outside the city. (On Oct. 30, 1958, a federal district court upheld the gerrymander, saying the legislature had the power to change the city limits.) Tuskegee had 1,315 whites and 5,397 Negroes, according to the 1950 census. However, white registered voters outnumbered Negro registrants by about 200. Sam Englehardt,

Macon County state senator and executive secretary of the White Citizens Councils of Alabama, and author of the bill changing Tuskegee's city limits, commented, "We gerrymandered those niggers right out of town." He indicated this was because of the new Civil Rights Act, which he called "our greatest danger." Later, the Macon County Abolition Commission was set up by referendum in the fall of 1957 with authority to recommend the abolition of the county if considered necessary to maintain white control. The agency held hearings at which most of the surrounding counties said they would accept parts of Macon, although none appeared very enthusiastic. In September, 1958, the Commission made its report; it did little beyond restate the conviction that the situation in Macon County was serious, that the activities of the Federal Civil Rights Commission should be watched, and that a permanent Macon County Committee should be set up to watch developments.

Meanwhile, a new voter qualification bill to tighten registration requirements is ready for the next session of the Alabama legislature.

GEORGIA: The 1958 session of the General Assembly passed and Gov. Marvin Griffin signed into law a new registration bill which its sponsors frankly admitted was intended to discourage Negro voting. Chief provisions require, in most cases, two trips to the courthouse to register and a longer and more difficult set of questions for illiterates. The governor's efforts to re-instate the poll tax and to require biennial re-registration failed in the legislature.

In Atlanta, the race issue was injected into the mayoralty campaign in which incumbent William B. Hartsfield won a sixth term over

Lester Maddox, 41,301 to 24,489. Maddox called for a large turnout to defeat what he termed the "mayor's Negro bloc vote." Hartsfield denied his opponent's charge that he was "controlled by the NAACP" and said his opposition was running on a platform of "hate and strife." Hartsfield ran up large pluralities in areas predominantly Negro, some precincts giving him a margin of 79 to one. Hartsfield also carried predominantly white precincts, 27,191 to 23,134 for Maddox.

LOUISIANA: Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) said in a television interview last year and again later in Baton Rouge that the disfranchisement of 10,000 Negroes in northern Louisiana was embarassing to him in Washington and was difficult to explain. He added that all qualified citizens should vote and said the NAACP drive to get Negroes registered was commendable. State Rep. Edgar H. Lancaster Jr. countered that the 10,000 persons whose names were removed were registered illegally. He had a resolution signed by officials in East Carroll, Madison, and Tensas parishes saying that the action was taken in strict conformity with Louisiana laws.

About 10-11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, were dropped from the voting rolls of northern parishes within a period of several months in 1956-57 when the Citizens Council made a concerted effort to comb voter lists. The FBI moved into the state to check for possible civil rights violations. The effectiveness of the purges in some of the northern parishes could be seen in Ouachita, for example, where the number of Negroes registered dropped from 5,700 to 776 in 1958; in Morehouse the number dropped from 935 to 200 and in Natchitoches from 2,800 to 1,300.

However, Louisiana voters did defeat a proposed constitutional amendment in 1956. It was designed to help White Citizens Councils trim Negro voting even more. The amendment, which was defeated 190,410 to 178,833, would have provided two administrative steps before the voter losing his registration could take the matter into court, setting up administrative barriers to a federal court action.

New Orleans' 31,000 registered Negroes backed Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison heavily as he made a successful bid for a fourth term in 1958. Morrison avoided the race issue in his campaign, although he did reply to a questionnaire that he favored continued segregation. Morrison received 91,103 votes to 66,765 for five opponents. A candidate who made continuance of segregation his number one plank finished fourth.

In the fall of 1958 voter registration was a controversial issue in Winnfield, home town of Gov. Earl K. Long.[4] State Sen. William Rainach, Louisiana segregation leader, went to Winn Parish with a special legislative segregation committee studying voter registration irregularities.

Rainach charged that the registration office kept irregular hours, that records were taken from the office and that registrars were not requiring proper filling out of cards. He said most irregularities were confined to Negroes.

After closed hearings, Registrar Mary Flournoy promised Rainach to improve the operation of her office. She was presented a copy of "Voter Qualifications in Louisiana--the Key to Victory in the Segregation Struggle" published by the Louisiana Citizens Councils.

(4 Southern School News, October, 1958)

Governor Long charged the investigation was engineered by Dist. Atty. Leander H. Perez of St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes, segregationist and political foe of Long.

MISSISSIPPI: Jackson officials were advocating an expansion of the city limits. Maintainance of a "proper" ratio of white and Negro voters was advanced as one reason for the move. The population ratio in the 1950 census was 60 per cent white and 40 per cent Negro. In a 1955 survey it appeared that the white population in the city had not increased, whereas the Negro had. Col. Battle Barksdale, executive director of the City Planning Board, said that by 1960 the ratio would be 55 per cent white-45 per cent Negro, without any corporate change. By expanding the city limits, he said, an additional 20,000 white persons would be brought in and only about 1,000 Negroes.

In May, 1958, Gov. J. P. Coleman vetoed a bill designed to protect white control of the Mississippi ballot box by placing voter registration in the hands of a court-appointed registrar in each county. The governor said the bill was unconstitutional because it would make the registrar an inferior court. Earlier, however, the governor had urged the legislators, in a joint session, that something must be done to stop "unqualified" voting, which generally was interpreted to mean voting by Negroes.

Rep. Whitten (D-Miss.) in an address at Forest warned Mississippians against "wooing the Negro vote." He also asserted that Mississippi could avoid a crisis like that in Little Rock "if we can refrain from giving the federal government an ounce of cooperation."

NORTH CAROLINA: The 1957 legislature amended the statutory qualifications from the rulings of registrars and provided for court review of such appeals. The new law provided that applicants denied registration should file notice of appeal with the registrar on the day following denial. The line of appeal then would be: county board of elections to Superior Court to the North Carolina Supreme Court.

TEXAS: Negro voters were given credit for helping elect Lewis Cutrer as mayor over incumbent Oscar Holcombe, who had charged Cutrer with offering special inducements to Negroes. The Houston Post said that 26 predominantly Negro precincts gave Cutrer 94.7 per cent of their vote. He received 12,864 of the 13,394 votes cast in these precincts. Turnout in the Negro precincts averaged 41 per cent, or two per cent higher than for the city as a whole. Cutrer's majority totaled more than 26,000 votes.

VIRGINIA: The state's "blank paper" registration law went into effect in July, 1958. Under the law, new registrants must write the answers to 10 questions on a blank sheet of paper by memory. The questions deal with age, birth date and place of birth, residence, occupation and previous voting experience. Registrars provide instruction forms listing the questions but the registrant is not to refer to the form while filling out the blank sheet. As the law went into effect, Fairfax County registrars received a ruling from the Commonwealth Attorney that if the applicant failed to answer one of the questions, the registrar could hand back the application and could say it was incomplete but could not specify what was missing. Virginians must continue to pay the annual capitation or poll tax of $1.50 in order to vote.

APPENDIX

(Source of State Registration Totals)

ALABAMA: Estimated. Primary source, The Birmingham News (Hugh Sparrow, News Staff writer, Montgomery, April 20, 1958, reported his figures were compiled after an exhaustive study of the voting lists of Alabama's 67 counties). The News, which reported totals as of April 15, two weeks before the registration books were closed prior to the May 6 primary, estimated that the final total of Negro voters would be between 50,000-60,000. The SRC estimate of Negro registrants in Alabama in 1956 was 53,366. The News reported that Jefferson County had approximately 4,000 more Negroes on the voting rolls than in 1956, Montgomery nearly 1,000 more and Mobile about 2,000 more. On the basis of these increases and the pattern of gains and losses in other counties, which were believed to offset each other, capitol newsmen and other observers estimated the final total at 60,000.

ARKANSAS: Official. Totals prepared by Jimmie Jones, Auditor of State, and received April, 1958. His report contained estimates, rather than official figures, for 17 counties, from which poll tax books had not been received at the time his report was prepared.

FLORIDA: Official. Totals released by the Secretary of State at the time of the 1958 primary.

GEORGIA: Official. Released by Secretary of State. Four counties missing at time of release in September, 1958.

LOUISIANA: Official. Released by office of the Secretary of State. At the time of his release, reports from three parishes were missing; figures for these were interpolated from 1956 official figures and added to final total by a Louisiana consultant.

MISSISSIPPI: Estimated. Made by veteran capitol news correspondent.

NORTH CAROLINA: Estimated. Total registration released by Raymond Maxwell, executive secretary of the State Board of Elections, who gave newsmen as the estimate of the Negro registration the figure he said was agreed upon by most Negro leaders in the state.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Official. Released by the Secretary of State in May, 1958.

TENNESSEE: Estimated. Made by experienced capitol news correspondent after a spot check of representative counties.

TEXAS: Estimated. Made by veteran capitol reporter after consultation with political observers.

VIRGINIA: Official. Secretary of State said figures were based on reports of estimated numbers of voters furnished by clerks of court throughout the state.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HOUSING FOR NEGROES

IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SRC 10
June 24, 1959

The United States Commission on Civil Rights held hearings in Atlanta on April 10, 1959. The subject was housing for Atlanta's Negro citizens.

The Commission has also conducted housing hearings in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The inquiry in Atlanta has been the only one carried out in or planned for the South.

Atlanta has the reputation of being the best of Southern, perhaps of American, cities in quality and quantity of housing for Negroes. This was possibly the conclusion taken away by the Commission. In Congressional testimony on April 30, 1959 Chairman Hannah stated, in reply to a question:

> Well, sir, we concluded that there was a story in Atlanta that could well be told to the country. Of course, there is some pretty poor Negro housing in Atlanta, as there is poor housing for Negroes and white folks in other sections of the country, but the Atlanta story is a very interesting story and the progress that has been made in providing an opportunity for Negroes to acquire middle-class, and high-class, housing - while it is true they are segregated in areas - they have some very fine communities. This has been a cooperative effort worked out voluntarily by the Negroes and the white people and the city leaders and the mayor and so on.
>
> Frankly, I was surprised and pleased at what we found in the housing area in Atlanta, ...because...there is a better opportunity provided for middle-class and high-class housing for at least some of these Negroes in Atlanta than in many cities in my part of the country.

The relatively good conditions in Atlanta make all the more meaningful the discussion by Robert A. Thompson, one of the witnesses at the April 10 hearings. Because housing patterns influence and pervade all other areas of social relations, we have reproduced the text of his statement.

Racial relations in the South are not fully defined by the headlines of the day, or the particular issues which make the news. The school, voting and law enforcement problems are all parts of a basic system of social practices. So too is the housing problem. As the Negroes of the South migrate steadily and increasingly to the cities, it seems obvious that housing for them will become a matter of enlarging concern for all Southerners, and that this issue, which affects all others now, will demand decisions which go to the roots of Southern customs.

Mr. Thompson notes that, in Atlanta, the "artificial" shortage of land for Negro residences crowds one-third of the city's population into one-sixth of its residential area. Slums and their human products are an inevitable result. Furthermore, as Mr. Thompson points out, there are adverse consequences for the tax revenues of the city and the economy of its central business district. The statement makes clear also how deeply involved the federal government is, through its housing laws and agencies, in determining the housing patterns of our communities.

(The final paragraph of the statement, containing legislative recommendations, has been omitted and can be obtained from the Atlanta Urban League.)

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT A. THOMPSON, HOUSING SECRETARY, ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Atlanta, Georgia - April 10, 1959

: : : : :

The Atlanta Urban League is a social service agency working primarily in the field of community organization. The Atlanta Urban League is and has been interested in improving the educational, housing, recreational and health conditions of Negroes since its establishment in 1920. It is a charter member of the Community Chest and cooperates with other agencies and organizations in developing means for dealing with social problems affecting community relations in Atlanta.

The Atlanta Urban League is and has been particularly aware of the critical housing needs of Negroes in Atlanta for a long period. In 1947, when the Joint Congressional Committee on Housing held a hearing in Atlanta, the Atlanta Urban League pointed out that "during the war years and the ten depression years preceding it, far fewer houses were built in Atlanta and the rest of the nation than were needed for our expanding population...that the Negro population has overflowed the maximum possible use of present facilities...that the present overcrowding of Central areas has resulted in a blight that tends to lower values of adjacent properties and is a direct menace to health, safety, morals, and the prosperity of the entire community."

Prior to and since the Congressional Hearings, the Atlanta Urban League's housing program has been devoted entirely to increasing both the quantity and the quality of NEW owner-occupied and standard rental housing units for the Negro population of Metropolitan Atlanta. This program involves finding suitable and undeveloped tracts of land owned by Negroes or

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

land which can be secured and developed for Negroes; interesting insurance companies, savings and loan associations, savings banks and mortgage brokers in making construction and permanent mortgage loans; interesting builders in constructing the dwelling units; assisting real estate brokers and working with city and county Federal officials in approving proposed housing projects. Over-income families who must leave public housing projects and those displaced by City, State and Federal highway programs, are assisted in finding decent, safe and sanitary housing at costs related to the income of the displaced family.

1. The unpublished report of the Commission on Race and Housing and the local Metropolitan Planning Commission show that upwards of 10,000 dwelling units became available to the nonwhite population of Atlanta between 1945 and 1958. The report of the Commission on Race and Housing shows that the nonwhite population secured 10,554 dwelling units of which 5,120 were owner-occupied and 5,434 renter-occupied between 1945 and 1956. The Race and Housing Study also reports that only 2,009 of the total were used housing formerly occupied by white persons.

   The Metropolitan Planning Commission reported a net gain of 12,317 nonwhite dwelling units between 1950 and 1957. This Commission reports that 3,994 units were changed from white to nonwhite occupancy.

2. The main difficulty confronting the nonwhite population in securing decent, safe and sanitary housing is the "articifial" shortage of land on which dwelling units may be built for Negroes.

When the amount of land that can be developed for residential purposes is "reserved" for a racial group to the exclusion of all other groups because of race or religion, an "artificial" land shortage for the excluded group of individuals is created. Between 1940 and 1950, twenty-five census tracts with a total area of approximately 7.9 square miles housed 93,344 or 89.3 per cent of all Negroes living inside the city limits of Atlanta. In other words, there were 11,709 persons for each square mile and each square mile held 3,222 Negro families.

The Metropolitan Planning Commission's report of April 2, 1959, shows that the nonwhite population constitutes 35.7 per cent of the total in the City of Atlanta and that this racial group occupies only 16.4 per cent of the "total developed residential land". The extent to which these difficulties are being overcome gradually, may be attributed to three related factors, namely, "the economy", the social "climate" and to the structure and quality of life in the Negro community.

The economy of Atlanta is diversified and expanding and is based primarily on commerce, communications and services. This affects the stability, composition and distribution of the population; the economic, psychological, political orientation and relationships to other groups.

The social "climate" in Atlanta is permissive and fluid. It has an economic and political leadership that has given priority to civic advancement and national reputation rather than to maintaining rigid

control of the nonwhite population. The nonwhite population has been able to establish its claims through its own leadership within the existing system and the residential expansion is viewed more as a matter of pride and profit rather than as a threat.

With respect to the structure and quality of the Negro community, it is a fact that Atlanta has, since reconstruction been a center of higher education for Negroes. For the most part, the leadership, the impetus and personnel for overcoming over-crowded housing conditions, have come from or been closely associated with these institutions of higher education - Atlanta University, Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Spelman and Gammon. The leadership has had at its disposal financial resources. It has had the Empire Real Estate Board which is composed of mostly college graduate, builders and developers, and it has had the resources of the Atlanta Urban League. The Atlanta Urban League played a significant role in coordinating the efforts of white and Negro leadership in the sponsorship of housing developments for decent, safe and sanitary housing for Negro occupancy.

3. The leadership and the entire nonwhite population live within the framework of segregation. This group lives in segregated areas primarily because of custom and not because of local or state legal barriers.

The nonwhite population is expanding in the west, northeast and southeast sections of the city. In the west (Census Tracts FC-6 and FC-7) and southeast sections (Census Tract FC-20) new low cost (Section 221) housing and some high quality housing have been built both

with and without the assistance of Federal Housing Programs. Expansion in the northeast section (Census Tract F-17) occurred by the nonwhite population taking over formerly white occupied units and largely without the assistance of the Federal Housing Programs.

With respect to securing sites for relocation of Section 221 housing, the situation has been very frustrating. Sites for the location of Section 221 housing must be approved not only by the Federal Housing Administration, but also by the City of Atlanta. Special privilege of the City in approving relocation sites in effect determines where both the white and nonwhite population will or will not live. The Federal Housing Administration's refusal to approve land in certain sections for nonwhite relocation housing, while at the same time approving the same general section for white relocation housing, has further restricted the nonwhite population to limited land areas. The Ben Hill area is a case in point.

4. Restricting any growing population to limited land areas increases the population density, and high density is a main cause of slums. Slum property in terms of the financial return to property owners is expensive to acquire when purchased by the City Administration for civic development. In the northeast area, census tract F-17, F-18 F-28 and F-29 with a total of 173 blocks of 699.6 acres, the assessed value per square foot ranged from 35 to 95 cents in 1951 according to the Metropolitan Planning Commission's report of March 31, 1953.

Moreover, the confinement of low-income groups to close in and the nonwhite population to circumscribed areas affects adversely the

economic life of the entire city. According to U. S. Department of Commerce report for February 13, 1958, "60 per cent of consumer buying is done outside downtown areas of Atlanta" or the central business district. If the trend of outward migration by the more affluent population to the suburbs continues or is accelerated, the left-behind low-income groups and the central business district will undoubtedly suffer.

5. No state or local laws have been adopted to accomplish equal housing opportunity on a non-separate basis. Custom has dictated that all housing under the control of the city be on a segregated basis.

   The Westside Mutual Development Committee, composed of three white and three Negro citizens, selected by the Mayor, has from time to time settled differences of opinions relative to the westward expansion of Negroes. These committee members have been able to allay, from time to time, the fears of white property owners about the westward movement of the nonwhite population.

   The Westside Mutual Development Committee, however, recognized one very fundamental point and that is that every property owner, regardless of color or religion, has the right to sell or not to sell his or her property to whomever he or she wishes.

6. The various federal housing agencies are without power to withhold funds or assistance to cities and developers of projects on the basis of segregation or non-segregation. Approval of plans or projects is thus tantamount to the Federal Government approving or disapproving segregated housing.

7. The employment of qualified Negro personnel by the Federal agencies concerned with administering housing and renewal programs will tend to increase the ability of these agencies to deal more realistically with the problems involved in increasing the housing supply. It is therefore recommended that:

   a. Qualified Negroes be employed in the state offices of the Federal Housing Administration on an integrated basis.

   b. The Public Housing Administration employ qualified Negroes on an integrated basis in all regional offices.

   c. The Housing and Home Finance Agency employ qualified Negro personnel in all of its regional offices.

   d. The Urban Renewal Administration employ qualified Negro personnel on an integrated basis to implement this far-reaching program.

* * *

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WAITING ROOM PRACTICES

IN 21 SOUTHERN CITIES

SRC 11
July 17, 1959

A REPORT OF WAITING ROOM PRACTICES IN 21 SOUTHERN CITIES

This report summarizes the findings of a survey of racial practices in train, bus and air line waiting rooms of 21 of the South's leading cities. Information was gathered through questionnaires sent to one or more informed persons in each city.

Racial discrimination in public transportation has existed for more than 75 years. The November 25, 1955 ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission, following several Supreme Court decisions, was designed to remove all discriminatory practices in interstate travel by rail or bus. The ICC, applying the doctrine of the School Segregation Cases, ruled that segregation of interstate passengers on train and buses and in the waiting rooms of stations is unlawful. It declared:

> "The disadvantages to a traveler who is assigned accommodations or facilities so designed as to imply his inherent inferiority solely because of his race must be regarded under present conditions as unreasonable. He is entitled to be free of annoyances which almost inevitably accompany segregation, even though the rail carriers sincerely try to provide both races with equally convenient and comfortable cars and waiting rooms."

The ICC investigates instances of non-compliance. Robert J. Test, Sr., Acting Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, wrote, in a letter to the Southern Regional Council on July 23, 1958, "Full details of ... non-compliance should be forwarded to the Secretary of the Commission. The Commission investigates all complaints concerning segregation or other discrimination committed against passengers travelling in <u>interstate</u> commerce wherever the carrier or carriers concerned are alleged to be responsible for these practices."

Air traffic is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act, which prohibits "undue and unreasonable preference" and "unjust discrimination or undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage." Because of these provisions, a

federal circuit court in 1956 awarded monetary damages to a Negro, and against the air line which had discriminated against her.

The purpose of this report is to inform individuals and the general public of actual conditions and practices in waiting rooms of bus, train and air terminals of selected Southern cities in light of these provisions of federal law and rulings.

The problems presented in the following discussion are only a few of those that are encountered in the transition from segregation to desegregation of waiting room facilities in the South. This report shows that facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated.

The cities covered in the survey are listed below:

FLORIDA - Jacksonville
Miami
St. Petersburg
Tampa

VIRGINIA - Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond
Roanoke
Lynchburg

ARKANSAS - Little Rock

KENTUCKY - Louisville

NORTH CAROLINA- Charlotte
Greensboro

GEORGIA - Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Macon

TENNESSEE - Chattanooga
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

The average population of the metropolitan areas of these cities was approximately 275,000 in 1950. (This includes Lynchburg with a population of only 53,161.) The northernmost city is Louisville and the southernmost is Miami. Included in this survey are the capitals of four states.

One of the outcomes of the survey is an increased awareness that the

pattern of segregation is not uniform throughout the South, but has a manifold variety of forms. For this reason, it is difficult to record neat, clear-cut data on any situation. Practices differ from city to city, even within the same state. There are, moreover, inconsistencies in the waiting room practices of a single carrier in a particular city. Some employees of the terminals talked freely with observers; others evidenced cautious reserve. Some cities have ordinances relative to waiting rooms; others do not. These differences and inconsistencies vividly point up the fact that waiting room practices are in the process of change and modification.

Furthermore, there is real uncertainty as to just what the situation is in some cities. Indeed, there are cities and terminals which appear to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous. The Lynchburg Council on Human Relations asserts, "In general, Negroes reported general confusion about separation, both on their part and on the part of officials. No set pattern seems to prevail, and practices appear to be in a stage of transition."

A Nashville observer states, "The average police officer will not interfere unless called to intercede."

In Chattanooga, an observer says, "Any disturbance would be dealt with under those laws dealing with disorderly conduct. Police are instructed not to interfere except where there is violence."

"With respect to segregation in local waiting rooms, the general attitude of Little Rock and its officials can be most accurately described as neutral," declare two Little Rock observers. They continue, "Stimulated by managerial government, the Little Rock police force has adopted a more professional attitude toward law enforcement. At the top the policy is to enforce the law regardless of race. However, this is not to say the individual patrolman cannot and does not act 'independently.'"

Air Line Waiting Room Practices

There are fewer problems in the air line terminals than in either the bus or train stations. All twenty air line terminals (Portsmouth does not offer air line service) have non-segregated waiting rooms.

The terminal restaurants are also, for the most part, non-segregated, at least to some degree. Memphis, Columbus and Augusta are the exceptions. In Augusta there are no eating facilities for Negro passengers. Negroes may eat at the snack bar in Memphis; at the lunch counter in Columbus.

Sometimes an air terminal restaurant that is supposedly non-segregated will nevertheless attempt to maintain de facto segregation. At the non-segregated Chattanooga Airport, a Negro reported that he was told he could not be served because the restaurant was preparing for a "private party"; however the usual practice seems to be to serve Negroes.

The Atlanta airport restaurant is a good example of the ambiguity of policy and practice which was referred to above. Conditions there are uncertain, and practice from day to day is inconsistent. Well-dressed, professional Negroes have been served without incident or embarrassment. On the other hand a regionally prominent Negro leader reports having been told flatly by the restaurant management that no Negroes could be seated and served. Still another Negro was informed, at about the same time, by the management that Negroes would be served behind a screen. It is the opinion of some informed observers that the policy at the airport is so ill-defined that the treatment of Negroes depends almost entirely upon which employees are on duty at any particular time. Other observers attribute the differential treatment of Negro customers to the dress and bearing of the Negroes themselves. A Birmingham Negro, refused service at the Atlanta Airport restaurant, filed suit in federal court against officials of the Atlanta

Airport, the City of Atlanta and some of its officials, and the lessee of the restaurant. A ruling is expected in the near future.

Toilets are segregated in at least four of the cities: Chattanooga, Memphis, Columbus and Augusta; no reply to this question was received from Macon. In the Atlanta terminal, there are rest rooms designated "Men," "Women," "Colored Men" and "Colored Women"; Negroes so freely use the rest rooms marked "Men" and "Women" that it would seem mistaken to regard the facilities as segregated. Negroes have been known to use the white rest rooms without incident at Chattanooga and Columbus. All other cities reportedly have non-segregated toilets.

Railway Waiting Room Practices

There is a wide variation of practices and policies among the train stations. Practices differ as to which facilities are segregated, as to methods used to segregate, and as to degree of insistence upon segregation. One station may have a non-segregated waiting room but segregated restaurants and toilets, while another may have a segregated waiting room but non-segregated restaurants and toilets. One station may put up iron pipes to suggest separation of races, while another may put up partitions. One city may enforce separation diligently, while another may be lax in enforcement.

Seven cities have non-segregated waiting rooms. These are Memphis, Portsmouth, Richmond, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Louisville (at Union Station), and St. Petersburg (which has merely painted out the old "colored" and "white" signs, leaving passengers free to seat themselves in either of two rooms; Negroes usually find their way to the formerly "colored" room).

The fourteen remaining cities have separate waiting rooms for white and Negro passengers, as has Louisville's Central Station. In several of these, however, Negro interstate passengers frequently use the general waiting room: these are Knoxville, Nashville, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Chattanooga

(Southern R.R.). At least infrequent use of the general waiting rooms is reported in the stations of all but four cities. These four are Roanoke, Tampa, Macon and Augusta.

These same four are the only cities in which Negro intrastate passengers reportedly never use the general waiting room, although they seldom do so in Chattanooga (Union Station), Greensboro, Miami, Jacksonville, Atlanta, Columbus, Louisville (Central Station) and Little Rock.

In some of the stations, Negro passengers occasionally do not observe "expected" practices but sit where they choose. For example, at the Southern Railway Station in Lynchburg, where the old Negro waiting room has been converted into offices, Negroes often disregard the iron pipe that has been set up between rows of seats in the formerly all-white waiting room.

There is a sign on the door of the restaurant in the Chattanooga Greyhound station which reads: "Owned by Union News Company. Operated under the laws of the State of Tennessee." This notice well represents the situation in train as well as bus stations, throughout the South. Segregated restaurants and lunch counters in train and bus terminals present a special problem. Lunch room facilities operated by a lessee (non-carrier) are not within the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The Union News Company, a non-carrier operating lunch rooms in several Southern cities, continues segregated services to passengers. Any other non-carrier could presumably do the same. A Negro interstate passenger, sitting in a general waiting room, is not "free of annoyances" when he must go to the kitchen to be served, as is the case at the Terminal Station in Chattanooga.

In the railroad stations of five cities, Negroes are allowed to sit and be served at the same lunch counter or in the same restaurant with whites. These are Nashville, Memphis (interstate passengers only), Greensboro, Little

Rock and Louisville (only at Union Station; separate at Central Station). Three have no eating facilities for Negroes - Augusta, Tampa, and Richmond; and six have none for Negroes or whites - Columbus, St. Petersburg, Charlotte, Portsmouth, Norfolk and Lynchburg (at Southern R. R. Station). The remaining seven have separate eating facilities.

The varying restrictions imposed upon Negro passengers may be briefly illustrated. At Lynchburg N. & W. Station, there are segregated seating arrangements in the restaurant, separated by a partition. In Tampa, Negro passengers must walk across tracks and a street to a Negro restaurant. At the L. & N. lunchroom in Knoxville, there is a sign to indicate that for service, Negroes should go to a room near the kitchen where there are two or three chairs and a table.

Where segregation is the rule in eating practices, it is generally strictly observed. But there are occasional exceptions. At the Union Station in Chattanooga, a waitress told a white observer that the "restaurant" (a counter with seats, owned by the Union News Company) has a place in the kitchen for Negroes. A Negro observer, however, sat down and was served. He thought he might have been considered a "plant", since there was a legal suit last year.

Toilets are non-segregated in the railroad stations of eight cities - Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, St. Petersburg, Greensboro, Louisville (Union Station), Chattanooga and Little Rock. Toilets in all other stations are segregated. Some segregated toilets are nevertheless unmarked, as in Knoxville and Nashville.

Bus Line Waiting Room Practices

The bus carriers have been the most resistant to change. Richmond and Portsmouth alone have non-segregated waiting rooms.

Of the 19 cities with separate waiting rooms, Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting rooms in eight, although they do so infrequently: Atlanta, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Jacksonville, Greensboro, Louisville, Nashville and Little Rock Stations #2 and #3. (Little Rock has three bus stations, which are here designated as Stations #1, #2, and #3.)

In at least ten cities, and at Little Rock Station #1, Negro interstate passengers are segregated. These are Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Roanoke, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Miami, Charlotte, Memphis and Chattanooga. In Knoxville, de facto segregation apparently exists, although non-segregation is reportedly the policy.

In two cities in which Negro interstate passengers are allowed to use the general waiting rooms, intrastate passengers are not. These are Atlanta and Little Rock (Stations #2 and #3). Otherwise, intrastate passengers are segregated in the same cities as are the interstate passengers.

Two of the three Little Rock stations are of particular interest. At bus station #1, waiting rooms are designated as follows: "White Intra-state Waiting Room" and "Inter-state and Colored Intra-state Waiting Room." It is reported that this ingenious method of labeling the waiting rooms in fact allows all white passengers, whether inter- or intra-state, to use the former, while all Negro passengers must use the latter.

It is further reported that Little Rock bus station #2 does not seem to recognize the ruling on interstate passengers. The waiting rooms are marked only "Colored" and "White". There is no inter- and intra-state distinction made.

The bus station restaurants and lunch counters tend to follow the same segregated pattern. Only three cities have eating facilities open to Negroes, even on a limited basis: in Portsmouth there is a non-segregated snack counter with no stools; in Louisville, children are not segregated at the

general lunch counter - adults are; in Nashville, at the Greyhound Station, Negroes are served meals at the end of the counter, but buy snacks with others.

Stations in at least three cities have no eating facilities for Negroes: St. Petersburg, Columbus and Little Rock (#3). One Little Rock station (#1) has no eating facilities for whites or Negroes.

Both bus stations with unsegregated waiting rooms - Portsmouth and Richmond - have segregated restaurants. At the new Portsmouth Greyhound Terminal, to be opened soon, it has been announced that no facilities will be segregated. In Richmond, Trailways Station reportedly does not enforce restaurant segregation. But Greyhound Station in Richmond, as in many other Southern cities, leases its restaurant to individuals who segregate it within the non-segregated waiting room. In the other 14 cities, eating facilities are entirely segregated.

Occasionally exceptions are made for Negroes who are well groomed. Neat, attractive dress is a basis for respect and consideration from others. A good example of partiality toward Negroes of favorable outward appearance is Jacksonville. In the bus depot at Jacksonville, "well-dressed, intelligent looking Negroes" have been served in the cafeteria designated for whites. Other Negroes have been asked to leave.

Bus stations segregate their eating facilities in various ways. At Little Rock Station #2, the lunch counter continues into the Negro waiting room, but is divided by a wall. A partition is used to separate passengers in the Lynchburg bus terminal. In Knoxville, Trailways Station serves Negroes through a window in the Negro waiting room. Facilities at the new Tampa Trailways Station are considered satisfactory. By contrast, facilities at the Tampa Greyhound Station are regarded as unsatisfactory for both whites and Negroes. In Columbus, Negro passengers must go to a restaurant some

distance from the station.

All bus stations have segregated toilets except those in Richmond and Greensboro.

Transportation to and from the Terminals

In many of the Southern cities surveyed, taxicabs and airport limousines transport passengers indiscriminately.

Seventeen cities offer non-segregated limousine service to and from the airport terminal. Memphis, Columbus and Macon are the exceptions; Portsmouth does not have airline service. In Tampa and Lynchburg, however, some reports indicate that in actual practice segregation often occurs.

There are non-segregated taxis in 12 cities - Little Rock, Norfolk, Lynchburg, Portsmouth, Roanoke, Miami, Knoxville, Nashville, Chattanooga, Augusta, Charlotte and Greensboro. They remain segregated in six: St. Petersburg, Tampa, Jacksonville, Memphis, Atlanta and Macon.

In Richmond, all taxis may transport either white or Negro passengers, but do not make it a practice to transport them together. In Columbus, white taxis transport both white and Negro passengers, but only when passengers are all white or all Negro; Negro cab drivers in Columbus have been told by local authorities not to take any white passengers.

A Macon city ordinance forbids taxicabs and cars-for-hire from transporting white and Negro passengers at the same time. (This also applies to air line limousines in Macon, as they are owned by private individuals.) In Atlanta, a city ordinance restricts whites to white-operated cabs, Negroes to Negro-operated cabs.

Apparently there is no connection between taxicab policies and waiting room practices in any particular city. Cabs are often non-segregated in cities with segregated facilities in their bus and train terminals. In a

majority of the cities, passengers may take advantage of non-segregated cabs en route to and from terminals.

Conclusions

The carriers themselves can, at most, only make it possible for individuals to be free to choose where they want to eat, sit or ride. The common usage of desegregated waiting room facilities may not occur until after waiting rooms are desegregated completely in law and policy. Members of both the white and Negro races will have to make new adjustments. Custom and tradition often discourage the Negroes from "trying" a desegregated situation and whites from accepting them.

The surface of the "cake of custom" is slowly cracking. A Chattanooga observer remarked, "It would seem that Negroes, aware of conditions, do what they can to break tradition, but many follow custom." A similar awareness by white persons of the part they must play is necessary before real progress can be made toward the removal of legal and social barriers in interstate travel.

Prior to the 1955 rulings on interstate travel, little desegregation had occurred in any of the South's bus and train terminals. Since that time, facilities have been desegregated in most of them. The monumental ICC ruling may be conceived of as the "legal" stage upon which the "social" action of a modern drama of Southern life unfolds. The ICC determined the legal requirements for desegregated waiting room facilities in bus and train terminals; social compliance in this field, as in others of Southern society, lags behind. Law does alter custom, however, and if the change is laggard, it is

nonetheless real.

The Southern Regional Council believes that an awareness of conditions and practices in waiting rooms of the Southern bus, train and air terminals facilitates the solutions to existing problems and those that may arise in the desegregation of public transportation facilities. Courage, patience and understanding are needed by all who would see orderly progress in the South.

* * *

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"THE WASHINGTON SCHOOL STORY - TRANSCRIPT
OF AN ATLANTA TELEVISION PROGRAM FEATURING
DR. CARL F. HANSEN"

Sponsored by

The Georgia Council on Human Relations
on
WAGA-TV

May 3, 1959
Atlanta, Georgia

SRC
July 1959

Announcer:

The following program has been produced by the Georgia Council on Human Relations. Featured as questioners are Mr. Devereaux McClatchey, Atlanta attorney and former chairman of the Atlanta Board of Education; Mr. Harry Boyte, chairman of Help Our Public Schools, Inc.; and Dr. John A. Griffin, director of community education at Emory University. And now, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C., who is our guest speaker.

Dr. Hansen:

May I say at the outset that I am delighted to be in Atlanta. It is a great honor to visit this beautiful and hospitable city, and I am especially grateful for the opportunity to talk about the Washington Public School System, our problems, our gains, and what is happening there in respect to educational improvement.

Dr. Griffin:

Dr. Hansen, we are glad to have you here because in Atlanta we have a deep concern with our own school crisis as well as with the Washington schools. In addition, of course, we have from our own Fifth District, Congressman Davis who has had a particular concern with the Washington situation as the chairman of a committee which has investigated Washington schools. So, we have some real reasons for wanting to talk to you today.

Mr. McClatchey:

I know, too, that from my experience people here are very gravely concerned with this situation and would like to have a close-up of the developments as they have taken place in your school system.

Dr. Hansen:

It may be of some interest to you to know that in Washington we went through many of the difficulties and problems that you are confronted with here in Atlanta; the adjustment to a unified school system is not an easy one to make. It takes great care and planning on the part of many people.

I think it significant in Washington that there was a great deal of preparation preceding the actual desegrega- in 1954, and that there was much support from the community, including the President of the United States and the Board of Commissioners, for the movement which the Board of Education initiated. A part of the education for desegregation is, obviously, learning through experience and overcoming the fears which surround a movement of this kind. And I can tell you that in Washington now we have practically total desegregation. There is no discrimination in terms of race in the placement of pupils or in the assignment of teachers.

We have an enrollment of 114,000 pupils attending our public schools every day - in good order and under able instruction. So that when we have visitors coming into our buildings from all parts of the country -- in fact, from all parts of the world -- they are often surprised because of what they've heard about our school system to see that education is going on in such an orderly fashion.

Mr. McClatchey:

Do you still have schools that are totally white and totally Negro?

Dr. Hansen:

We have a very limited number of schools in both of those categories - in terms of the pupil populations. Actually, we have rather widely distributed the assignment of teachers so that in some all-white schools, for example, we have a few Negro teachers who are doing admirably. We place them on merit now. Where we find a teacher who is competent, we assign her wherever she is needed.

In general, we have a rather extensive degree of biracial staffing; although we have a very high per cent

of Negro pupils in this school system - 74 point per cent of the population enrolled are Negro while only 62 per cent of the teachers are Negroes. We have a kind of geographic grouping by race in Washington, as I believe is characteristic, generally speaking, throughout the country. But we have a unified school system. This is a significant point -- single administration, single supervision, single standards for academic achievement, instructional programs and evaluation of teaching. And we have an opportunity for communication among all elements of our school system as a means of improving the quality of instruction.

Mr. Boyte:

Dr. Hansen, since the schools were desegregated, have the superior students suffered or have you made some provision in your planning to take care of their needs?

Dr. Hansen:

I think it's fair to say that one of the greatest concerns that many of the parents had when we desegregated in 1954 was this - would the brighter child, a child who is academically superior, be held back by intermixing in classes of youngsters with severe academic retardation. We took it upon ourselves to reassure parents that every child would have a maximum educational opportunity. And in order to do this we established an ability-grouping system for senior high schools that made it certain that the bright child, the slow child, and the group in between would be given instruction suited to their levels and their capacities to learn. I think we have succeeded, generally, in establishing confidence in the community on this point. Remember that in this system of curricular organization no child need suffer academically through the desegregation process.

Dr. Griffin:

In other words, you're divided up by sections according to abilities?

Dr. Hansen:

We call this plan, in the senior high schools, the four-track curriculum. We have an honors group curriculum for the child who has the drive and motivations of a superior child. We have, in addition, the general college preparatory program, the general program, and the basic program. We have said that even the youngster who comes into the senior high school with a sharp retardation or a lower achievement level in reading and mathematics should have an opportunity to become better. This is the basic group. Achievement levels have definitely improved as a result of this concentration.

Dr. Griffin:

When you made this division in the high school, did you find any racial differences? We would assume that you have from what we have read.

Dr. Hansen:

We found that we have membership in each of the four tracks by Negro and white pupils, but quite clearly the larger number of basic students were Negro students. I think this is to be expected. People have said that we lowered standards when we desegregated. But the fact is we simply discovered that the great numbers of Negro students who formerly were in a separate school system were not being given the educational opportunities they needed. Class sizes were larger, the part-time situation was more severe and in many ways, the doctrine of separate-but-equal just did not work.

Secondly, great numbers of the Negro students come from economically and culturally deprived families. There's a high incidence of family breakdown among the Negro population in the city of Washington. There is some of that, of course, in the white population too, this is a difference in degree, not a difference in kind. And the result is that children who come from socially and economically deprived backgrounds cannot be expected to achieve at the same rate as children who come from good family situations where they have cultural experiences which serve as a background for education. This, it seems to me,

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

makes it imperative that we establish a program of education for all the children which will make up, as far as education can, for the deficiencies in the home and community situations.

Mr. McClatchey:

Dr. Hansen, have your rearrangements in your educational process caused a substantial increase in your school budget or not?

Dr. Hansen:

One of the very interesting aspects of desegregation or unification of our school system has been this - we have been able to identify the totality of our educational problem; we are able to see the problem in its entirety. Secondly, we've been able to move out of the area of concern and conflict which preceded desegregation into a unified community approach to improvement of our school facilities. As a result, we've been able to get increased budgets, to reduce class sizes, to increase the number of special education classes for slower learners, to employ special teachers for work in social adjustment of the maladjusted child, to increase the funds for psychologists, and to establish certain facilities for severe behavior cases. One of the magnificent results of this unification of community interest has been a gradual improvement of educational facilities in Washington. I think we're on our way. We're not satisfied with what we have; I want to make that clear. We have many, many problems.

Dr. Griffin:

Do you have data which supports the assumption that you've actually made academic progress since desegregation?

Dr. Hansen:

We have substantial data to prove that. We've recently done a three-year study of the four-track curriculum. I'm not sure that these charts will show, but I'd like to indicate very roughly, at least, the

kinds of achievements which our several tracks have made.

The group in Track One - the honors group - are achieving at levels which put them very high in terms of national standards. For example, in social studies, 93 per cent is the median percentile rank, which means that the average of this group of honor students did better than 93 per cent of the children who took this test throughout the country, very significantly above the national standard. But also, there is an indication of improvement in the rate of growth from three years ago as is shown by the gain in percentile rank. We are finding that our gifted children made more than average progress in academic achievement. When we group them together, we find that they are performing at a highly superior level. This reassures, I'm sure, the people of the community that the bright child is being given an educational opportunity which is adequate for him.

In Track Two, which is the regular college preparatory program, gains are even more significant. In social concepts the median percentile moved from 56 in the ninth grade to 71 in the twelfth grade. In correctness of expression the change was from 69 percentile to 74 over the same period of time.

The median percentile rank of 2,481 seniors who were tested in the ninth grade and later in the twelfth this year in the social sciences improved from 19 points in 1955 to 45 points in 1958. This indicates, I think, a phenomenal increase during the two years and eight months between the two testing periods. In correctness of expression, the gain was from 54 to 72, showing more than normal improvement over a period of two years and eight months of instruction.

Mr. Boyte:

These studies also answer a question I had in mind - that you have a stepped-up program to assist the average and the retarded child as well as the superior child.

Mr. McClatchey:

Dr. Hansen, what has been the effect of this program? Has there been friction between white and Negro children in your schools? Has it resulted in delinquency or troublesome experiences? There's a good deal of interest in this particular question and I would like very much to have an answer to it.

Dr. Hansen:

I think we have to say at the outset that, to some extent, especially in the earlier stages of desegregation, pupils had some difficulty learning to go to school together in a system where this had never been done. And the fact that there is a difference in race tended, in some cases, to add another dimension to the problem of control.

On the other hand, we are finding that many of the problems that we have are primarily the problems of children. And, taken by and large, discipline in our school system is showing improvement. We are developing the means and techniques, we're getting at the needs of children better, so that I think it will be increasingly possible to correct some of the causes of behavior problems.

Now, as to social activities and relationships, we have a relatively small number of friction cases resulting from them. Most of our schools have gone ahead with their social activities. Senior proms have been held at every senior high school except one - and this one will have a senior prom there this year. The students have continued with their inter-scholastic activities; we've had championship games fought out between all-Negro teams and all-white teams with as many as 19,000 youngsters in the spectator group, for the most part, setting a pretty good example for adults in terms of behavior.

I don't want to gloss over the problems; I certainly do not want to leave the impression that children who come from difficult home conditions come to school prepared to show adequate educational results; this just doesn't happen. What I'm saying is that the problems

of discipline are those which are inherent in the situation, in home conditions of children, in their attitudes and their motivations rather than in desegregation.

Dr. Griffin:

In other words, desegregation and the attendent attitudes tended to focus new attention on some of these problems which were there all the time?

Dr. Hansen:

And also, I think, tended to assist us in devising, on a unified basis, new approaches to these problems, developing a more intelligent, scientific attitude toward the problems of pupil behavior, rather than trying to hide them or suppress them under autocratic controls in order to concentrate on the education of the more responsive youngsters. We've now come to the point of working in a planned and scientific way to alleviate the conditions which have been described.

Mr. Boyte:

Do you have any data as regards delinquency rates since 1954?

Dr. Hansen:

We have some very impressive data on that. The Commissioners' report to the Congress in 1959 presented information which showed the decline in delinquency rate of non-white children, ages 5-17, since 1954. The decline has been phenomenal - from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 in 1958. The decline is dramatically shown in the bar graph which indicates a reduction of nearly 50 per cent in the number of cases per thousand among the non-white children aged 5-17.

Now the school system doesn't take credit for all of this, but I think it has made a contribution. The

result certainly can be attributed first, to the tremendous interest shown by Negro leadership in the improvement of social conditions for their children. We have a constantly growing effort toward rehabilitation of the family structure and aid to the broken families, undertaken by the Negro leaders of our community. We have also in our city a Commissioners' Youth Council which represents many areas of service in the community. It has been, through the past several years, concentrating upon the reduction of juvenile delinquency. Certainly, it cannot be said that desegregation has increased delinquency - at least this much we know.

Dr. Griffin:

You're saying two things aren't you? You're saying that desegregation hasn't necessarily been responsible for these decreases in delinquency that you've showed us here, and you're also saying that the fact that there has been some delinquency also is not caused by desegregation.

Dr. Hansen:

Yes, this is a very important point. All of us are very much concerned, for example, about the number of pregnancies among girls between the ages of 14-18. The common tendency, even among some of the scientifically-minded people in the city of Washington, is to relate this to school membership. Actually, the school is one of the major instrumentalities for the reduction of this problem. It does not cause it. These conditions arise outside the school; in the home situation and in the community situation. And I resent the implication that, in the first place, the schools cause these difficulties, and secondly, although we have a relatively small percentage of the children involved in these difficult situations, that the entire school system should be discredited for it -- 114,000 youngsters discredited, and the parents in the community discredited because of the difficulties that a few - in the neighborhood of 200 girls under 16 years of age - have in this particular problem area.

Mr. McClatchey:

Dr. Hansen, I wonder if you would tell us a bit about your practices in hiring teachers - white and Negro - and your practices in placing teachers in classrooms - that is, whether you place Negro teachers in white classrooms and vice versa.

Dr. Hansen:

The Board of Education's policy in 1954 established the rule that all personnel should be employed, assigned and promoted on merit only. There should be no discrimination because of race in the assignment of anyone in the school system.

Since that time we have employed all teachers and all officers on the basis of merit. All teachers are required to meet the same standards as to experience and education; we require the A.B. degree for all permanent teachers in the elementary schools. Our recruitment standards are among the highest in the nation. We place the teachers where we think their services will be needed. We've found actually that there are times when our teacher needs have been better met when we can hire without regard to race. We are definitely reassured, that given the capacity to do the kind of concerned teaching that every teacher must have, the parents and children soon forget about whether the teacher is Negro or white. In fact, I've had many favorable comments from parents about some of the Negro teachers.

Mr. McClatchey:

There has been some suggestion that a Negro teacher who had, say an A.B. degree, wouldn't necessarily be of the same competence as a white teacher with an A.B. degree - perhaps drawing a distinction between some of the Negro educational institutions and the white ones. Do you have any opinion as to whether there would be any difference - given equal training - in the white teachers and the Negro teachers?

Dr. Hansen:

I think this could be said of practically any college graduate - the quality of the school from which he graduates may have some effect upon the meaning of his record. This could be said of schools that serve white pupils exclusively as well as of the Negro colleges. We guard against that variation in standards and college backgrounds by requiring the elementary teachers to take the National Teachers Examination. This is prepared by the Educational Testing Service at Princeton and is national in scope and application, so that the standards are uniform.

For our other teachers, we prepare our own examinations, which are very difficult - and our teachers will attest to this. And all of the teachers who come into permanent status must pass this examination. So, although there may be variations in backgrounds and preparation, we are assured that we have above average intellectual competence on the part of the teachers when they come into the school system.

Dr. Griffin:

Has this proved any recruitment problems for you? I notice that in this data somewhere you have a good many teachers who are not permanently appointed - that is, they have not met basic requirements. This suggests that maybe you've had recruitment problems.

Dr. Hansen:

We have recruitment problems which, I think, are generally national in scope. There has been a shortage of teachers especially in the elementary schools for many years. We do have an additional difficulty in that some teachers are not willing to undertake the rigorous kind of professional work required to teach in the downtown schools. This is not unique to Washington; every major city has the same problem.

I think we have to pay more money to teachers who are willing to come into the heart of the city where the problems of social mal-function are the most severe.

But on the other hand, we've had some teachers, at least, say this: "I want to teach in the Washington school system because I agree with what you're doing and I want to be of service to the children who need help most."

With regard to this teacher situation, I want to introduce another set of figures that I have on achievement gains made in the sixth grade, keeping in mind that I'm talking about a sixth grade class that was tested just last February, which has a membership of almost 8,000 youngsters 72 per cent of whom are Negro and have been taught largely by Negro teachers. I do not have the percentage on the number of sixth-grade Negro and white teachers, but remember from the proportions we have in general that many of the children have been taught by Negro teachers.

This year, in five of the test categories, the sixth grade class has reached or exceeded the national standard and has fallen below by four months in only one of the six categories. This, then, can be used as a demonstration of several things. First, that since 1956 there has been an improvement in educational opportunities and the instructional program for the children, and secondly, given the right kind of opportunities, Negro children can respond to education. And, thirdly, I'd like to suggest that our staffing must be good or this couldn't have happened.

This line on the graph represents the national median at 6.6 grade at the time the test was given. We are behind in this one category only by four months. But most significant is the up-grading from 1956 through 1959 - step by step, showing definite improvement in academic achievements of the total sixth grade class this year as against the total sixth grade class of 1956.

Dr. Griffin:

Does this mean that your sixth grade is now above the national median, whereas two or three years ago you were generally below it?

Dr. Hansen:

That is correct. For the city of Washington to achieve national standards with its atypical distribution of school population - that is, the great numbers of children coming from deprived homes, is an achievement....

Dr. Griffin:

Let's face it, a good many of them come from the South and we note from our own data that our expenditures in the South for neither whites nor Negroes are adequate. They fall far below national standards. And you have many children in Washington who come from the Southern states and so they've been deprived, whatever their color.

Mr. Boyte:

Do you consider the desegregation of the District schools to have been a sound educational decision or more of a sociological experiment?

Dr. Hansen:

I consider it primarily to be sound educational management to run a unified school system. Let's assume that our responsibility in education is to give as much educational opportunity as possible to every child who comes into the building -- into our school system. In a unified school system, where we can join hands in setting a common pattern of standards and opening doors which heretofore have been closed, we can do a better job of education. And I think that it is just sound American doctrine that every child, every citizen, must be given maximum opportunity for self-development for the good of the country as a whole. This is certainly in line with the doctrine of individual rights and the Christian principle that every individual is sacred under God.

Mr. McClatchey:

What would you say has been the reception among the people of Washington to the new system?

Dr. Hansen:

Of desegregation?

Mr. McClatchey:

Yes.

Dr. Hansen:

I think the vast majority of people in Washington feel that this has been a good thing to do. I think there is becoming widely spread now the feeling that Washington schools are moving; that they're setting a course in history which has some significance and that despite all the problems - the heartbreaking problems of deprived children - what we've actually done is to give them greater opportunity and have come closer to fulfilling our responsibilities as a social agency, as an educational agency, than ever before. Now, this isn't to say that many people did not go into this in opposition to their basic traditions. One of the great stories that comes out of this transition has been that many teachers and many principals accepted their new responsibilities even though they felt personally that this wasn't the proper thing to do.

Dr. Griffin:

I think you've given us a most interesting report.

Announcer:

Time for the program you have just seen was purchased by the Georgia Council on Human Relations. Interviewing Dr. Carl F. Hansen of Washington, D. C. were Devereaux McClatchey, Harry Boyte and John A. Griffin. Thank you, and a most pleasant afternoon.

- END -

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A BACKGROUND REPORT ON

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

FOR

1959-60

SRC 12
August 10, 1959

CONTENTS PAGE

1. The Present Situation 2

2. Developments of 1958-59 9
   Little Rock 11
   Virginia 16

3. Areas of Special Interest, 1959 20

   Arkansas 20
      Little Rock 20
      Dollarway 22

   Virginia 22
      Prince Edward County 23
      Front Royal (Warren County) 26
      Charlottesville 28
      The Washington Suburbs 30
      Norfolk 31
      Floyd County 32
      Richmond 33

   Tennessee 34
      Knoxville 34
      Nashville 34

   North Carolina 35
      Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem 35
      Goldsboro and Craven County 35

   Florida 36
      Dade County 36
      Tampa 37

   Texas 38
      Houston 38
      Dallas 39

   Delaware 41

   Georgia, Atlanta 41

   Alabama, Birmingham 42

   Louisiana, New Orleans 42

   South Carolina, Clarendon County 42

4. Summary and Prospect 43

1958-59 was a year in which a steadily growing body of southerners discovered that the old slogans and old passions were inadequate for the present needs of southern society. While the political spokesmen of the South kept up the attack on school desegregation by saying the familiar things about racial differences and states rights, new issues appeared more meaningful to many of their constitutents. For them, the basic issue had become the defense of the public schools. As was demonstrated in both Little Rock and Virginia, this was a cause which for a large number of southerners transcended in importance the question of segregation vs. desegregation.

The closing of schools in Little Rock, Charlottesville, Front Royal and Norfolk affected 16,300 youths. Through hastily organized private schools, correspondence courses, and the generosity of other public school systems the majority of these were educated in some fashion. About 1,800, however, got no schooling.*

Looking back on 1958-59, the fifth school year after the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation cases, one can take note of the major developments, and in doing so raise the question as to which of them were the most significant of the future. The educational derailment of the 16,000 young people will certainly have consequences, but they are of the kind about which one can only conjecture. To the minds of some, the fact that southerners showed enough firmness of resolve to shut down schools will seem the crucial revelation of the year. Others will believe that the capitulation of the Virginia state government, and the re-opening of the schools there in

* The figures given in this paragraph are those of Mr. Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; June 22, 1959.

February 1959, was a more prophetic indication of the South's next direction. There must be still other observers who think that the primary fact about 1958-59 was that, for the first year in three, there was no violence around the schools, no use of troops.

1. The Present Situation

At the end of the 1958-59 school year, no desegregation had occurred in the public schools of six states. These were:

Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Louisiana
Mississippi
South Carolina

In the remaining five states of the old Confederacy, varying degrees of resistance had been manifested in the years after 1954, and by 1959 had held desegregation to minimal levels. The record was as follows:

	Desegregated Districts *	Negroes in Desegregated Schools
Arkansas	8 of 228	80
North Carolina	4 of 174	14
Tennessee	3 of 142	82
Texas	125 of 722 (estimated)	3,250 (estimated)
Virginia	4 of 128	30

Excepting Texas, only 206 Negro youths were, in 1958-59, in attendance with white pupils in the eleven states of the South; 45 of these were in the

* The number given is the total number of districts with bi-racial populations; the full number of school districts in Arkansas is 422; in Tennessee, 153; in Texas, 1,646; in Virginia, 129. All of North Carolina's school districts are biracial. Throughout the discussion here and in the next several pages, statistics are derived, principally, from the Statistical Summary of the Southern Education Reporting Service, 6th Printing, May 15, 1959.

federally-owned schools of Oak Ridge (Tennessee). An additional 21 Negroes attended the high school of Front Royal (Virginia); as no white pupils were with them, they are not included in the Virginia count.

In the District of Columbia and in the other states where segregation was legally practiced in the schools prior to 1954, official policies, supported by decisive elements of public opinion, have assisted desegregation. Over the first five years, the principal, if less publicized, accomplishment of the Supreme Court's decision is the thousands of children of these areas whose education has been without racial separation.

	Desegregated Districts *	Negroes in Desegregated Schools
Delaware	12 of 51	5,727
District of Columbia	1 of 1	67,020
Kentucky	123 of 175	11,492
Maryland	21 of 23	24,089
Missouri	211 of 243 (estimated)	n. a.
Oklahoma	170 of 250	7,000 (estimated)
West Virginia	43 of 43	10,000 (estimated)

In these places, officials have given leadership to desegregation. In North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, sometimes in Arkansas, and now in Virginia, officials and governments have dedicated themselves to as little desegregation as is legally necessary. In the six states of the Deep South, the governmental policy has been one of complete defiance. There is good evidence that Florida is not as adamant as the other Deep South states, no one of which, for that matter, has yet had to face the legal crisis which induced

* Bi-racial in population. Since 1954, Missouri has not kept statistics by race. The estimate of the number of Negroes in desegregated schools in Oklahoma is from the Statistical Summary, 5th Printing, October 15, 1958.

Virginia to accept some desegregation, and which has brought two years of turmoil to Little Rock.

These eleven states - those which have complied under duress and those which are as yet completely segregated - began in the interval between the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court and the 1955 implementing order to erect their legislative defenses. Indeed, some law-making had begun earlier than 1954. It has continued into 1959. By 1959, however, it had become apparent which legislative measures might reasonably be expected to avoid or limit desegregation, and which ones were clearly useless or merely ebullient, blustering diversions. Although a legislature might, even in 1959, appropriate $500,000 for an advertising campaign to "sell the southern way of life" (vetoed by the governor, Collins of Florida), most efforts to maintain segregation were more serious. The days of interposition, of resolutions demanding the impeachment of Supreme Court justices, of nullification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, of bold claims for the States' police powers, were ended, though their fruits will remain on the statute books as memorials of the times: future generations of South Carolinians will, in all likelihood, continue subject to the law of 1958 which requires for the Confederate flag the same sanctity of treatment as for the Stars and Stripes.

But these things have been the fuss and feathers of the resistance. By 1959, four legislative policies had been selected, or had survived, as the principal opposition to desegregation. The further or more rapid advance of educational equality will encounter these, and the decisive legal cases and political contests of the next year or more will revolve about them. They are:

1. Pupil placement laws

   These are intended to prevent or minimize desegregation through assigning children to particular schools on the basis of social and

psychological criteria, which do not include "race". That the result may be little different, is demonstrated by the record of the Virginia Pupil Placement Board, which has assigned nearly 420,000 children during 30 months, without sending even one to a school attended by the other race. Some form of pupil placement law has been enacted by Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.* The Supreme Court would not declare the Alabama law unconstitutional on its face, though it stated that the application of the law could make it so. North Carolina's administration of the law has so far survived two challenges in federal courts. The Virginia law is being disregarded in Arlington, Charlottesville and Norfolk.

Georgia and South Carolina have no pupil placement laws.

2. School Closing laws

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia have statutes which require or authorize the closing of schools, either by state or local authorities, to prevent their desegregation; Texas (as do Florida and Virginia) has a so-called "Little Rock" statute providing for school closure in the event of the use of federal force. Only Tennessee has refrained from setting up any legal machinery for an educational shut-down. The decision of the three-man federal district court in Virginia last January made the price of school-closing extremely high. In effect, the court ruled that a state could not shut the schools in one locality while leaving open other schools in the state.

* After March 1, 1960 localities in Virginia may choose to be independent of the state Pupil Placement Board.

(James v. Almond) The June decision in Little Rock (Aaron v. McKinley) is to much the same point: the laws under which the Little Rock high schools closed were ruled to be an evasion of constitutional rights.

Still to be decided is the legality of a complete, state-wide abandonment of public education. Needless to say, it is a decision which all can hope will never have to be reached.

3. Private school plans

Private schools have two possible uses in the segregationists' strategy:

a. to assume the whole function of education if the public schools are closed;

b. to provide a segregated education for some, most, or all white children if the public schools are desegregated.

There seems to be general agreement that (a) a large-scale private school plan cannot work without state financial aid; and (b) the only form such aid might legally take would be direct tuition grants to the students.

Some sort of private school plan, with tuition grants, has been enacted in Alabama, Arkansas,* Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia.

4. Harassment of the N.A.A.C.P.

A mass of legislation has been passed to curb the activities of the N.A.A.C.P. Old barratry laws have been re-invigorated, membership and financial statements have been required, legislative investigating committees and special commissions have been created and set to

* Declared unconstitutional by a U.W. District Court on June 18, 1959. Governor Faubus has announced that the state will appeal.

work. One important result has been that, for the first time in our history, the Supreme Court has declared and affirmed the "freedom of association" as a constitutional right (N.A.A.C.P. v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449).

Though certainly there have been differences of degree of vigor with which the legislatures have enacted, the committees have investigated, and the executives have prosecuted, ten of the southern states have sought by legislative action to cripple the N.A.A.C.P.'s ability to operate within their boundaries. The one exception is North Carolina. The aim of this legislation has been to block Negro entrance to the courts by enfeeblement of the N.A.A.C.P. - regardless of whether this has been achieved, much of the N.A.A.C.P's energies and money have been diverted to defending itself rather than combating segregation.

These four devices - pupil placement, school closings, private schools and N.A.A.C.P. harassment - are the chosen last defense of segregation. One of them - school closing - is so destructive in its potential consequences as to represent an immediate threat to the national interest.

In the main, southern public opinion has acquiesced in these actions.

This, however, must be said with clear explanation. The official policies of defiance and obstruction have been, beyond any doubt, almost unanimously opposed by one quarter of the South's citizens; i.e., the Negroes. They have likewise been publicly combatted by a small group of white liberals, by many clergymen, and by a small but distinguished group of editors. Especially during the past year, a large and still growing number of white southerners - often called "moderates" - who had previously been silent, have voiced their dislike of the consequences of the resistance measures, although

so far their protests have been confined largely to the school closing laws.

With these qualifications, it can be said that the governors and legislators of the southern states have, since 1954, acted with the endorsement of effective public opinion. The climate of opinion in the South between early 1955 and the fall of 1958, and the southern political spokesmen, reciprocally re-enforced each other and fashioned something akin to a regional conformity of speech. Massive resistance created, and in turn was sustained by, a massive orthodoxy, first broken by the reaction of Virginians to the school closings of September 1958. Throughout the South, the spectacle of closed schools has been a catalyst to dissent and protest; as a result, open public discussion of the wisdom of resistance now exists and grows, in every state of the South with the possible exceptions of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

2. Developments of 1958-59

For a long time, people have spoken and written of the "process of desegregation." The word "process" implies change that more or less moves from its own momentum, that keeps going unless it is stopped. The year 1958-59, as have the others since 1954, showed that the word does not describe what is happening in the South. The political and social leaders of the region have demonstrated again, as in the past, that they will not succumb, in their racial policies, to a "process." Desegregation is not a change which - at least in this generation - will spread through its own momentum; it is not a "process," but a "campaign" which has to be continuously re-enforced. Like any campaign, desegregation has had and will have its "battles," which will be determined by the relative strength of the parties.

Events in Arkansas and Virginia dominated the news in 1958-59. No historian will dispute the newspapers' judgment of their importance. If, as seems likely, they can be gauged as defeats for southern resistance to national authority, there is still the question of whether the Arkansas and Virginia struggles represent Gettysburg and Vicksburg - turning points mid-way through a long fight - or whether they were episodes in a Wilderness Campaign, just before Appomattox. Probably the realistic answer is that they were Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and that the southern crisis has still a long course to run.

The point is worth making because many persons outside the South have not understood it, and consequently have anticipated too much too soon. The breakdown of the massive structure of resistance in Virginia, despite all the careful planning of Senator Byrd and his political associates, will not mean the end of the South's travail. What happened in Virginia last year is of the greatest importance, probably even larger in impact than the dispatch of

troops to Little Rock in 1957. But it does not mark the end of a crisis which has tired the spirits of a region and rubbed raw the nerves of its people, both white and colored. With or without the valued leadership of Virginia, other states will undoubtedly employ the statutory devices described in the last section: pupil placement, school closings, and tuition grants. Furthermore, the segregationists can be expected to maintain and to enlarge a counter-attack on the sources of strength of those who are trying to bring about a reform of southern racial policies.

In short, reform did not proceed automatically when the cork of "separate but equal" was pulled from the constitutional bottle. It will no proceed automatically because the state government in Virginia made a strategic retreat.

The segregationists have another hope that reform will not go forward at all. From any realistic view it is a last-straw yearning. But the South has always included a lot of people who can recognize a straw for what it is, and still trust all their weight to it. The events of 1958-59 in Arkansas and Virginia forced the recognition that for the South there are only three alternatives: desegregation; the abolition of public schools; or the near miracle of a disintegration of the pressures for reform.

By counter-offensive against the supporters of desegregation, the present southern political and social leadership will do what it can to bring off the miracle. Unless the signs of the time are in mad disarray, it will not succeed. But the endeavor will bring damage to many persons and institutions and values which stand in its path, and Americans of all sections ought to be alert to the threat.

To date, the attack by Negroes on legally compelled segregation has been supported strongly by the federal courts, by American public opinion outside

the South, and by religious leaders. Without these allies, the campaign for desegregation would not have progressed. Were these supports to be sufficiently weakened, desegregation would halt.

The southern political and social leadership has shown its awareness of these facts by (a) joining every move in Congress to limit the power of the Supreme Court; (b) using whatever propaganda means it can find to reach northern public opinion (e.g. the "Carleton Putnam letter" reprinted in scores of non-southern newspapers) and to disparage the N.A.A.C.P.; and (c) strong local resistance to the social ministry of the clergy, including in too many places outright persecution. The first two of these counter-moves received special employment during 1958-59, and the third continued in unabated force. Were any to succeed, the pace of desegregation would be measurably slowed. Were they all to succeed, desegregation would stop; this is an unlikely prospect, but not an impossible one, and it is the one last, faintly realistic hope which the segregation leaders have, after the happenings of 1958-59 in Arkansas and Virginia.

Little Rock

The chief results of the past year in Arkansas are (1) a stronger, more explicit statement of law by the Supreme Court; (2) a growing disenchantment in the city of Little Rock with extremist leadership; and (3) a quiet but widespread resolve in communities throughout the South that "Little Rock will not happen here."

Increasingly, people in the South spoke and thought of the Little Rock situation as a "mess"; from the viewpoint of the conservative segregationists, Little Rock came to seem a botch; moderates were discovering in it a stern, and chastening, object lesson. Arkansas could never, in the white southerner's manner of looking at his society and its traditions, occupy the place of

authoritative leadership which Virginia has filled. Massive resistance there was led by the sort of men whom a conservative region feels honored to follow. The point is worth emphasizing, because in a controversy which is in large measure an issue of emotions, white southerners lost another emotional reassurance when Virginia abdicated its leadership. The void could not be filled by Arkansas, where, as a matter of fact, by May Governor Faubus was appealing over television to the "good honest hard-working people of the lower and middle classes" to support him against the "charge of the Cadillac brigade of wealthy and prominent leaders."

As in Virginia, the harassment of the N.A.A.C.P. ramified in Arkansas into threats against the civil liberties of some white persons, particularly teachers. The Arkansas tendency here, as in other respects however, was to run to extremes, and the result was the first clear electoral defeat for Governor Faubus. On May 5, his three adherents on the Little Rock School Board, in the absence of the three moderate members, purged 44 teachers from the Little Rock schools. The reaction was swift and pained. The Council of Parent-Teacher Associations (white) was followed by the Committee to Stop This Outrageous Purge (STOP), formed by 179 prominent businessmen, in petitioning for the recall of the three officers. Segregationists promptly petitioned for the recall of the other three board members, and the election was held May 25. The Governor publicly and repeatedly asked for the retention of his three friends, all of whom were recalled, while the other three were retained: the voting was close in all six elections.

The recall was the first clear-cut instance of popular unwillingness to follow the Governor. During the preceding ten months, Arkansas had demonstrated to the rest of the South - and the region was not wholly inattentive - that defiance of national law and the bitter-end defense of segregation

carried with it the potential for one-man rule. Mr. Faubus had been renominated for an unprecedented third term on July 29, 1958, in the Democratic primary. From the largest turn-out in Arkansas' history, he carried 70% of the vote and all 75 counties. In the special session of the legislature in late August, his legislative program of stronger resistance was passed as he presented it, with only one dissenting vote. In the election of September 27, a plebiscite held to approve or disapprove his closing of the schools, the second largest vote in Little Rock's history gave its endorsement by better than two and one-half to one. And in the Congressional election in November, Rep. Brooks Hays, who in the July primary had been renominated easily, was unseated by the write-in candidacy of the Governor's choice, Dr. Dale Alford. Although Rep. Hays carried four of the six counties in the district, he lost Little Rock by 1,400 votes and the whole of Pulaski County by 5,500; even if allegations which have been made of irregularities are subsequently verified, the Alford write-in vote was startlingly impressive against a man of Hays' pop popularity and prestige.

The election of Rep. Alford may have been, however, the high point of the Governor's success. On November 7, in one of the first serious local challenges he had received since he closed Central High in September 1957, the Arkansas Education Association passed a strong resolution, concluding with the statement "...the public school system is not expendable." (Immediately, the Legislative Council, an interim group of the state legislature, ordered its Committee on Subversion in Education to "investigate.") Even earlier, prior to the September plebiscite, the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools had been formed, and 63 Little Rock lawyers had publicly advised the people that the Governor's plan to operate private schools with public money was probably unconstitutional.

After the Alford triumph, the uninterrupted ascendancy began to be checked. In the Little Rock school board election in December, required because of the resignation of the besieged and frustrated old Board, a slate of moderates sponsored by businessmen ran against a slate of uncompromising segregationists. Three of each were elected, creating the impasse which led to the recall election six months later. The Governor had publicly attacked the whole moderate ticket. Beginning early in 1959, first through their Chamber of Commerce, and then through STOP, Little Rock businessmen took a stand for an open, free public school system. And in the regular legislative session in the Spring of 1959, the Governor got almost, but this time not quite, all he asked for, and in contrast to the special session in August, was actually turned down on one measure.

The stiffening of local opposition was caused in part by the growing feeling that the administration was irresponsible and oppressive; but there were other reasons as well. The business community especially had become apprehensive over the effects of the controversy on the local economy. Not a single new business had located in Little Rock since the first school closing in September 1957, and reports of economic stagnation were frequent. The whole city, moreover, grew tired of the wearying load of its own notoriety, and concerned with the hardship being imposed on its children. And finally, there were the federal courts, and a spreading popular awareness that they, and not the Governor, represented the "immovable object".

This had been put into some doubt when, on June 20, 1958 Judge Lemley of the U. S. District Court allowed the re-segregation of Little Rock schools until January 1961. Within two months he had been overruled by a higher court; and when that decision was appealed to the Supreme Court, the judgment, on September 12 and 29, was the firmest statement of law yet read to the South.

The Court held that neither violence nor its threat were sufficient grounds for postponing desegregation; and it made clear that all state officers were legally bound to uphold the Constitution as the Supreme Court interpreted it.

> The constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the governor and legislature. As this court said some 41 years ago in a unanimous opinion in a case involving another aspect of racial segregation: "It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the federal Constitution." Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60, 81. Thus law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights. The record before us clearly establishes that the growth of the Board's difficulties to a magnitude beyond its unaided power to control is the product of state action. Those difficulties, as counsel for the Board forthrightly conceded on the oral argument in this Court, can also be brought under control by state action.
>
> . . .
>
> In short, the constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the Brown case can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executives or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted "ingeniously or ingenuously." Smith v. Texas, 311 U.S. 128, 132.
>
> . . .
>
> It follows that the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment enunciated by this Court in the Brown case is the supreme law of the land, and Art. VI of the Constitution makes it of binding effect on the States "any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Every state legislator and executive and judicial officer is solemnly committed by oath taken pursuant to Art. VI, 3 "to support this constitution..."
>
> No state legislator or executive or judical officer can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it....
>
> It is, of course, quite true that the responsibility for public education is primarily the concern of the States, but it is equally true that such responsibilities, like all other state activity, must be exercised consistently with federal constitutional requirements as they apply to state action.... State support of segregated schools through any arrangement, management, funds, or property cannot be squared with the Amendment's command that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. The right of a student not to be segregated on racial grounds in schools so maintained is indeed so fundamental and pervasive that it is embraced in the concept of due process of law.

Two further federal decisions have deepened the Little Rock dilemma. An injunction, issued March 7, ended the distribution of state money to the private schools which had been established after Governor Faubus, on September 12, 1958, closed the city's four high schools. On June 18, 1959, a three judge district court declared unconstitutional the school closing and tuition grant laws.

For Governor Faubus, a year which had begun grandly, with a thundering re-election and a judicial retreat, had ended with frustration. There was no discernible next move which he could take without jeopardizing his administration. But the rules of chess do not apply in politics, and the stalemate in which the Governor had been put by the federal courts and the voters of Little Rock did not mean for him a drawn game, but the prelude to either surrender or reckless defiance. On June 24, Governor Faubus stated that the federal government would need "live ammunition" to carry out the desegregation orders in Little Rock, and that he would do nothing to curb mob violence if it came. From an unpredictable man, responsible southerners might still hope for a soberer second thought.

Virginia

In Virginia also, the most obvious result of the state's legislative resistance to the Supreme Court was the strengthening of the federal judicial commands.

The white senior and junior high schools of Norfolk were closed by Governor Almond September 27, 1958 after the last litigious gambit against the admission of 17 Negroes had been played. Along with other closed schools of the state, they reopened on February 2, following decisions on January 19 by both federal and state courts. The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals ruled that the state was obligated by its own constitution to maintain a public school

system. A three judge federal district court held that Virginia, by operating schools throughout most of the state while not so doing in Norfolk, was unconstitutionally discriminating against the people - white and colored - of Norfolk. On January 27, a federal district court prevented the city council from cutting off local funds for the schools.

Lane High and Venable Elementary Schools in Charlottesville were closed by the Governor on September 19, 1958 in the face of a court order to desegregate. An order the next month laid down the principle that public school teachers could not teach in private segregated schools. The schools re-opened on February 2, 1959 on a segregated basis, but after approval by the federal judge (and endorsement by the N.A.A.C.P.) of a plan for desegregation in September.

In Warren County, one of 17 Virginia counties with no Negro secondary school, the federal court enjoined segregation and the high school was closed under the massive resistance laws on September 12. When it re-opened, the white pupils were kept away by their parents and 21 Negro youths were the entire student body.

On September 27, 1958 the Arlington County schools were directed to admit four Negroes in February. They entered in that month, as did nine Negroes in the city of Alexandria, which had been ordered in February 1959 to desegregate. In March, the county school board was ordered to re-examine other applications which had been denied. The Court of Appeals found that Negro applicants were being subjected to placement tests not applicable to the white children; on July 25, in a further stage of the same litigation, a District Court ordered twelve rejected applicants admitted because they met the criteria in effect for white children.

No violence or disorder has accompanied any instance of desegregation in

Virginia.

A federal district court decision on August 4, 1958, postponing desegregation in Prince Edward County until 1965, was overruled on May 5, 1959 and desegregation ordered for September. The county has since decided to close its schools and end all local educational functions.

For Virginia, 1958-59 meant a hardening of the federal judicial stand. There were two other results of potentially equal importance. One was the emergence of popular protest against the consequences of massive resistance. A second was the dramatic change in the state's executive and legislative policies.

In June, 1958 the Arlington (county) Organizing Committee to Preserve Public Schools was formed. Similar committees appeared in the other troubled localities; they merged in November into the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, with chapters throughout the state. Its membership rose to 25,000 and it came to exert a pronounced influence on public policy. The membership of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, a pro-desegregation organization associated with the Southern Regional Council, grew to 1,400.

The indignation and uneasiness which these groups felt was working also in other quarters. November 11, 1958 is an important date in the chronicle of the past year, because on that day Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, and the intellectual champion of massive resistance, made a speech in which he recommended "new weapons and new tactics," recognized that there might be some desegregation, and endorsed local option. The next morning the influential Richmond Times-Dispatch urged the governor to appoint a commission to plot a new policy for the state.

More spectacular was the change of Governor Almond. On January 20, the day following the federal and state court decisions, he spoke over radio and

television, calling upon Virginians "to stand firmly with me in this struggle."

> "...The people of Virginia through their elected representatives and by registering their convictions in the exercise of their franchise have repeatedly made it crystal clear that they cannot and will not support a system of public education on a racially integrated basis. I make it equally clear that I cannot and that I will not break faith with them. "

A week later, on January 28, Governor Almond addressed the special session of the General Assembly. He appeared then as the leader in "new tactics," which turned out to be the old principles of law compliance, public education , and local option. A commission was appointed, chaired by Senator Perrow. New policies for the state were set and, by the narrowest of margins, enacted in May 1958 by the legislature. The recent state elections in Virginia have somewhat improved the legislative majority of a governor who within a few days changed from one of the South's most articulate voices of resistance to the acknowledged political leader of moderate opinion.

The general shape of the new legislation in Virginia, resulting from the Perrow Commission recommendations, may be described as local option, which means that only the locality through its own initiative and decision can close its schools; by the same token, no locality can be forced by the state to do so. Tuition grants are now available for any child desiring for any reason to attend a private school.

Thus did Virginia in February change course. The results of the old were tougher federal judicialdecrees, the loneliness of defeat, and chaotic schooling for the children of Charlottesville, Front Royal, and Norfolk. The results of the new course, tried since February, have been quiet, more or less normal, schools. The new course may also provide for the traditional South new leadership and a new but recognizable image of itself as it ought to be; if so, the Virginia experience will have been of incalculable importance.

3. Areas of Special Interest, 1959

Once again it is likely that Arkansas and Virginia will be the centers of the most significant developments, although Dade County will bear close attention as the first instance of desegregation in Florida. The locality of most immediate concern is again Little Rock, where the question of public order will exist as long as the state administration ties its prestige to the failure of desegregation .

ARKANSAS

Little Rock

The opening date for public high schools in Little Rock was moved to Wednesday, August 12, three and one-half weeks earlier than the date originally set. Announcement of the new opening date was made by the city's School Board on August 5.

Earlier that same day, the president of the apparently solvent Little Rock Private School Corporation announced that segregated Raney High School would not open this fall. This reason was given by Dr. T. J. Raney, the corporation's president: "We are broke."

Six Negro students have been assigned to two predominantly white schools - three to Hall High, and three to Central High. Hall, located in one of the city's wealthier residential sections, has not previously been desegregated, nor have the Negro transferees attended school before with white students in the city. The three Negro pupils assigned to Central - Carlotta Walls, Jefferson Thomas, and Elizabeth Eckford - first attended the school during the 1957-58 school year. Another two of the "Little Rock nine" applied for readmission to Central, but were rejected by the school board in its pupil assignment action. (Two more of the nine have graduated from school and two no

longer live in Little Rock.)

A total of 60 Negroes made application to three schools during registration days in late July. Announcement of the limited number of assignments prompted charges of lack of "good faith" from the president of the Arkansas N.A.A.C.P., Mrs. L. C. Bates, who promised a legal attack. School board assignments were made under provisions of a 1959 state pupil placement law, which, on August 4, passed its first constitutional challenge in a U. S. District Court.

The Little Rock community has continued to be divided in its support of desegregated public education, but a number of prominent business and professional men, a body of ordinary adult citizens, and - importantly - the students themselves, demanded open public classes, desegregated or not. The city and police officials appear stronger and better prepared for incidents than they were two years ago. They have warned that troublemakers will be arrested.

The closing of Raney High is puzzling, and attempts to plumb the motivations of the directors of the private school are purely speculative. Observers on the scene have noted that Raney's limited facilities served an important, almost a constructive purpose in Little Rock, since they satisfied the educational needs of most of the staunch segregationists and tended to lessen their interest in the desegregation controversy. By removing this outlet, there is a possibility that the surprise closing may work on the side of those who wish to disrupt public education.

Governor Faubus is, as he has been for two years, Little Rock's big question mark. Governor Faubus offered, as his only solution to the impasse which until recently gripped the city, a plan whereby two high schools (one of them all-Negro) would desegregate, the other two remain segregated. The plan was rejected by the school board. By his repeated prediction of violence, he has

continued the identical pattern of leadership which the Supreme Court a year ago found to have been a signal and an invitation to disorder.

Dollarway

Arkansas' two pupil placement laws have been upheld as constitutional on their face by a U. S. District Judge. The decision was rendered August 4, issuing from litigation initiated in a school district some forty miles Southeast of Little Rock.

Dollarway School District is in Jefferson County, partially within and extending north and northwest out of Pine Bluff. The suit, filed February 6, 1959, on behalf of three Negro students, asked the Federal District Court to assign the children to an all-white school without regard to the pupil placement law. Attorneys for the School Board argued that the Negro students and their parents failed to exhaust the administrative remedies available to them under the state's placement act; plaintiff's attorneys made clear that they were attacking the placement laws as unconstitutional evasions of the Supreme Court's decisions.

U. S. District Judge Axel J. Beck upheld the placement acts as constitutional on their face, but said the Dollarway School Board had misused one of the placement acts to conceal its prosegregation attitude. The three Negro students were ordered admitted to white Dollarway School at the beginning of the 1959-60 school year.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria, Arlington County and Norfolk will enter their second year of desegregation. Charlottesville will undertake its first, and the symbolic stature of the historic city will draw sustained attention to its performance. Charlottesville will be observed closely also because of the feeling that its private school system may be heavily attended, and may in a really important

measure draw community support away from the public schools. The success of private schooling is, of course, also at issue in Front Royal and in Prince Edward County. In the latter place there has occurred for the first time what must be nearly the ultimate in resistance: the complete termination of public education.

There are developments of potential interest in Floyd County, Newport News and Richmond, and these situations as well as the ones mentioned above are briefly described below. In Lynchburg and Staunton, also, Negroes have applied for transfer to white schools; there seems, however, little likelihood of changes in either place this year.

Prince Edward County

Prince Edward County is the first community in the South to exercise local option to the end of destroying, rather than desegregating, its school system. Its county Board of Supervisors voted on June 3, 1959 to levy no taxes and appropriate no funds for public school operations during the coming year. Later in the same month the supervisors decreased property taxes by that amount - 53% - formerly collected for the operation of public schools. In September 1959 all public schools in the county - two high schools and 18 grade schools - will be closed; "will just sit on the hillside and rest," according to one official.

The county lies in the center of the twelve sparsely populated counties known as Virginia's "Southside." The section is the "blackbelt" of Virginia. Out of this tobacco county, with its roughly equal Negro-white population, grew the case of Dorothy E. Davis et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward, one of the five decided by the U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954. Miss Davis has long since graduated. After nine years, during which the issue has been continuously before the courts, county school authorities "have taken

no effective action whatever" to adopt a desegregation plan, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals noted in its May 5, 1959 order calling for desegregation in September of the white high school (located in Farmville); the county has appealed to the Supreme Court.

Prince Edward's resistance to school desegregation preceded the state's official resistance policy by several years, and in withdrawing from the operation of public schools it has not even taken advantage of the state's tuition grant plan for private school attendance. As early as the Summer of 1955, when it looked as though immediate desegregation would be required by the court, Prince Edward's supervisors declined to allocate funds for the operation of public schools. (Later, their operation on a month to month budgetary basis was allowed.) "Massive resistance" was an unborn phrase at that time, and the posture of the rest of the state, other than Southside, appeared to lean toward compliance with the desegregation decisions.

But Prince Edward's white citizens were evidently solidly behind the supervisors. A statement carrying signatures of 4,216 county residents (total population, 1956: 15,993) was made public in May 1956: "We, the undersigned citizens of Prince Edward County, Virginia, hereby affirm our conviction that the separation of the races in public schools of this county is absolutely necessary and do affirm that we prefer to abandon public schools and educate our children in some other way if that be necessary to preserve separation of the races in the races in the schools of this county..." And in 1959, at a public hearing preceding approval of the no-school budget, only four whites spoke in opposition to such action. Farmville Mayor William F. Watkins, Jr. told the supervisors that public sentiment overwhelmingly favored abandonment of public schools in preference to desegregation.

White people in the county are relying on a private school system, the

Prince Edward Educational Foundation, as a substitute for public schools. Plans have been in readiness for several years, calling for private contributions to provide for the expense of its operation, and housing of the private classes in churches, halls, and other buildings. Almost all of the 72 white teachers formerly in the public school system are reportedly available and will be employed by the Educational Foundation. Citizens have paid and pledged some $250,000 toward its support and the Foundation's director, a retired oil company executive, B. Blanton Hanbury, anticipates no trouble in raising the $300,000 budget for one year's operation. (The proposed public school budget for 1959-60 was $780,600 in state, federal, and county funds.) Seven public schools had been maintained for the county's 1,570 white pupils; 1,224 of these pupils had enrolled with the private Foundation by late July.

No accommodations have been made for the 1,715 Negro students (formerly attending 13 public schools). Negro citizens have made no plans for private classes, and are expected to take legal action seeking to force the re-opening of the schools. (Under Virginia law, Negro students can apply to the state for tuition grants; these would be deducted from state liquor revenue payments to the county.)

Resistance in Prince Edward has thus far worn the stubborn smile of martyrdom. The Supervisors announced with their decision to close schools, "Above all, we do not act with hostility toward the Negro people of Prince Edward County." But a few hints of remorse can be found in published statements - that of the Mayor, who said, "We have reached the point of no return"; and the school teacher who observed that local officials were cast in the role of a parent who had previously threatened, and now must discipline, an unruly child.

The technique of meeting a court order to desegregate with the abandonment of public education is being tested in Prince Edward. If successful, its

implications for the future will be profound - at least, for the rural black-belt. Yet, as the Washington Post observed (June 5, 1959): "Economic pressures, and the sobering recognition of what it means for an area to be without public schools, may eventually stimulate a change in Prince Edward. But what is needed most in this situation is a change in men's minds, and there is no easy way to bring that about."

Front Royal (Warren County)

There are some indications that the local white students may return to Warren County High School in September. The formerly all-white school, the first in Virginia to be closed under the massive resistance laws, reopened in February with a total enrollment of 21 Negro students; none of its 1,044 white pupils returned. Some 780 attended makeshift private classes sponsored by the Warren County Educational Foundation. The majority of the remaining 264 evidently "boycotted" education altogether.

The end of Warren County's "boycott" would mark the beginning of rural school desegregation in Virginia, for Front Royal (population: 8,115) is the county's largest community. And, although results of the school board's poll of white children to determine how many plan to re-enter the public high school in the Fall were not released by County School Superintendent Q. D. Gasque, the School Board does plan to open the high school and recent developments favor at least some return of white pupils. Even at its inception, the existence of a boycott was denied by many white parents and students, who attributed their action to a desire to avoid a second change of schools within the same year. 110 of the county's 116 white teachers recently (May 12, 1959) signed a statement circulated by the all-white Warren County Education Association, declaring their dedication to a public school system and their belief that "this system should be continued and strengthened in Warren County." (A number of the

teacher signators were even then serving as instructors for the Educational Foundation.)

There is some evidence of other community support for a white "back to school" movement. A local Committee for Public Schools is active. Superinten-ent dent Gasque has spoken in behalf of the public schools, and Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., at the Warren County Educational Foundation's graduation exercises in June, said that there could be "no curse more productive of woe" than abandoning public education. The county's first high school for Negroes, built in a belated attempt to equalize educational facilities, will open this Fall. Some observers feel that it will deter mass Negro enrollment in Warren County High School and, therefore, stimulate white re-enrollment.

The future of the private school substitute is dubious. Although it proved to be a fairly effective make-shift system (its small size, consistent financial backing - including regular donations from members of the Textile Workers of America local, and utilization of public school teachers contributed to its success), it was planned as no more than a temporary measure. In June, officials announced that payment of voluntary pledges to cover debts already incurred had fallen $1,000 behind schedule. Last year's private school leaders are reportedly now split into two segments, one favoring the continuance of the WCEF, the other urging its demise and a return to the public school.

The former group, which has among its leaders the county Sheriff, has made tentative plans for the construction of a new building for private classes. Efforts in this direction were interrupted in May, when the group circulated a petition as a first step toward a referendum to determine whether the school board would be required to sell the existing public school property (as authorized by a 1959 enactment of the General Assembly). Although the requisite number of signatures (340) was collected, no further action has been reported.

Resistance to school desegregation has shown one of its toughest faces in Warren County; threatened reprisals, a "silence" campaign directed against Negroes, and extensive resistance group organization, have been among its ugly features. Further resistance efforts can be expected, for the white "boycott" has now a symbolic importance to hold-out "massives" in Virginia and further South. It has been the one counter to public school supporters who cite the examples of successful desegregation in other Virginia communities. It is, finally, a support for the argument that, although the cities may, the rural South will never accept desegregation.

Charlottesville

Initial desegregation is scheduled for September in Charlottesville. Although Lane High School and Venable Elementary School were under court order to desegregate and were closed in September 1958, a stay was granted in late January 1959 by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, and public schools operated from February to June within the old segregated attendance requirement. By July 10, under the provisions of a nonracial assignment plan adopted in February, the Charlottesville School Board had recommended that 12 Negro applications (out of 40) for transfer to previously white schools be accepted. Three of these were assigned to Lane High School, and nine to Venable Elementary School. Only in the 1st and 6th grades will more than one Negro child per grade level be in attendance.

The School Board's assignment recommendations were forwarded to the State Pupil Placement Board in the form of a resolution. Although the state agency, which has never assigned a Negro child to a white school, recently notified the Charlottesville board that it continues to hold "sole power for the placement of pupils in the public schools," nine of the twelve transferees were parties to the earlier court order and their admittance to white schools is virtually

assured. The three remaining transferees were Virginia's first Negro pupils to be assigned to previously white schools without having been parties in a lawsuit.

Another first in Charlottesville is the board's endorsement of a plan to segregate students by sex. School Superintendent Fendall R. Ellis said the separation would be required only at some class levels in each city school, in the nature of an "experiment," for the coming session, and not as a "wholesale type of thing."

The Charlottesville Educational Foundation plans to renew operation during the next school year. Director D. Barry Marshall has expressed confidence that over 700 pupils from the public schools will enroll in the Foundation's facilities and that "several" public school teachers will elect to join the staff. 403 high school students (half of Lane High's present enrollment) and 208 elementary pupils have been "tentatively" signed up. The tuition will be $250, but $232 of this will come from state tuition grants. At last report, less than $15,000 of a projected two to three hundred thousand dollars for the construction of campus-style facilities had been collected.

Charlottesville's public school officials have voiced doubts that the private schools will draw many students. There are strong elements of public opinion backing desegregation in this University community, although organizations which have been effective elsewhere - a Committee for the Public Schools, a Human Relations Council - have not as yet been notably influential in the proud and inner-directed town. One of the persons of great local prestige, who has actively championed the public schools, is John S. Battle, Jr., the city's attorney and son of a respected former governor. Mr. Battle, who fought desegregation in his official role, argued that desegregation can best be "contained" through support of the desegregated public schools. If vacancies occur through

defection to private schools, he has noted, large numbers of Negro students now in over-crowded facilities might seek and gain admission to Lane and Venable.

Charlottesville's non-racial assignment plan has been approved by Negro as well as white leaders in the city. Although Negroes had preferred faster, more far-reaching action, their attorneys have given verbal approval to the Board's plan as being in good faith, and therefore acceptable.

The Washington Suburbs

In contrast to September 1958, there is not this Fall a great question-mark hovering over Arlington County. The county has yet to admit a single Negro child into a desegregated situation without court compulsion. It has, nevertheless, accepted its legal and educational responsibilities, and the independent city of Alexandria has done likewise. Arlington County last year gave valuable leadership to the state in showing a willingness to comply with national law; it and its principal city have as yet lagged behind Charlottesville in taking steps toward non-discriminatory practices that go beyond the letter of court orders.

Adjacent Fairfax County, another of "Washington's bedrooms" has not yet been involved in a court suit; this year, 26 Negroes applied for transfer. Three were rejected locally, and the other applications were forwarded without recommendation to the State Pupil Placement Board, which has not yet acted.

Sixteen Negro students in Arlington County are expected to attend predominantly white schools in September. Four students were admitted to Stratford Junior high in February, and completed the semester without incident; seven others will enter there this September and five will go to schools not previously desegregated: Washington-Lee High (4) and Patrick Henry Elementary School (1).

No serious planning for private schools enters into the Arlington community picture. Two abortive attempts to open such facilities were thwarted by zoning officials and building inspectors during 1958 and early 1959.

In Alexandria, twelve Negro children have applied for admission to four previously white schools. Three city schools in Alexandria were desegregated in February when nine Negro students were admitted. If the twelve new applicants are accepted, Alexandria's number of desegregated schools will be five, its Negro students in predominantly white schools, 21.

No new private school organization exists in Alexandria, nor does there seem to be sentiment strongly supporting private facilities.

Norfolk

In late July the Norfolk School Board forwarded to the State Pupil Placement Board a recommendation that two Negro children be transferred to the all-white or predominantly white schools to which they had applied; 21 other Negro applicants were rejected. Seventeen Negro students are already enrolled and have, since February 2, attended formerly all-white junior and senior high schools in the city. Only one additional school will be initially desegregated under the School Board's recommendation - Suburban Park Elementary School, where a seven year old girl has been assigned to the second grade.

Although the Winter transition to limited desegregation was made without incident, observers report that tensions in the Norfolk area have by no means disappeared.

The city political scene is an area of concern to those who wish to extend desegregation beyond token stages. City Council members are known to favor "containment" - the barest minimum of desegregation. Three new members were recently appointed by the Council to the School Board, to replace two members whose terms were completed (the third position being newly created). One appointee was a woman instrumental in the founding of the segregationist private school, the Tidewater Education Foundation (which plans continued operation this year). The other two are reported to be political unknowns, with limited

academic background and no obvious political or civic experience. It is suspected that the more conservative elements in the city are in an even stronger political position than they were last year.

The City Council has also reinstated a 30-day cancellation clause in all Norfolk teachers' contracts, effective September 1959. In the unlikely event schools should close again, Norfolk's teachers would be completely unprotected and could be released from their contracts without recourse.

Community resources for constructive action are present. The Norfolk Committee for Public Schools, for example, had considerable influence in the July 14 Democratic Primary, in which Defender-backed candidates were roundly defeated. (The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties is the name used by Virginia's strongest resistance group. Voters reportedly considered it synonymous with "closed schools" in the recent election.)

Norfolk is Virginia's largest city. Its residents are a loosely combined mixture of old families, rural migrants, and white and blue collar workers, many from the non-South, at the huge naval installations. In this respect, it is curiously representative of the entire state as perhaps no other locality is. Like the state as a whole, its political voice is more conservative than are its people, and its people are less unified in their racial attitudes than the claims of "massive resistance" would indicate. Like the state as a whole, the city is partly of the Deep South, partly of the larger nation.

Floyd County

There is a chance that northwestern Virginia's Floyd County will be added to the state's list of desegregated school districts this September. The county now has no high school for its 34 Negro students. They are transported - at considerable cost to the county - to neighboring Montgomery County. This factor influences both the county's self-interest and the soundness of its case for

maintaining the present segregated system.

Comparisons with the Warren County suit which led to a surprise desegregation order are apt.

On May 11, the day after 14 Negro students applied for admission to both of Floyd's white high schools, the county's Representative in the House of Delegates, Joseph H. Poff, issued a statement probably unprecedented in the South:

"I think it would be better to admit the 14 than become involved in a suit. We have a high-type Negro here, and I don't think we would have a bit of trouble."

Although there was some initial agreement with Poff's statement among school board members, eventually disapproval was expressed and the applications were forwarded to the State Pupil Placement Board. County school appropriations have been placed on a month-to-month basis, indicating some sentiment for school closing should desegregation be required.

Peremptory desegregation orders could conceivably be handed down by September school opening (a desegregation order with refusal of stay came only 14 days after the State Pupil Placement Board rejected Warren County's Negro applicants last year). The direction the unprepared, shifting community might choose in the event of such orders is one of Virginia's major question marks for the fall.

Richmond

Although a suit for desegregation of the city public schools is pending in Richmond, it is not expected to reach decision by September. However, on May 6 the City Council voted (1) to proceed with construction of two $3,000,000 junior-senior high schools; and (2) to continue annual allocations to the schools. (A switch to monthly payments would allow the schools to close with more ease.) The Council's decision was made with full awareness that the city faces "some integration" or the abandonment of its public school system, a point made clear by School Board Chairman Lewis F. Powell, Jr. before the ballot-

ing. Thus, the Council's 7 to 1 vote may conceivably be interpreted to give sanction to the continuance of public schools despite desegregation, when it comes.

Newport News

After four full years in which it has been involved in litigation, the school board in this seaport city has announced that it will not desegregate in September. The first petition for desegregation was presented by Negro citizens in July 1955 and, from that date until the late Summer of 1958, the legal fortunes of Newport News paralleled those of Norfolk. In that Summer Newport News and the neighboring town of Warwick consolidated. The legal situation, thus complicated by a change in the identity of the defendants, has not yet been resolved.

TENNESSEE

Knoxville

In Knoxville, 29 months after a petition seeking admission to all-white schools was filed on behalf of Negro plaintiffs, a legal technicality has provided the basis for a U. S. District Court ruling sustaining the defendant school board.

Action toward a new suit against new board members was initiated in mid-July, when three Negro ministers presented a petition asking for September desegregation. The board has promised study of the request.

Nashville

Nashville's stairstep desegregation plan - under which two grades have been desegregated so far - will remain in effect this fall, as the third grade level is opened to members of both races. "Things have been going remarkably well," under the plan, according to school superintendent William H. Oliver. "I don't think we could have asked for more smoothness than we've had in the

schools."

The U. S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals approved use of the grade-a-year plan in a June 17 decision. Attorneys for the plaintiffs had asked immediate desegregation of all grade levels and also attacked the permissive student transfer features of the plan. N.A.A.C.P. chief legal counsel Thurgood Marshall has characterized Nashville's desegregation as "token compliance," which "will never square with the Constitution"; however, no appeal to the Supreme Court has been announced.

In the meantime the Nashville plan attracts widespread interest in other southern cities, such as Atlanta, faced with probable desegregation.

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte, Greensboro and Winston Salem

In the three Piedmont cities where desegregation began in 1957, it continues but does not grow. The number of Negroes in desegregated classes will not be much larger, if any, than last year's 13.

These cities represent the merits and the shortcomings of North Carolina's system of pupil placement. They have desegregated in orderly fashion, and that is is to their credit. On the other hand, the system puts the heavy burden of initiating desegregation on the Negro child and parent; it involves a mere handful of Negro children in schools overwhelmingly white; and it may result in a complacency which will reduce pressures for more advance.

Litigation against a fourth Piedmont city - Raleigh - continues to drag.

Goldsboro and Craven County

Two Negro students will attend Meadow Lane Elementary School, in Wayne County near Goldsboro, in September. Goldsboro, in eastern North Carolina, had in 1950 a 45% Negro population and, although the Meadow Lane school serves only children of Seymour Johnson Air Force base personnel, two Negro children in a

white school may cast a large shadow because of the typically Deep South population structure of the community. The desegregation action was, significantly, made by the local school board. One Negro child entered the desegregated school in March of 1959, one will enter for the first time this September. At least 25 other Negro pupils, also children of persons stationed at the base, still attend an all-Negro school.

In a similar action, Craven County's school board has decided to admit about 15 Negroes, children of military personnel at the Cherry Point Marine Base, to two white elementary schools in September. The county is also in the state's eastern, conservative section, and has a population about one-third Negro.

FLORIDA

Dade County

In Dade County - a sprawling wedge of southeastern Florida in which Miami, Miami Beach, Coral Gables, and Hialeah are the largest urban areas - four Negro pupils have been assigned to hitherto all-white Orchard Villa Elementary School. No other desegregation in public schools has taken place in the state, although two Negroes attended graduate school at the University of Florida (Gainesville) last year.

The Dade County assignments were made in February, in a voluntary county school board action which surprised and angered the state's segregationists. (Florida's pupil assignment law provided authority for the move; limited desegregation in Dade is thought by some to have been undertaken in order to bolster constitutionality of the assignment law, should it be tested in court.) Despite threats of new extremist segregation laws from legislative leaders, no measures promising serious interference with desegregation in the county were passed by the state body during its spring session. One 1959 enactment does set up procedure for the establishment of a segregated private school corporation if 25 citizens so desire; another permits school systems to segregate male and female

students. There has as yet been no report that Dade citizens or school officials plan recourse to either of the two laws.

The Orchard Villa School is located in Miami proper, in a neighborhood presently becoming predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican in its residential make-up. Enrollment has been decreasing steadily since 1956, as whites moved away from the neighborhood. A drop of some 60 students - from 130 in June to an expected 70 or fewer in September - was reported in mid-July. An earlier poll of 137 parents indicated that 52 would not transfer students in the event of desegregation.

However, the transitional character of the Orchard Villa neighborhood may help to insure peaceful desegregation. Miami N.A.A.C.P. attorney G. E. Graves remarked that the children already know each other, play together, and get along fine. Other insurance against incident: a program of education has been underway among parents in the community; Negro leaders have met with school officials; and Negro-white parent meetings are planned. The teaching staff itself is being carefully selected and prepared.

The broader Miami community should provide a permissive setting for desegregation. Many city facilities have already experienced some degree of desegregation, and consistent and articulate support of desegregation in public schools has been given by a fairly large body of citizens since 1954. The threat of school-closing legislation in the state fired vigorous opposition in Miami. The local newspapers, Mayor Robert King High, non-organized groups of ministers and physicians, and the cluster of professional intergroup relations agencies with Southern headquarters in Miami are actively supporting the preservation of public schools and desegregation at Orchard Villa.

Tampa

A group of Negro parents in Tampa has asked the Federal District Court to

issue a summary judgment requiring the immediate end of racial segregation in Hillsborough County schools. The Negro children now must travel 10 miles to attend segregated classes, plaintiffs contend, while schools restricted to white students only are much closer. (Hillsborough County's population was estimated in July of 1958 to be slightly over 1/6 nonwhite: white, 305,000; nonwhite, 54,300.) The court dismissed the suit on August 7, 1959, ruling that "...the administrative remedies provided for under the Florida Pupil Placement Act must be exhausted to give the federal court jurisdiction in the matter."

TEXAS

Houston

The Houston School Board has been ordered by U. S. District Judge Ben C. Connally to submit a plan for desegregation of public schools by August 17. The requirement resulted from a suit filed in December 1956, by parents of two Negro children. A District Court order requiring desegregation "with all deliberate speed" was handed down in October 1957, although no date for compliance was set by the court at that time. Until late 1958, the only reported activity toward desegregation on the part of the board has been a limited program designed to raise academic achievement of Negro students.

This year the school board voted to circulate petitions calling for a district-wide referendum to determine whether or not Houston's citizens wish desegregated schools. Such an election would be in compliance with Texas law, which cuts off state aid to a district desegregating without voter approval. (State aid totals $5,000,000 annually in Houston.) Pro-segregation members of the Houston board have favored the referendum while only Mrs. Charles E. White, the one Negro member, disapproved on the grounds that it was irrelevant to the constitutional rights of Negro children.

Nearly 47,000 signatures would be necessary to authorize the proposed referendum in Houston; as of August 5, after two months of trying, the Board had obtained only 4,168 signers. Observers report that no one is really in favor of "pushing" the

petitions - segregationists consider the petition-referendum process as a stall for time, while desegregationists are convinced that the state law is unconstitutional. (An answer to the constitutional question was sought in federal district and circuit courts by the Dallas School Board, also caught between a court order and restrictive state legislation; the clarification which it requested was refused. The Board then turned to the state courts, and after having been rebuffed in a trial court, appealed to an intermediate bench; a hearing has been set for September 30, 1959.)

One further step taken by the school board has been the hearing of a plan for desegregation presented by School Board Attorney, Joe Reynolds, in December 1958. It has neither been approved nor disapproved. Its main requirement is that of a secretly tabulated survey of every school in the district to determine parent reaction to desegregated schools, with desegregation started "on an area basis rather than a grade basis" in the least resistant areas of the district. A liberal transfer policy and individual testing of Negro applicants are other features of the plan. It also calls for compliance with Article 3900-a of the state's Civil Statutes- the referendum requirement. Interestingly, the need for secrecy is said to be in order to overcome "fear of reprisal" on the part of parents. Point D of the plan states, "This method of determination is in keeping with democratic processes."

Liberal forces in this metropolis are beginning to coordinate their numerous and varied organizations. The only recent happening which they feel to offer them positive support is last November's school board election, in which a Negro school board member, was elected despite a venomous racist campaign.

Dallas

Negro plaintiffs, who had petitioned the Dallas School Board for desegre-

gation this Fall, received another judicial disappointment on July 30 when, in an opinion closing a day-long hearing, Federal Judge T. Whitfield Davidson refused to set any date or issue any order. The school board was advised to "further study this question and perhaps take further action, maybe an election," by the 82-year old jurist. In what newspaper reports indicate "sounded like a lecture to Negro spectators," Judge Davidson spoke of his love for "Old South" traditions, said the Negro "imitating his white brother" was not "at his best," and spoke of the white man's "right to maintain his racial integrity," which "can't be done so easily in integrated schools." The School Board was advised to "put your house in order." "The Supreme Court has placed your state, your county, and your schools...over a barrel," the judge said. "You are going to integrate your schools. The question is when." He further hinted that "a year from now may be sufficient time to integrate."

N.A.A.C.P. attorneys representing the plaintiffs had indicated they were willing to wait until 1960 for actual desegregation. Litigation in the Dallas case issued from action brought in February 1955. In the first two years of the suit's tortuous route through the courts, another elderly jurist, Federal District Judge William H. Atwell, twice refused to issue an injunction requiring desegregation, denouncing the Supreme Court school desegregation decision as based "on no law" but rather on "mere authoritative modern psychological knowledge."

In September 1957 Judge Atwell reversed himself under pressure from his appellate court, ruling that plaintiffs and members of the class they represent must be admitted to schools "on the same terms and conditions as though they were members of the white race." The Court of Appeals of the Fifth Federal Circuit then delayed indefinitely the date of desegregation, holding that the school authorities should be given a reasonable further opportunity "to meet their primary responsibility."

No appeal from Judge Davidson's order has yet been announced by the plaintiffs. On August 4, the judge signed and issued an order, submitted by the School Board, directing the Board to circulate petitions for a referendum, according to Texas law; thus, a federal lower court has implicitly upheld the referendum procedure, which is still before a state court for review (see preceding section, p. 39, paragraph 1).

DELAWARE

A twelve-year "stairstep" desegregation program, statewide in its scope, is scheduled to begin in September in Delaware. The plan was approved in April 1959 by U. S. District Judge Caleb R. Layton III, who in a supplemental opinion rejected a state Board of Education petition to allow an attendance area provision which he found to be discriminatory, because "...it provided that in many localities no colored student could ever attend a white school unless his parents thereafter changed their residence to a point closer to the white school than the colored school...a white student who lived closer to the colored school than the white school could, nevertheless, thereafter attend the white school." Judge Layton cautioned the state, "It is time now to get down to the serious business of integration." Twelve of Delaware's 51 school districts have already begun desegregation.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

U. S. District Judge Frank A. Hooper has ordered school officials to produce a desegregation plan by December 1, 1959 providing for a prompt and reasonable start toward desegregation. He indicated that a plan contingent on the approval of the Georgia Legislature would be acceptable. Sentiment for preservation of the public schools is strong in Atlanta, led by the Mayor's plea for realism and local option; and by a growing body of citizens who have banded together in an organization named HOPE (Help Our Public Education). State public officials, on the other hand, unanimously back closed schools in preference to desegregated schools. The Atlanta Board of Education on August 7 filed an appeal against the ruling.

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Applications to attend white schools were received from a total of nine Negro children during early 1959. All were rejected under the terms of Alabama's pupil placement law. Alabama's public officials have vowed to scrap their public school system rather than desegregate. Governor John Patterson has said "chaos, disorder, possible violence" would result from desegregation, and characterized proposed laws to bring about desegregation as futile as "trying to sweep the ocean back with a broom."

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

The New Orleans School Board has been ordered by Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright to present a plan by next March 1 for desegregation of its schools. The board had been ordered in February 1956 to desegregate with all deliberate speed. Wright urged "responsible influences on our community life" to "take their places, as they have in the past, on the side of law and order."

SOUTH CAROLINA

Clarendon County

One of the original cases decided by the Supreme Court in 1954 was that of Harry Briggs Jr. v. Elliott, first tried in a federal court in 1951. Harry Briggs is by now 18 or 19 years old. He won his case, though he never sat in a class with a white child. Nor is there any prospect that Clarendon County will, any time soon, be called to specific compliance with the 1954 decision.

4. Summary and Prospect

Out of the tangled patterns of southern response to the events of the past few years, there are some developments which seem, at this time, especially interesting.

The Isolation of the Hard Core

Desegregation became quickly and firmly established in the border states, the District of Columbia, and in western Texas. For the past three years it has in some measure won acceptance in the upper and middle South. The pace has been slower than many would have anticipated, and the opposition encountered has probably delayed a more vigorous effort to penetrate the Deep South. Opinions will vary as to whether the delay will make the eventual transition easier.

But with the crisis past in Virginia, 1959-60 should provide the first chance for a year of quiet advancement in the upper and middle states. Eastern Texas, with its great cities, may go on another year hardly touched by desegregation, but should move smoothly when its period of drift and evasion has been ended. Florida, which is a Deep South state only in its northern tier and in its grossly mal-apportioned legislature, has without judicial compulsion begun in one urban county to desegregate; it is a short and tentative step, but probably a decisive one.

The five states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, called by both admirers and critics "hard core," will almost certainly soon stand alone; they may, moreover, nearly as soon be the only states where segregation remains an issue of state and national politics.

It is already obvious that there will be yet another stage before the final isolation of the hard core is reached; i.e. the attempt by some of the cities within these five states, Atlanta and New Orleans being the most likely, to secede. The judges have allowed each another year, postponing until 1960

what may well be the final dramatic contest of the campaign begun in 1954. Both cities, but particularly Atlanta, contain influential elements that seek local option to handle the problem free of dominance by their state governments, and they will have the power of the federal courts to support their demands. De- gr segregation in some of the chief cities of the Deep South will, therefore, probably occur after another year, and the climactic struggle to make it succeed will have strong, perhaps decisive, local supporters. The real hard core will then have been isolated: the rural sections of the old plantation country.

This area, extending east and south of the mountains in a great flat arc from southside Virginia out to eastern Arkansas and Texas, has controlled southern politics for a century and more. Its isolation on what has been the central issue of southern politics will mean a weakening of its influence in the region, in the national political parties, and in Congress.

The Emergence of Citizen Protest

A second development, whose magnitude can as yet only be guessed at, was the emergence during 1958-59 of the first effective citizens' groups in protest against the closing of schools. Much of the membership has been made up of persons who believe in segregation. Yet they are people who have scaled their values and found that they believe in public schools more than in racial separation. And this is profoundly impressive. For southerners to affirm publicly that racial traditions are of only secondary value in their social structure is a long, crucial step toward abandonment of racial snobbery and inequalities. It is, moreover, another demonstration that race is not the central concern of large segments of the southern electorate. The shock of events impelled women and businessmen of Little Rock to organized opposition against Governor Faubus's policies; also as a response to events, the Virginia Committee for Public Schools began its fruitful work. In Atlanta, for the first time in advance of

a court decree, a citizen's group emerged in late 1958 and has been growing in activity, with chapters now in other cities of the state. The spread of this citizens' movement through the South would provide many centers of opposition to extreme policies; it could potentially be a means also of introducing some community planning, which is badly needed, into local acceptance of desegregation.

The Awareness of Self-Interest

A third development is the growth of southerners' concern for their own self-interest. Fundamentally, racial relations is a moral issue. Traditionally, however, southerners have barricaded the moral problem behind the barbed wire of emotionalism. Today, a new attitude is forming all over the South. People are beginning to count, to figure, to ask quite baldly, "What's in it for me?" They are confronting the hard choices which the racial problem implies. The questions most repeatedly being asked are: "Do we want and can we afford communities characterized by violence?" "Can we pay the social costs of closed schools?" "Can we pay the personal cost of private schools?" "Can we risk our recent economic gains by policies that will close the schools and invite public disorder?" That these questions are current and that they are beginning to set the terms of public discussion is, above all, a tribute to a small band of southern editors who have hammered them almost daily into the thoughts of their readers. And the likelihood is that the moral issue will be seen more clearly in the cool, rational search for a race relations based on self-interest.

It should be added that the South, while still a region proud of its distinct identity, is no longer the detached province which sometimes in the past it seemed. Through communications media, through the relatives who have "gone North" and the neighbors who have "come South", through the tremendous invest-

ments of northern capital, through service in an integrated army - in these and still other ways southerners have acquired new insights, interests, and experiences. In the process, great numbers of them have found emancipation from the self-consuming emotions of the past, which had made virtually impossible the acknowledgment of Negro dignity. There is no reason to believe that this process has ended, or will be slowed.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ORGANIZATIONS AND PERSONNEL

ENGAGED IN HUMAN RELATIONS ACTIVITIES IN THE SOUTH

September 11, 1959
SR/6r

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
1. Alabama Council on Human Relations Room 1218, Comer Building Birmingham 3, Alabama The Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Dir. Telephone: ALpine 2-2722	
2. American Civil Liberties Union 170 Fifth Avenue New York 10, New York Patrick M. Malin, Dir. Telephone: ORegon 5-5990	
3. American Friends Ser. Committee 20 South 12th Street Philadelphia 7, Pa. Miss Barbara Moffett, Secretary Community Relations Program Miss Jean Fairfax National Representative of Southern Programs Telephone: RIttenhouse 6-9372	Southeastern Regional Office P. O. Box 1307 High Point, North Carolina Telephone: 2-4025
4. American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th Street New York 22, New York Edwin Lukas, Director Dept. of National Affairs Telephone: PLaza 1-4000	Atlanta Area Office 41 Exchange Place, SE,Rm.703 Atlanta, Georgia Charles Wittenstein, Dir. Telephone: JAckson 3-8451 Southeast Area Office 1208 Congress Building Miami, Florida Seymour Samet, Area Dir. Telephone: FRanklin 3-4749 Southwest Regional Office 523 Fidelity Building Dallas 2, Texas Gustave Falk, Area Dir. Telephone: PRospect 2830
5. American Jewish Congress Stephen Wise Congress House 15 East 84th Street New York 28, New York Will Maslow, Dir. Department of Public Affairs Telephone: TRafalgar 9-4500	Southeastern Region Congress Building 111 N. E. 2nd Ave., Rm. 906 Miami, Florida Haskell Lazere, Dir. Telephone: FRanklin 9-6195

National Offices

6. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York
Alexander F. Miller, Dir.-
Community Service Division

Oscar Cohen, Director-
Program Division

Telephone: PLaza 1-1800

Southern Offices & Personnel

Southeastern Regional Office
(Ga., Ala., S.C., Tenn.)
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Arthur J. Levin, Dir.
Telephone: JAckson 3-1618

Virginia-North Carolina Regional Office
~~403 E. Franklin St., Rm. 211~~
Richmond, Virginia
Robert Kohler, Director
Telephone: 3-9143

Florida Regional Office
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida
Nathan Perlmutter, Dir.

Southcentral Regional Office
(La., Miss., Ark.)
606 Common Street
New Orleans, Louisiana
Irving Schulman, Dir.

Southwest Regional Office
(Texas, Oklahoma)
1101 Blodgett Street
Houston 4, Texas
Theodore Freedman, Dir.

7. Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
The Rev. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director

Telephone: FRanklin 4-4521

8. The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee
The Rev. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary

Telephone: ALpine 4-1631

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
9. Race Relations Department Board of Home Missions American Missionary Association Congregational Christian Churches 287 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York The Rev. Galen Weaver Telephone: GRammercy 5-2121	Headquarters: Fisk University Nashville 8, Tennessee Telephone: CHapel 2-3396 Herman H. Long, Dir. John Hope, II Miss Anna Holden
10. United Christian Missionary Society Disciples of Christ 222 South Downey Avenue Indianapolis 7, Indiana Lewis Deer, National Director Social Education and Inter-Cultural Relations Telephone: FLeetwood 7-1166	
11. National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church 281 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York (Division of Christian Citizenship) Telephone: SPring 7-9100	The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee Associate Executive Sec'y. P. O. Box 853 Lynchburg, Virginia Telephone: VIctor 5-8995 The Rev. John B. Morris 3502 Piedmont Rd., N. E. Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: CEdar 7-0414
12. Florida Council on Human Relations 213 N. E. Second Avenue Miami, Florida The Rev. William K. Williams Executive Director Telephone: FRanklin 9-4145	
13. Georgia Council of Churches 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia The Rev. Edward A. Driscoll Executive Secretary Telephone: JAckson 4-0941	
14. Georgia Council on Human Relations 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia The Rev. Walter C. Cowart Executive Director Telephone: JAckson 5-4063	

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
15. Jewish Labor Committee 25 East 78th Street New York, New York Emanuel Muravchik, Director Field Service Telephone: LEhigh 5-3700	
16. Kentucky Council on Human Relations c/o Rufus B. Atwood, Chairman Kentucky State College Frankfort, Kentucky	
17. The Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America 231 Madison Avenue New York 16, New York The Rev. Harold Haas Executive Secretary Telephone: LExington 2-3410	
18. The Board of Social and Economic Relations, The Methodist Church 740 Rush Street Chicago 11, Illinois The Rev. A. Dudley Ward Executive Secretary Telephone: MIchigan 2-3707	
19. The General Board of Education The Methodist Church, Division of the Local Church 1001 Nineteenth Avenue, South Nashville 2, Tennessee The Rev. Leon M. Adkins General Secretary	
20. Women's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church 150 Fifth Avenue New York 11, New York Miss Thelma Stevens Executive Secretary	Mrs. E. U. Robinson P. O. Box 140 Lebanon, Tennessee Mrs. H. B. Trimble 772 Houston Mill Road Atlanta, Georgia Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox 2205 Old Knoxville Highway Marysville, Tennessee Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson, Sr. 402 Forrest Drive Laurens, South Carolina

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
21. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 20 West Fortieth Street New York 18, New York Roy Wilkins, Exec. Sec'y. Telephone: LOngacre 3-6890 Henry Moon Director of Public Relations Jesse Devore Public Relations Assistant	Southeastern Regional Office Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director 859½ Hunter Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: MUrray 8-8868
22. National Conference of Christians and Jews 43 West 57th Street New York 19, New York Dumont Kenny, Nat'l. Program Dir. Telephone: MUrray Hill 8-7530	Gordon W. Lovejoy, Ass't. Dir. Southeastern Division P. O. Box 8507 Guilford College, N. C. Telephone: 4561
23. National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Division of Christian Life and Work Department of Racial and Cultural Relations 297 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York The Rev. J. Oscar Lee, Dir. Telephone: ORegon 4-5000 Division of Home Missions 257 Fourth Avenue New York 10, New York Miss Edith Lowry, Exec. Sec'y. Telephone: ORegon 4-6407 General Dept. of United Church Women 175 Fifth Avenue New York 10, New York Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, Gen. Dir. Miss Eleanor French, Chairman Christian Social Relations Telephone: ALgonquin 4-7110	The Rev. Will D. Campbell Associate Executive Director P. O. Box 1083 Nashville, Tennessee Telephone: ALpine 5-3842
24. National Council of Jewish Women 1 West 47th Street New York, New York Miss Hannah Stein, Exec. Dir. Telephone: CIrcle 6-3175	

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
25. National Council of Negro Women 1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. Miss Dorothy Height, Pres. Miss H. Elsie Austin, Dir. Telephone: COlumbia 5-4434	
26. National Labor Service 165 East 56th Street New York 22, New York Harry Fleischman, Dir. Telephone: PLaza 1-4000	
27. National Urban League 14 East 48th Street New York 17, New York Lester B. Granger, Exec. Dir. Telephone: PLaza 1-0300	Southern Field Division 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia M. T. Puryear, Exec. Dir. Telephone: JAckson 4-7262
28. North Carolina Council on Human Relations 121 East Third St., Rm. 209 Charlotte, North Carolina The Rev. Harry S. Jones, Dir. Telephone: FRanklin 6-6833	
29. The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in USA Department of Social Education and Action 830 Witherspoon Building Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania The Rev. H. B. Sissel, Assoc. Secretary Telephone: PEnnypacker 5-6722	Miss Jean Russell 824 Tusculm Boulevard Greenville, Tennessee The Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Jr. P. O. Box 1083 Nashville, Tennessee The Rev. John H. Marion 1605 Phillips Street Nashville, Tennessee
30. Board of Christian Education Division of Christian Action Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Presbyterian Building 8 North Sixth Street Richmond, Virginia The Rev. Malcolm P. Calhoun Secretary Telephone: MIlton 3-6691	

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
31. South Carolina Council on Human Relations 1745 Sumter St., Rm. 100 Columbia, South Carolina Mrs. Alice Spearman, Exec. Dir. Telephone: ALpine 6-8808	
32. Southern Christian Leadership Conference 530 South Union Street Montgomery, Alabama The Rev. Martin L. King, Jr. President	Atlanta Office: 208 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: JAckson 5-1763 Miss Ella Baker
33. The Southern Regional Council 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir. Paul Rilling, Field Dir. Telephone: JAckson 2-8764	
34. Tennessee Council on Human Relations 2001 Division Street Nashville, Tennessee Miss Louise Young, Exec. Dir. Telephone:	
35. Department of Community Services, U.S.A. Unitarian Service Committee, Inc. 9 Park Street Boston 8, Massachusetts Mrs. Dudley Moore, Director	Galen A. Martin P. O. Box 887 Knoxville, Tennessee
36. United Auto Workers, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department Solidarity House 8000 East Jefferson Avenue Detroit 14, Michigan William H. Oliver, Co-Director Telephone: LOrain 8-4000	Earl Henderson, Field Representative, Region 8&9 526 St. Paul Place Baltimore, Maryland
37. The Workmen's Circle 175 East Broadway New York 2, New York William Stern, Director E-S Division Telephone: ORchard 4-3400	

National Offices	Southern Offices & Personnel
38. Virginia Council on Human Relations 216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg. Richmond, Virginia The Rev. Daniel Bowers Executive Director Telephone: MIlton 9-0872	
39. National Council of YMCA's 291 Broadway New York 7, New York Herbert P. Lansdale, Jr. Telephone: DIgby 9-0700	Southern Area Council of YMCA's 706 Standard Building Atlanta 3, Georgia Charles L. Wharton, Sec'y. Telephone: JAckson 1-0352
40. National Board - YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York 22, New York Miss Edith Lerrigo, Gen. Sec'y. Telephone: PLaza 3-4700	Southern Regional Office 41 Exchange Place, S.E. Suite 201 Atlanta 3, Georgia Miss Florence C. Harris Correlator Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"THE LOUISVILLE SCHOOL STORY - TRANSCRIPT
OF AN ATLANTA TELEVISION PROGRAM FEATURING
MR. OMER CARMICHAEL

Sponsored by

The Georgia Council on Human Relations
on
WAGA-TV

September 13, 1959
Atlanta, Georgia

SRC
December 1959

Announcer:

The opinions expressed by the panelists on this telecast are not necessarily those of this station. Panelists for this program, which tells the Louisville public school story are Mr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville, Kentucky; Mrs. Fran Breeden, chairman of the board of directors of HOPE, Inc.; Dr. Willis Sutton, former superintendent of schools of Atlanta; and Mr. Sam Webb, acting chairman of the Department of Psychology, Emory University.

Mr. Webb:

Mr. Carmichael, we certainly appreciate your coming down to Atlanta to be on this program with us and to tell us something about your experience in Louisville. Before we begin to ask you questions, we would appreciate it if you would tell us something about yourself personally.

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, first might I say just a word about Louisville because you're going to be asking questions about Louisville and I think it is important that you understand a little about our city.

It's a city of about 400,000 -- rapidly growing with more growth outside the city than in; native-born population 99% plus; about 30 to 35 per cent Catholic; about 20 per cent Negro, but in our public schools about 30 per cent of our enrollment is Negro.

As for myself, I am a native of Alabama with all of my earlier education having been received in Alabama through undergraduate college; twelve years of professional experience in the schools of Alabama; four in Florida and thirteen in Lynchburg, Virginia; beginning the fifteenth now in Louisville.

Mrs. Breeden:

Then you certainly are in a good position to understand the problems of the South.

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, I think having grown up in an area in which there were a good many Negro people, and having served for eleven years in Selma, Alabama in which there is about 50 per cent Negro and 50 per cent white population, and in a county which, at the time, had five or six times as many Negroes as whites, I have some pretty general understanding of the Negro and his problems and our problems.

Mrs. Breeden:

Well, I think we'll all buy that.

Now to get back to Louisville. For the benefit of the people watching who might not know exactly what the Louisville story is, would you tell us briefly how Louisville reacted after the Supreme Court decision was handed down in 1954.

Mr. Carmichael:

May I, before answering that, say one other thing? I would like for those listening to us to understand that I am not down here as a crusader at all. I think they perhaps know that I am here by your invitation; simply willing to share with you anything which we have done which may be helpful to another community in working on a great human problem. This is a problem that challenges the best of people of good-will wherever they are.

Now, your specific question was what?

Mrs. Breeden:

How did you react, in Louisville, to the Supreme Court decision of 1954?

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, as Superintendent of Schools, I issued a statement on the day the decision came down - May 17, 1954 - that decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court are law and we in Louisville would carry out the law and we'd carry it out without undue delay. We emphasized

"undue" because we knew we were going to take time for thorough preparation. There was to be no subterfuge about it; we'd carry out the law.

Dr. Sutton:

Mr. Carmichael, our chief interest in the organization of "HOPE" has been to educate the people -- not to bring up or to fan any extreme opinions on either side of this issue -- but to give information. For that purpose we have invited you down tonight.

Can you tell us a little bit about how you prepared the people of Louisville for this matter of desegregation or integration, so that there was so little disharmony and conflict in the matter?

Mr. Carmichael:

All right, let me give some of the highlights, and then you may ask more specific questions if you wish.

After the decision on May 17, 1954, we went to work at once at the staff level to prepare for the opening of schools in the fall. There were some very simple things we asked of everyone in the fall. We asked every principal, as soon as schools were organized, to begin discussing in faculty meetings all questions and problems those faculties could think of that the central office ought to consider when it was ready to develop a plan.

We asked every one of the 1,800 teachers - from kindergarten through senior high school - to begin comparable work with their children; discussing it, helping them feel at ease in discussing it, and so on. We also asked the Parent-Teacher Association presidents -- we have a wonderful Parent-Teacher Association program in Louisville -- to schedule at least one meeting, of a public nature, for the purpose of public discussion of the question. Now, that was the beginning of preparation. We asked each principal, at the end of December or early in January, to turn in to the Superintendent a list of all the problems and questions which his or her faculty thought we ought to consider when we got ready to develop plans.

Dr. Sutton:

When you say all the principals, do you mean colored as well as white?

Mr. Carmichael:

Negro and white. We made it clear that it was not a program to be developed by the white people for the Negro people -- but all working together for all the children for whom we conceived the schools to exist.

Mr. Webb:

Would you tell us a little bit more about how the P-TA helped in this?

Mr. Carmichael:

Yes. You see, 1,800 teachers were working with 45,000 children every day, discussing the question; children were talking at home. I will be perfectly frank, I was afraid the community was going to get ahead of us - and they did in some places. They began to set up community meetings for discussion before we were ready to kick off on it. We frankly discouraged that a little because we wanted the P-TA to feel the responsibility for those meetings.

We set up a staff of about twenty-five speakers; made up principally of members of the board of education, the superintendent, assistant superintendent, some principals, some teachers, and some supervisors, here and there a teacher, a few of our ministers, and some business men, who were keenly interested and who were willing to prepare to do a good job. This is how we staffed all 75 parent-teacher association meetings. The work that had been done by teachers in the first semester had developed a community interest that assured attendance. We actually had thousands of people altogether. I don't think we had any individual meetings with more than six or eight hundred, and I never attended a meeting with fewer than a hundred.

Now, one other thing that I think was very important. We all agreed, as speakers, that every meeting would have a place for questions and answers -- we were to evade no questions asked with the exception of this one, "When you

begin, are you going to start at first grade and work up, are you to start at the high school level and work down, or how are you going to start?" That question we never answered. Our answer to it was, "We don't have a plan. We've asked you to help us study the question -- give us your suggestions and we will, in time, mature a plan." Now in that way, we got the community identified in a way beyond my fondest hope.

Mr. Webb:

After you got your plan formulated, what did you do to insure the support of the general public?

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, you see, we think the greatest thing we had done to secure support was before the plan was formulated. These meetings that I am talking about were taking place in February and March of 1955. When the second court decision came down on May 31, 1955, I reported to the Board -- the first time I had made any official report to the Board. I knew the Board was with us, and Board members were speaking in these public meetings. And so, in that way, the community knew the Board was back of the Superintendent in the program. But I never made a formal report to the Board until the Monday following the Supreme Court's decision of May 31, 1955. I made one simple recommendation in that report to the Board -- that the Board instruct the Superintendent no later than November, which was, you see, six months later, to bring to the Board a recommended program, and that the recommendation set a date for the program to begin. Now, what we were doing was simply trying to stay ahead of the game. We believed that our community was ready to move and we felt that we ought to be moving.

Dr. Sutton:

You think that that preparation of teachers and students, and especially of the people through the Parent-Teacher Association, was a most important step in this procedure?

Mr. Carmichael:

Very, very important. The work of the teachers with the children did more to promote attendance at the P-TA meetings than anything else we could possibly have done. Then at these meetings themselves much time was given to questions and answers. I answered questions in more than one meeting for as long as an hour and a half. In this connection, there was never a really nasty question thrown out merely to embarrass or to humiliate anyone. The people in attendance were earnestly and diligently seeking ways to work out a great human problem properly.

Mr. Webb:

What was the reaction of the children as the teachers began to talk with them about the fact that some change was about to take place?

Mr. Carmichael:

Children are always ahead of their parents, and their parents are always ahead of their grandparents. Children are just wonderful in adjusting to new things and to the spirit of democracy.

In our preparation of children for desegregation, Negro children from a Negro school would come to a white school and put on a program, and vice versa. Or, a group of children from a white school and a group from a Negro school would put on a program jointly in each school; one week at one school and the next week at the other.

Mrs. Breeden:

Well, now, the middle of October was the time that you recommended that they....

Mr. Carmichael:

No, no, the recommendation was presented to the Board at the mid-November meeting and I recommended that the plan which we had developed, with a great deal of care, lie on the table for thirty days.

Through the press, through letters which we sent to all organizations -- P-TA's, principals, various church and club groups -- that had helped us we gave the plan to the people, asking them for suggestions that would make it a better plan. At the end of thirty days, there had been one, and only one, suggestion offered and that wasn't because there wasn't interest. I think it was because of the thoroughness of the work of our committees in preparing. We had covered the ground. And, we had developed a simple plan. I wouldn't say at all that our people, even a majority of them, really wanted it. To be perfectly honest with you, not a majority of our people like the decision of the Court. But they saw that here was a human plan, developed with all the thoroughness and good-will that we knew how to put into it, and they said, "We have no better plan, we will follow you with this one."

Mrs. Breeden:

Well now, talking about your plan, I was impressed with the simplicity of it. We, here, hear a great deal about the Alabama and North Carolina Placement Plans. These are very complicated, very sophisticated programs. Yours is actually nothing except, "We will desegregate, with permission to transfer from schools." That's about all there is to it, isn't it?

Mr. Carmichael:

That's right. We actually made it require effort on the part of a parent, if his child belonged in a school which would have a mixed student body, to escape. In other words, we wiped out all-white districting and all-Negro districting; re-districted without regard to race, giving each school its load of pupils. Then we sent a letter to the parents of every child in the System below the senior high school -- we handled the senior high schools slightly differently -- saying, "In the re-districting of schools to end compulsory racial segregation, your child belongs in blank school. If you prefer another, indicate your first, second, and third choices. We'll do our best to give you what you want."

Mrs. Breeden:

But you did have this element of permissiveness.

Mr. Carmichael:

It was permissiveness, but it took positive action on the part of the person, the parent, and that applied to Negro and white alike. The Negro child could transfer out. And the result was that the first year - of seventy-two schools - we had about 54 that had both Negro and white pupils and the others were about equally divided. About half were schools that were all-white and half were all-Negro.

Mr. Webb:

Mr. Carmichael, this has been going on for some time now. What are the problems that are most frequently encountered by your teachers?

Mr. Carmichael:

The teachers in the classrooms?

Mr. Webb:

Yes. That is, as they work with these mixed groups.

Mr. Carmichael:

Vile, ugly talk by Negro children to other Negro children, or to white children, or once in a long time, when a Negro child loses his temper to a teacher.

The cultural level of the Negro is different from the white. Anybody who is realistic knows that and their language is less acceptable to white people. And so, that has been one serious problem.

Dr. Sutton:

Did you find that there was much difference in the ability of Negro children to receive and profit by instruction? Was that superior in the white? Was that difficult and did it bring up any problems of discipline?

Mr. Carmichael:

Dr. Sutton, I see three or four questions in one there. You use "ability" and you use "achievement." Now

let's distinguish between the two for a moment.

I'm no psychologist, no anthropologist, and I don't try to say, on my own knowledge, whether there is equality or inequality in native ability among races of people. I can merely say that the experts tell us there are no provable differences among the races in native capacities. Now, with respect to achievement, we know there are differences in achievement, and that's what we've got to work with. So, then, we never bothered ourselves with trying to answer to anybody's satisfaction whether the Negro child is less intelligent or more intelligent than the white child. We have just worked with them wherever they were.

Now where were they? We have one of the most complete test records in Louisville. I went there in 1945 and the records were there for ten or fifteen years back, by schools and by race. We have continued the pattern and added some new tests. The average Negro child in the sixth grade in 1956 was about one-and-one-half years behind the average white child in the sixth grade. At the eighth grade, the difference was about two years, and by the time you got to the twelfth grade, it was still greater.

Now these are deplorable differences and they present problems, of course. But you have a tremendous spread in a white group of whatever grade, from your low-capacity youngster to your high, or from your low achiever to your high achiever. You find in placing Negro and white children in the same classroom, when you put them grade for grade, that there is a wider spread of achievement.

Dr. Sutton:

Has that tended to become less and less through the years?

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, you see, we've been desegregated for three years only. I can give some pretty good documentation for the first two years because one of our very able principals, on a sabbatical leave, wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to pupil achievement in a good-size school system in the process of school desegregation.

He broke that study down; he tested some thirty-odd thousand children in elementary schools -- because this

study was, I believe, limited only to the elementary level. He took the Negro in the all-Negro schools, the Negro when he is in a minority of five per cent or less, when he is in a minority of from five to fifteen, or from fifteen to twenty-five or from twenty-five and up. And this is the sort of summary that you could give: The Negro improved. When we tested, we looked at the results the year before desegregation and then looked at them after the second year of desegregation and found that the Negro in all grades had improved - and by an amount that was statistically significant.

What happened to the white children, you ask? They, too, had improved, but by an amount not statistically significant. In other words, it was a slight improvement for the whites; a substantial improvement for the Negroes. I can't answer with as great definiteness for the third year, because no such study has been made with the same completeness, but the impression of our teachers is that that pattern continues.

Mrs. Breeden:

Mr. Carmichael, these children who were studied in these tests, I assume, were just in the schools where they were mixed.

Mr. Carmichael:

No, all white children, all Negro children; in other words, all thirty-odd thousand children in the elementary grades of the System.

Mrs. Breeden:

And Negro children in all-Negro schools also showed this improvement?

Mr. Carmichael:

Negro children in the all-Negro schools also improved.

Mrs. Breeden:

Well, how do you account for this?

Mr. Carmichael:

That's a long story.

When the question has been asked, I have said that the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. This has disturbed our Negro teachers a great deal. I have sat down with the four hundred of them at one stage and for two hours answered questions that they asked about my public statements to that effect. They know that I am not unkind about it. I simply am being realistic. It's true. There isn't a shred of doubt in my mind about it. There are excellent Negro teachers, and there are excellent white teachers. But if you take the average, the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. Now, these Negro teachers, wherever they worked, said, "The Superintendent is saying we aren't as good as the white teachers, so let's show him." And they've worked as I've never seen teachers work. The result was that they've carried the Negro children, in the all-Negro schools, right up with all the other Negro children.

Dr. Sutton:

The fact that the white children have improved, too, goes to indicate, does it not, that they have not been hurt by this?

Mr. Carmichael:

The most frequently asked question in our public meetings was, "What will happen to the scholarship of the white children as you put Negro and white together?" Well, we think here is at least a partial answer -- we pledged that no matter how hard we made it for the Negro children, we would not lower the standards for the System as a whole.

Mr. Webb:

Do you feel this standard has been maintained?

Mr. Carmichael:

Yes, sir. If anything, it has been improved.

Mr. Webb:

Does this mean that you have more Negroes who have to repeat classes than previously?

Mr. Carmichael:

It has resulted in higher non-promotion of Negro children. You put seven Negro children who have been classified as sixth grade in the Negro school in a group of 24 white children who are a year and a half ahead of them, and those Negro children are up against it terrifically. Now, we actually permitted some of them to transfer back to Negro schools early in the semester when they found they couldn't keep up. We dealt kindly and patiently with them. Sometimes when the parents would come and ask for transfer, the teacher would say, "Now Mary has not caught up yet, but if you will be patient, I believe Mary will." At other times we have said, "You're right, Mary needs to go back where the competition will not be so tough."

Mr. Webb:

Mr. Carmichael, we hear lots of concern about problems of discipline and health. What has been your experience with these two matters?

Mr. Carmichael:

Health and discipline?

I suspect about the second most frequently asked question in our public meetings by parents was - or perhaps it was not as often a question as it was a statement - "Mr. Carmichael, the thing that concerns us is the infection of our children from Negro children by use of the same toilets and so forth, because of the high incidence of venereal disease with Negro children."

Well, it happened that three or four years before, our State Department of Health had made tests for venereal disease in our System, and we had figures. Now, it's true that the figures showed a somewhat higher incidence in the case of the Negro than in the case of the white, but we just gave the facts to the groups - Negro and white alike.

Now, what was the other question you asked about?

Mr. Webb:

Discipline.

Mr. Carmichael:

Well, we've had some problems of discipline. I wouldn't want to minimize them. I think any of our teachers will tell you that it's been a little more difficult to discipline in mixed groups. This vile language question has created tensions in cases, but we've managed to keep all discipline problems within the school. We've never had a whole school seriously stirred up over a discipline problem, much less the whole community. So, I would say that discipline is a little more difficult, but has not presented any great problems to us.

Mr. Webb:

Mr. Carmichael, the time is getting short and I wonder if you have any particular thing on your mind you would want to tell us in addition to the kinds of things we've asked you about.

Mr. Carmichael:

Earlier, I think you asked why we were able to do as well as we've done. There are a lot of things that could be said. Let me, just in summary, mention a few.

First, the wholehearted acceptance of the decision of the Court as law by the Superintendent and the Board, and public announcement to that effect. Secondly, exceedingly thorough preparation. Third, the use of the community, the churches - especially the churches. I pay high tribute to a lot of our ministers, even those who just preached sermons on good human relations. That counted, because we were saying that desegregation is just one of the problems of good human relations. Fourth, the freedom from political interference.

As one who is devoted to the South and loves it as no other section of the country, it has disturbed me to see political interference with what would be good-will on the part of educators to do the job that has been placed on them. With us, we had exactly the opposite. The wholehearted support from our political leaders -- from

the U. S. Senators, Congressmen, and the Governor. The Governor called out the National Guard when two little communities got stirred up over desegregation problems there; the Guard was called out, not to enforce integration, but to preserve order. If the Governor of Arkansas had done the same thing, the Little Rock story would have been different.

So, I think those are some of the things that helped to make our program go. A fundamental respect for law which we worked for in every way that we knew how, then getting it identified with our community so that people would not get stirred up.

When John Kasper was brought there by the White Citizens Council, they got 42 people out to hear him. That's a greater tribute to the poise of our people than anything else I know. We just had tens of thousands of people ready to defend our plan -- it wasn't the schools' program; it was the program of the people of Louisville.

Mrs. Breeden:

I think you are to be congratulated -- you and the people of Louisville. Thank you so much for being with us, Mr. Carmichael.

Mr. Carmichael:

It was a pleasure to share with you anything that may be helpful to you.

VERY RARE COPY -

PLEASE RETURN AFTER USE

TO ADDRESS BELOW

52 Fairlie
30303

Southern Regional Council
-9 Forsyth St., N.W.-
Atlanta 3, Ga.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE STUDENT PROTEST

MOVEMENT, WINTER 1960

SRC-13
April 1, 1960 (Revised)

CONTENTS

	Page
A Follow-Up Report on the Student Protest Movement	
After Two Months	1
Report of February 25, 1960	
Background	i
Earlier Examples	ii
Legal Precedents	iv
Public Reaction	v
The Southern Pattern	viii
Toward a Solution	ix
Postscript of March 13, 1960	
Spread of the Student Protest Movement, February 26 - March 13	xiii
Principal Events	xiv
After Six Weeks	xvi
A Chronological Listing of the Cities in which Demonstrations Have Occurred	xix

A FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT
AFTER TWO MONTHS

The student protest movement which began in the South on February 1, 1960 had by the end of its second month spread to at least 65 Southern cities. (A list is at the conclusion of this report.) There are as yet no conclusive signs that momentum has weakened.

In its original and still most characteristic aspect the movement represents an effort to induce those private businesses that solicit Negro trade to extend all their services and courtesies to Negroes. The demands dramatized by the "sit-ins" are an issue among citizens, a protest of community practices requiring a re-examination of community social patterns. The numerous arrests on trespass charges, when state or city laws were clearly violated, does not alter the essential nature of the "sit-ins" as an appeal of one segment of the citizenry to another.

The movement acquired a second aspect, however, in those localities where the number of arrests and the tactics of the state and local law enforcement authorities showed an obvious intent to place the power of the state against the right of the Negroes to express dissent. There is a very clear distinction between the obligatory action of police in quietly enforcing laws (as, e. g., in Richmond or Atlanta), and the heavy-handed imposition of force to suppress and punish dissent which has been evident in all too many places. Where this has happened, the issue now is no longer between citizens, but has become a struggle between Negro citizens and state power.

The movement took on a third aspect in late March when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People decided to undertake a systematic program of legal defense of the demonstrators. If carried

through, this will mean not only a claim before the courts that civil liberties have been infringed, but will also seek a re-definition of the legal duties and rights of property owners in the conduct of their business.

Thus what began as an issue of community relations may well end as a question of legal rights and privileges. This was probably inevitable, given the inability of local leadership, except in San Antonio,* to resolve decisively the problems thrust onto the South's load of troubles by the first important American instance of student direct action for social reform. In San Antonio, "sit-in" demonstrations were avoided by a businessmen's decision, reached through the mediation of the city's Council of Churches, to abandon segregated lunch counters.

That other cities have not yet succeeded in resolving the dilemma is not surprising when it is recognized that the initial call for leadership was directed at merchants, a group sensitive to so many pressures as to be peculiarly unprepared for the role of leading social change. Unless they--both local proprietors and large chains--can be supported and, in fact, led by persons or groups of acknowledged civic prestige, it is fruitless to expect merchants to decide what shall be the social practices of the community. There is realistic value, therefore, in the work of established or specially created citizens' committees which in several cities are attempting to end the dispute (e. g., Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, and Salisbury, N. C.; Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee; Miami, Fla.). In several other cities, informal unpublicized committees are in operation. A state-wide committee has been formed in Florida by the governor and several localities have, at his urging, set up their own committees.

* Also in Jefferson City (Mo.), a series of bi-racial meetings of civic, business, and church leaders led to a decision to end segregation in downtown eating places on March 28.

Such groups as these, plus the good offices of the churches, are the only realistic hope for a settlement outside the courtroom. They are capable of breathing into the settlements what is urgently necessary: the spirit and the temper of the many and differing communities which make up the South. On March 17, the Winston-Salem Sentinel said, in an editorial headlined "When Lunch Counters Reopen, They Should Serve All Customers":

> Negroes who seek service without discrimination at lunch counters in Winston-Salem variety stores now have the backing of two substantial groups in the community. Last week a majority of members present at a meeting of the Forsyth Ministers Fellowship expressed "sympathy and admiration" for the lunch counter protest. On Tuesday, 60 members of the Wake Forest College faculty, speaking as "private citizens," asked the managers of five stores to open their lunch counters to all customers, regardless of race.
>
> Winston Salem's experience in the field of race relations tends to support the belief of the Wake Forest faculty members that the community would accept the change rather quickly, once it is put into effect. This community, moreover, has avoided the disorder that has accompanied the lunch counter protest in other Southern cities. One reason we have not had serious trouble here is that the store managers have had the good judgment to keep the lunch counters closed most of the time since the protest started, rather than to try to operate them on a segregated basis.
>
> It may be wise to keep the lunch counters closed here for the time being. But it is logical to suggest that when they are opened again that they be opened on a desegregated basis.
>
> Such action will not solve all of Winston-Salem's race problems. They cannot be solved here or anywhere else by a single stroke. But such a move would tell the Negro citizens that the white community is receptive to reasonable requests for removing racial discrimination. That in itself could advance the cause of good race relations in the community.
>
> A private business, of course, has the legal right to serve or to refuse to serve any customer. Unwanted customers can be arrested for trespass if they disobey an order to leave the premises. But arrests for trespass are not the answer to the lunch counter protest.
>
> The current protests are directed at business establishments that cater, in all departments except one, to customers without regard to race or color. The Negroes thus can logically complain of unfair discrimination when they are segregated or denied service at the lunch counter.

Winston-Salem has already moved away from enforced segregation in its public school system, on city buses, on its public golf courses and in Memorial Coliseum. Desegregation in these areas has been accomplished with little or no fanfare. It is an accomplished and accepted fact. We could reasonably expect a similar result if lunch counters were added to the list.

The last paragraph of the editorial points out the paradoxical inconsistencies in Southern racial practices. In a report prepared for the Nashville Community Relations Conference, Wallace Westfeldt illustrates the same puzzling pattern:

> In Nashville Negro and white children attend class together in public schools and parochial schools and in the city's major colleges and universities. In Nashville there are two Negro city councilmen, Negro policemen (one now in the process of being upgraded from enlisted to detective rank), and Negro members of the board of education, transit and hospital authorities. In Nashville, for years, Negroes have attended lunch dinner meetings of various social, religious civic and professional groups with interracial memberships in downtown hotels. Among such meetings have been those of the United Givers Fund, the League of Women Voters and the United Church Women. In Nashville, Negro and white commuters ride the city busses in smooth, non-segregated style. In Nashville also, Negroes are welcomed as customers in the downtown stores where they spend an estimated $7,500,000 a year. In two department stores, for example, they are politely fitted for clothes from head to foot--and from skinside out. In downtown Nashville, however, Negroes have no adequate facilities for eating. Welcomed as customers for merchandise, they are refused service as customers for food.

The recent spectacles in Orangeburg (S.C.), Tallahassee (Fla.), Montgomery (Ala.), Petersburg (Va.), and a half-dozen or so other places drive a barbed wedge of hostility between the South's peoples, and obliterate that confidence in each others' motives which makes possible meaningful community discussion. The press reports and photographs concerning these mis-directed cities underline the justice of the comment of the Union of South Africa's Ambassador, in objecting to the United States protest of the Bantu killings by police of that country:

> I emphasized to Mr. Herter that by calling such a [U. N.] meeting... a precedent will undoubtedly be created which would enable the [Security] Council to discuss racial and other disturbances in any other country.

With all respect, the situations are more than "a local matter for local authorities" as President Eisenhower described them. This is not to suggest that federal action is required, or even necessarily that federal rights are involved. But these situations, which put on exhibition before the world the American potential for police state methods, do raise far beyond their local settings the question of the recourse of a minority group when state or local governments are hostile toward it, rather than the impartial agents of all citizens.

The legal status of the demonstrators is no clearer than it was in February. Through March 31, nearly 1,300 arrests have been made, and the overwhelming bulk of these were of Negroes; there were nearly 400 arrests in Orangeburg, nearly 150 in Nashville, about 45 each in Tallahassee and Florence, S. C., about 80 in Atlanta, about 65 in Memphis, nearly 85 in Marshall, Tex. Trials are proceeding methodically, and there have so far been approximately 250 convictions.

Mississippi, apparently convinced that every fortress can be made a little tighter, enacted in March additional laws to forestall demonstrations. A bill to make "sit-ins" a trespass and a misdemeanor is still before the South Carolina legislature. Of great, but not immediate, importance was the action of the Supreme Court in late February, agreeing to review a trespass conviction of a Negro interstate bus passenger, refused service at a privately leased bus terminal restaurant in Richmond.

The demonstrations in Atlanta on March 8 were designed to raise with particular sharpness questions of discrimination in bus and train depots and in public buildings. In so doing, legal problems basically different from those arising from service in dime, drug, and department stores were put to the fore. One interesting twist of the Atlanta "sit-ins" was the

selection of cafeterias in two office buildings of which the federal government is sole tenant.

During the whole critical period since 1954, the South has suffered acutely from lack of leaders. As in the great crisis of 1860, the South's political leadership has been almost entirely composed of nay-sayers. One of the more heartening occurrences of these past two months has been the temperate and affirmative stand of a number of Southern mayors, as well as the many informed and wise statements from church and private organizations. All these were joined on March 20 by Governor Collins of Florida in a radio - TV address:

***

> Now, under our free enterprise system and under our laws, a merchant has the legal right to select the patrons he serves. And certainly he is going to be protected in that legal right.
>
> ***
>
> The customer, of course, has the legal right to trade or not to trade with any man he wants to--and, of course, there is the right to demonstrate, and the people should be protected in that right, too.
>
> ***
>
> But, actually, we are foolish if we just think about resolving this thing on a legal basis. In the first place, our merchants have too much involved so far as their business prosperity is concerned to have racial tensions of this order.
>
> ***
>
> But, aside from that, we've got the moral rights and we've got the principles of brotherhood that are involved in these issues...
>
> ***
>
> And, so far as I'm personally concerned, I don't mind saying that I think that, if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, then it is unfair and morally wrong to single out one department and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department.
>
> ***
>
> We have got mobs beginning to form now in this nation, in this Southland and in this State. The time requires intelligent, careful, thorough study of big problems and the reaching of solutions that are going to be reasonable and sound and make good sense.
>
> We cannot let this matter and these issues be decided by the mobs, whether they are made up of white people or whether they are made up of colored people.

(This is the second revision of the Council's special report; the earlier discussions, with but small changes, follow.)

REPORT OF FEBRUARY 25, 1960

BACKGROUND

On February 1, 1960, at 4:30 p. m., four freshmen from North Carolina A. & T. College sat down at the lunch counter of a Woolworth's dime store in Greensboro, N. C., and requested service. They remained until 5:30 p. m., when the store closed: they had not been served.

What happened in Greensboro on February 1 had occurred in recent years elsewhere in the South. The Greensboro incident grows in importance, however, because of the accumulating evidence that Negroes throughout the South saw in its example a means for release from discrimination and slights. The "sit-in" demonstrations, manned almost entirely by students from Negro colleges, have spread with such contagion as to make brightly clear that the South is in a time of change, the terms of which cannot be dictated by white Southerners. To react to these events with the old conditioned reflexes -- indignation, reprisal, new laws and prosecutions -- is absurd. The deeper meaning of the "sit-in" demonstrations is to show that segregation cannot be maintained in the South, short of continuous coercion and the intolerable social order which would result.

Since February 1, the "sit-ins" have spread from Greensboro to Durham, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Fayetteville, Raleigh, Elizabeth City, High Point, Concord, Salisbury, Shelby, Henderson--all in North Carolina; to Hampton, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Newport News, and Suffolk in Virginia; to Rock Hill and Orangeburg, South Carolina; to Deland and Tallahassee, Florida; to Nashville and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and to Montgomery, Alabama.

In some of these cities, lunch counter service at the target stores has been suspended. In nearly all localities, the deep implications of

the student protest have been sensed, and quiet discussions are under way among business and community leaders; there is an evident reluctance, however, to "negotiate" with the students or their representatives. Several score of persons have been arrested on trespass and more serious charges. Nowhere, yet, have the demands of the students for integrated lunch counters been met.

The reaction in several localities has been violent. Mobs have rioted in Portsmouth, Virginia, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, and other cities have come to the edge of the same ugly possibility. The scene in Chattanooga, on February 24, was, as the Chattanooga Times called it without exaggeration, "fantastic."

With developments such as these, and the chance of them elsewhere, city and school officials are justified--perhaps obligated--to take such measures as have been adopted or proposed in some localities: staggered school sessions, police organization for riots, appeals to parents to keep their children home. The good performance of Southern police forces is, in several cities, about all that has prevented chaos. This is a harsh comment to have to record about a situation rooted in a triviality, the matter of who sits next to whom in a public eating place.

EARLIER EXAMPLES

The present wave of protests has had certain characteristic features, which are likely to continue. The movement has been spontaneous and contagious; it has been carried out by students; it has concentrated for the present on one sort of service--lunch counters of stores which sell other commodities to Negroes; it has tended to concentrate on branch stores of large chains; it has been generally non-violent.

Because the outcome of the campaign is still undetermined, there is all the more value in a backward look at an earlier, less publicized chapter of the same story. This occurred in 1958.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, "sit-in" occurred in Wichita, Kansas, in August, 1958, and after about four days, led to service at the lunch counters of one chain. The next week, the movement spread to

Oklahoma City. It was the culmination of a long and planned project of the local NAACP Youth Council, and was supervised throughout by the Council's advisor. Beginning in October, 1957, occasional Negro youth had sought service at downtown lunch counters. On August 19, the "sit-in" began at the Katz Drug Company. This was one of five stores selected, and by the end of a fortnight all of the five except the John A. Brown department store (said to be the largest in town) had changed their policies. (One store--Kress--removed all stools at lunch counters before complying; everybody--white and colored--had to stand.) During this time, Negro youths from 6 to 17 (a 15 year old girl was spokesman), sometimes accompanied by adults, and varying in number from a usual 35-40 to a high of 135 on August 28 at Brown's, had occupied all available seats at the recalcitrant stores; they were clean, well dressed, disciplined, and mannerly: before and after their activity they held prayer-sessions. There was little disturbance: a few jeers from white youths, and a one-day counter "sit-in" by 15 white boys, was about all; the police were generally in attendance. On Sunday, August 24, the Negro youths divided into 20 pairs, and attended 20 white churches: they were put out at only three.

The movement spread, with some success, to a few other Oklahoma cities, such as Enid, Tulsa, Stillwater. In Oklahoma City, it ended with Brown's still a holdout and with the appearance of a church-affiliated mediation committee of citizens. In early October, the Youth Council began a mail survey of restaurants in the city to determine their policies. The churches' mediation committee began discussions, which still continue, with proprietors. The result is that by now there are over 30 establishments which say they are open to all customers; Negroes have found, however, that the new policies are sometimes forgotten, sometimes followed, at several of these places. Brown's remains adamant, and is regularly picketed each Saturday.

The issue flared again, with different implications, in 1959. On two occasions--in February and December--Negroes sought service at the cafeterias of a county commissioner and were refused. The gentleman was obviously singled out because he represents District 1 of Oklahoma County, which is said to include 90% of the county's Negro population. The February attempt was made by four members of the Youth Council, and the December attempt by adults and youths. Since then, district lines have been redrawn and at the next election the commissioner will face a predominantly white constituency.

From November, 1958, to February, 1959, other tactics were used in Kansas City, where three years earlier a single Negro minister, by repeated and persistent visits, had effected a policy change at the lunch counters of a drug-store chain. Refused restaurant service at five downtown department stores, Negroes began (a) to picket the stores, especially during the Christmas rush, asking Negroes not to shop at them; (b) a campaign--which they claimed to be pretty successful--to get Negroes to cancel their charge accounts at these stores. Rather prolonged negotiations set in, which ended abruptly when Negroes scheduled a downtown protest parade on Saturday morning, February 28. Four of the five stores capitulated on February 27, and the parade was called off.

The Miami events of 1959 followed a different pattern from those of Oklahoma City. In the first place, not the NAACP but the Congress of Racial Equality was the supporting organization. Secondly, the "sit-ins" were not sustained, and led to no definite outcome, except the closing of all eating facilities in one downtown department store. Thirdly, some flare-ups of violence occurred. Activity dragged off and on from May 1959 through September.

LEGAL PRECEDENTS

The "sit-ins" mark a new trend in the Negro attack on segregation, adding to legal suits the use of economic pressure and direct action. The "sit-ins" are, nevertheless, subject to legal interference, with Negroes potentially in the role of defendants.

The legal rights of the participants are still cloudy. Apparently American law has never generally extended the old common law innkeeper's rule* to restaurants and lunch counters, or even, in fact, consistently recognized it as applying to hotel lodgings. Privately owned eating places generally have been considered free to refuse service to whom they please, even if the right is not specifically recognized by state law or municipal ordinance. There is another question, however, regarding the right of a proprietor of such an establishment to order unwanted guests from the premises.

What seems to be a leading case did uphold that right. It arose, coincidentally, in Durham, N. C., in 1957 when several Negroes sought service in the white section of an ice cream parlor. They were refused and ordered out, and arrested when they did not comply. The Supreme Court of North Carolina sustained their conviction on a charge of trespass.**

---

* The aged common law principle obliged innkeepers to accommodate all travelers for whom they had room.

** State v. Clyburn, 3 Race Relations Law Reporter 218.

More recently, in July, 1959, a federal appellate court sustained the dismissal of a suit brought by a Negro against a chain restaurant in Alexandria, Va., which had refused him service. The Court found no discrimination forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment, nor any restriction on interstate commerce.*

Perhaps relying on these precedents, the Attorney-General of North Carolina publicly remarked that the right of an owner in North Carolina to select his customers was well established, and that he could order the arrest of anyone refusing to leave his property on request. The American Civil Liberties Union took immediate issue with the Attorney-General. The ACLU's contention is two-fold: (a) the students' peaceable demonstrations are an exercise of their right of free speech, for which they cannot constitutionally be punished; (b) they cannot be arrested for trespass on property (e. g. shopping centers, dime stores) where they are free, and invited, to enter.

The legislatures of Georgia and Virginia, which were in session during February, took the opportunity to enact measures making it a misdemeanor for a person to refuse to leave an establishment when ordered out by the proprietor or manager. Similar legislation was passed in Mississippi in February, 1956 and in Arkansas in February, 1959, and is under consideration in South Carolina.

PUBLIC REACTION

Whatever the law, nothing should be more apparent to responsible persons than that legal suppression, over and above the necessary maintenance of public order, is a thoughtless and self-defeating reaction. The present wave of Negro protests may or may not peter out; it may or may not

* Williams v. Howard Johnson's Restaurant, 4 Race Relations Law Reporter, 713. On February 16, 1960, a federal district court in Baltimore ruled, according to a press report, that "a restaurant has the right to select its clientele and make the selection on the basis of color if it so desires."

utilize other methods than the "sit-in." Whatever turn immediate events take, what has happened so far is another warning--how many are we entitled to?--that Southerners must build into their societies social, economic, and political practices which meet the needs and aspirations of a new order of Negroes.

Fortunately, reaction to the "sit-ins" has shown an awareness of this. The police of the various localities have responded generally with professional performance. The municipal officials have been concerned to find viable solutions. The local newspapers have exerted a calming influence and have emphasized the challenge to community responsibility. The following excerpts, even though one may not agree altogether with them, are indicative of the press reaction, and of its general level of serious reflection:

from the Raleigh News and Observer, February 11, 1960

> The Woolworth stores against which the first moves were made undertake to follow "local customs," yet Woolworth is a name which makes its mercantile appeal in every section of America, in New York as well as in North Carolina. It has 2,000 stores across the nation, 200 of which are in the South. Also, it is a chain of stores which by the very nature of its appeal seeks the patronage of people of limited means all over America, many of whom are Negroes.
>
> The "local custom" which has been followed by these and other stores in North Carolina eagerly welcomes Negro trade at all counters but one. Furthermore at that counter where food is served, Negroes have been served standing up but not sitting down. The distinction may make sense in "custom." Perhaps the supposition was that the Negro who purchased standing up was buying the food to take to others. That gave clearance to his presence as a servant. But the Negro, sitting down and eating where he sat, assumed the position of a guest.
>
> But an odd "guest." In effect, he was cordially invited to the house but definitely not to the table. And to say the least this was complicated hospitality. As a very natural result the action of the Negroes has been embarrassing to stores which are not merely ready but eager to serve Negroes in most stores but not in Southern ones.

from the Raleigh Times, February 16, 1960

> Two things are sure:

This thing cannot be solved by a continuance of mass protests by the Negro students. That could bring only continued closing of lunch counters, continued use of "no trespassing" signs at counters which are open. And, it could bring only continued potential of actual violence, such as did erupt yesterday in High Point.

This thing cannot be solved by more mass arrests, either. The arrests already made have solved nothing and may well have been the first step toward other problems.

from the Greensboro Daily News, February 15, 1960

...the only sensible course is to find some way to serve all those customers who want to be served. It should be done if it means setting up little separate but equal areas as a start, or ripping out all the seats and letting everybody eat standing up or simply at some unannounced time initiating a policy of service for all.

The issue will not quiet down without a decision--either to cope with the moral question or to cease all food service. The variety chain stores would serve their own ends poorly elsewhere if they decided they couldn't find an accommodating answer in the South.

This means, then, that the leadership of North Carolina's assailed cities must assert itself. An effort must be made not to coerce Woolworth and Kress into a particular decision but simply to serve as mediators, to counsel and to help North Carolina dispose of this sometimes ridiculous controversy over where and how people have lunch.

The Negro students (and their few white fellow-students) have conducted themselves creditably. They have chosen a goal which no one can legitimately grudge, have pursued it by means which were selected after mature pondering, and have in almost all places shunned the use of force even when provoked. As the Richmond News Leader said editorially on February 22:

Many a Virginian must have felt a tinge of wry regret at the state of things as they are, in reading of Saturday's "sitdowns" by Negro students in Richmond stores. Here were the colored students, in coats, white shirts, ties, and one of them was reading Goethe and one was taking notes from a biology text. And here, on the sidewalk outside, was a gang of white boys come to heckle, a ragtail rabble, slack-jawed, black-jacketed, grinning fit to kill, and some of them, God save the mark, were waving the proud and honored flag of the Southern States in the last war fought by gentlemen. Eheu! It gives one pause.

Indeed it does.

Negro adult leadership has widely and firmly supported the movement. No better statement dealing with the issues has been made than that of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, issued February 12, from which the following sentences are taken:

> ...instead of expressing disapproval, we have an obligation to support any peaceful movement which seeks to remove from the customs of our beloved southland, those unfair practices based upon race and color which have for so long a time been recognized as a stigma on our way of life and a stumbling block to moral and economic progress of the region.
>
> Approximately two years ago, the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs conducted a survey of the 5 and 10 cents stores located in Durham. This survey indicated that between 50 and 60 per cent of the persons entering the Kress, Silvers and Woolworth stores, were colored people. Obviously, the students' protest is against a system which solicits and accepts the trade of Negro patrons while denying them employment opportunities and the use of dining facilities...
>
> ***
>
> The Negro citizens of our community hope for successful negotiations between student leaders and representatives of the various stores affected. We are also hopeful that these negotiations will lead to formation of fair employment practices and an enlightened policy providing for a cordial invitation to all patrons to use the dining facilities without being segregated according to race.
>
> ***
>
> In conclusion, we commend these students for the dignified manner in which they have demonstrated the kind of poise and maturity which have enabled them to smile while being cursed, showered with eggs, and threatened with physical violence by irresponsible elements...

THE SOUTHERN PATTERN

Elsewhere in the South, there is deep interest and uneasy anticipation. There is also a display of the conditions which cause the student protest movement.

As far north as Arlington, Va., a locale but loosely "Southern," there is as yet no non-segregated eating. Nor is there in Knoxville, despite lengthy discussions with several leading stores. Nor is there in another state university town, Gainesville, Fla., except at a drive-in with outside tables. In Salisbury, N. C. -- the one Negro college center in the state without a demonstration--integrated service is already an occasional practice. So is it, on a stand-up basis, at other scattered places in the South.

A Negro attending a convention in Houston might well be served at the Rice or Shamrock hotels; but the lone Negro, with no convention to

attend, has to hunt out a segregated eating place, or stand at the integrated counter of the S. H. Kress dime store. But in Oklahoma City, the Biltmore is open for food and lodging, and since the 1958 demonstrations so are a number of restaurants and lunch rooms. In Little Rock, the segregated counters of one dime store and of one bus terminal are the only places Negroes can eat downtown. In Atlanta there are several segregated places, also one Negro restaurant in the heart of downtown. In Roanoke, Va., the segregated lunch counter at W. T. Grant's variety store is the only eating place for Negroes downtown.

TOWARD A SOLUTION

What has happened these last few weeks, and what may lie ahead, has worried and dismayed many Southerners. These include not only the persons who are the everyday enemies of Negro equality, and those others who see in each new Negro demand a "setback to race relations." There are Southerners friendly to the Negro cause who have doubts as to the practical wisdom of the student protests, and the turn toward violent conflict has deepened their concern. This is not a point of view to be shrugged off. At the very least, it is an indication of a segment of Southern opinion. More basically, it is an expression of a view, which has been implied in some of the Negro press as well, that the student protests will hurt other more important objectives, especially school desegregation.

To this there are several things to be said.

The movement began in North Carolina, the state most commonly identified with so-called token desegregation. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that one irritant which motivated the students was resentment over the pace of school desegregation. As such, the lunch counter demonstrations are a sign of the hollow inadequacy of a desegregation scheme designed simply to skirt the law.

Moreover, white Southerners have almost always underestimated the extent of Negro dissatisfaction. Consequently, they have tended at all times to be shocked when Negroes demand something which the whites had

hardly bothered to notice they didn't have. To say again that these are times of change is trite; but unfortunately the white leadership of the South has hardly yet begun to conceive the dimensions of change, or to say publicly that the white people must learn to live with change, or to acknowledge that the present problem is to reconcile the Negroes of the South to their communities on terms of dignity.

The use of economic pressures, rather than legal attacks, could have immense implications. Techniques similar to the lunch counter "sit-ins" could be developed for many other objectives, including employment. In this connection, it is worth noting that the students had enough practical shrewdness to direct most of their effort at national chains.

Yet the onus of decision should not have to fall on any one business, nor should a region which is so desirous of attracting branch businesses be shortsighted enough to allow that to happen. Because Woolworth, Kress, and the other chains are peculiarly vulnerable is no reason why they should have the largest burden. To extricate a city from the predicament in which 20-odd Southern cities now find themselves is a task for the whole business community of each city, guided and supported by elected officials and civic leaders.

And businessmen and officials of cities yet unaffected would be blind to their own advantage if they did not address themselves to the same problem. There is no doubt that integrated eating facilities will be more difficult to establish now than they would have been two months ago in the North Carolina cities. There are real doubts, on the other hand, that stores which have been struck will be able to resume untroubled operations on the old pattern. The meaning of this for other cities should be transparent.

The Negro potential for economic pressure is great. The New York Times (February 19), reported the statement of an S. H. Kress executive that business in some of the affected stores had dropped 15-18%. Other reports have said that a variety store in Charlotte has had a 65% drop in business, and a Greensboro store is down 35%. The Wall Street Journal reported that Negro expenditures in Charlotte are estimated at $150 million annually.

The alternatives in the present situation are few and plain. One is to maintain segregation: this is to invite a test of strength and to create the sort of atmosphere in which the apostles of violence will inevitably take over; it is also to alienate the Negro students, and educated Negroes generally, yet more severely from their local communities.

A second is to eliminate the beleaguered facility. Abolish lunch counters this time, and whatever else it is next time (schools, perhaps). The end of this is to have nothing left that is recognizable as a community.

A third, and final, alternative is equal treatment. If Southerners are sensible, even if they have only a lively sense of self-interest, treatment will be equally good; if Southerners prefer, it can be equally bad. As profound as anything said in the lunch counter controversy is the terse sentence of the student leader in Charlotte--and only the unthinking would regard it as arrogant: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it."

It is a biting commentary on the present state of American civilization that practiced techniques of protest against racial discrimination have been developed. In a few of the North Carolina cities, the students have had, after the initial movement, the guidance of staff members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who have brought them lessons of experience going back to 1942, and learned largely in the North and border states. The assistance may have contributed to the discipline of

non-violence, which has generally held firm. Adult community leaders of the South might well seek some guidance as well. One example which they might study is that of the Greater Oklahoma City Council of Churches, which pulled its city out of the confusion of 1958, and in doing so has acquired the trust of both races.

The North Carolina Council on Human Relations has well said: "Confidence in the basic good judgment and sense of fair play of the majority of our citizens could be our most valuable asset in solving the problem. Experience in many areas of desegregation--in churches, schools, airports, and auditoriums, and particularly in the Armed Forces--has taught us that where policy is firmly agreed upon and where people are expected to behave properly toward each other, they almost always do. Except for our fears, many of our problems would melt away." What the Southern cities need most is leadership that will show them how fragile are their fears.

POSTSCRIPT OF MARCH 13, 1960

SPREAD OF THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, FEBRUARY 26 - MARCH 13

Student leadership continued to characterize the protest movement which by mid-March, had grown yet more expressive of the impatient resentment of Negro Southerners. Although lunch counter demonstrations were still at the center of public attention, other objectives had been marked out, and marches, rallies, and manifestoes became increasingly prominent as techniques of protest in addition to the "sit-ins" and the picket-line.

Demonstrations of some type had spread to another score of cities, bringing the movement to every Southern state except Mississippi, although the one incident in Louisiana was slight: Huntsville and Tuskegee, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; Daytona Beach, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, and Tampa, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Lexington, Kentucky; New Orleans, Louisiana; Chapel Hill, and Monroe, North Carolina; Charleston, Columbia, Denmark, Florence, and Sumter, South Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; Austin, Galveston, and Houston, Texas; Petersburg, Virginia; Xenia, Ohio; and Bluefield, West Virginia.*

Students from at least 20 colleges and universities participated in these new demonstrations since February 25, and by now over 40 campuses of the South have accepted a role. A number of Northern campuses have found means of dramatizing their sympathy. (At Michigan State University the demonstration was led by Ernest Green, the first Negro graduate of Little Rock's Central High.)

---

* In Oklahoma City, there has been at least one recent renewal of the 1958-59 "sit-ins," with quick success. In Sanford, Florida, high school students have appeared before municipal authorities, asking for use of the town's civic center (refused).

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1. There was a far greater intervention of municipal and state authorities, and arrests in considerable numbers were made in several cities. Nashville out-distanced all others. There, on February 27, over 75 students were arrested after refusing to obey a police order to leave a lunch counter in a variety store. The police issued the order after three fights had broken out; the circumstances of these were reported by an AP dispatch in the Chattanooga Times as follows:

> A white youth attacked another white youth who was sitting beside a Negro girl at McClellan's counter after getting no reaction when he called the fraternizing white a "nigger-lover."
>
> A white man attacked a Negro student after receiving no reaction when he repeatedly blew cigar smoke into the student's face.
>
> A group of white boys attacked two Negro demonstrators after receiving no response from comments such as, "Go home, nigger," and "what's the matter, you chicken?" A third demonstrator was pushed down the stairs in the accompanying confusion.

Whether justified on February 27, later developments show that coercion cannot be counted on to end the demonstrations, given the present determination of the Negro participants. The protests in Nashville continue, and so do arrests; constitutional grounds of appeal are obviously being laid in some of the trials.

On March 6, the UPI reported a total throughout the South of at least 436 arrests; the figure had risen by March 13 to over 500.

2. In Montgomery, the state government led by Governor Patterson was directing the disciplining of the students, with the willing and full support of the city administration and police. The Alabama Board of Education ordered the expulsion of nine and probation of 20 students of Alabama State College; the Governor also threatened to cut the college's funds.*

In Montgomery itself, where the passive resistance method was most notably developed under the guidance of the Rev. M. L. King, Jr. in the famous bus boycott, a race riot was narrowly avoided on March 6 when scores of policemen were required to hold back a white mob.

---

* Northerners especially might note that the home states of four of the nine were California, Illinois, New York, and Pennsylvania. It is probably still true that the South provides more accessible opportunities in higher education for Negroes than does the rest of the country.

Montgomery is again a tense, violence-prone city, as is Tallahassee, where, on March 12, police broke up a march of Negro students with tear gas. In Houston, a Negro was brutally tortured. Orderly demonstrations and passive resistance still typified the students' tactics. But in a few places, notably Columbia, South Carolina and Henderson, North Carolina, the movement produced short-lived but serious violence.

Vanderbilt too has expelled a student, a young Negro minister enrolled in the divinity school, and the seeming leader of the Nashville demonstrations: 14 of 16 members of the theological faculty rebuked the university's administration for its action.

3. After its riotous spasm of February 23-25, Chattanooga was quiet.

4. So too was there quiet, and also hopeful progress, in North Carolina, where the movement originated. Mayors' committees were appointed in Greensboro and Raleigh (in Nashville too), and several responsible sources were suggesting "plans," most of which proposed to solve the controversy by some ingenious out-flanking of it. Some testing went on: in Winston-Salem, for example, four stores re-opened their lunch counters on March 4; all four were closed within thirty minutes the next afternoon as a group of Negroes moved soberly from one to the other.

5. In Salisbury, North Carolina, Livingstone College students were refused service on March 7 in two drug stores, but given service without question or trouble in three others -- the first genuine victory of the movement so far. A day earlier, a group had been served at the lunch counter of an appliance store in Winston-Salem, but immediately afterwards the store removed all stools.

6. Activity in Atlanta probed along three lines. On March 3 and 4, students were quietly served at a white counter in the Southeast's largest department store, and on March 7 were refused. On March 10, four students and two faculty members with tickets ordered in advance took orchestra seats in the Municipal Auditorium for a showing of My Fair Lady; the manager promptly and inspiredly designated their seats a Negro section. On March 9, the Atlanta newspapers carried a full page advertisement, signed by the student-body heads of the city's six Negro institutions. Titled "An Appeal for Human Rights," the statement was an eloquent, classic listing of grievances. In outline, the Appeal was similar to a pamphlet issued a month earlier by a committee of young Negro professional and business men. By raising many and broad questions for what it hoped would be a thoughtful city, the Appeal gave confirmation to something said by the Protestant ministers of Raleigh, North Carolina, in a statement supporting the student protests: "The issue of discriminatory service at lunch counters is only a symbol of the many problems which need to be faced openly and frankly."

Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield said of the Appeal, that it "performs the constructive service of letting the white community know what others are thinking." A very different reaction was that of Governor Vandiver, who denounced the students at length, and with heated accusations. One sentence of the Governor's stands out, however, because it reveals so much of what the Negroes have to overcome. "Obviously," he said, "it was not written by students." The unhappy fact is that he was probably bespeaking the unwillingness of many white Southerners to take the educated Negro seriously, and their consequent failure to accord respect for his talents and status.

7. In Petersburg, Virginia, "sit-ins" were used, not for food service, but for library privileges.

8. Although most demonstrations occurred in localities with reputations for good race relations, there were exceptions, such as Montgomery and Tuskegee. Especially remarkable has been the activity of students from small, isolated campuses of South Carolina's rural Black Belt. That youth from Voorhees Junior College, Morris, Claflin, and South Carolina State Colleges should be ready to challenge the almost monolithic placidity of that state by carrying the movement into Bamberg, Sumter, and Orangeburg Counties is a measure of how powerful is the resolve underlying the Southern protests.

AFTER SIX WEEKS

During early March there were not nearly as many charges as there had been earlier that the movement was under outside control. The protests spread through their own momentum, spurred no doubt by a natural spirit of emulation, and this fact was by mid-March generally recognized by public opinion. The more important question was that of future direction. In one or two places, demonstrations subsided and spokesmen announced that they had "made our point." Public opinion in the South, however, was still far from having decided what to do about it.

It has been sometimes said that the "sit-ins" are evidence of the much improved status of the Negroes, that only people relatively well-off would make an issue of lunch counter service. This is of course true, but no discerning observer thinks that lunch counter seating is anything but a convenient symbol. The Appeal of the Atlanta students put the controversy into perspective. There should be no surprise if

the demand for food service leads quickly into other, perhaps more basic, claims. A good example of this, although from a white school, is the manner in which a long and angry editorial of February 29 in the Old Gold and Black, campus newspaper of Wake Forest, moved with hardly a change of pace from support of the demonstrators to a denunciation of the College trustees who "have made no provisions for Negro applicants." When asked if he did not believe the prospects for school desegregation had been set back by the "sit-ins" Dr. G. C. Simkins, president of the Greensboro NAACP chapter said: "If anything, they will hasten it. They will make Negroes more conscious of their rights. It will make them feel that they should seek their rights more. The trouble with the school thing is that we haven't had applicants to file for the white schools."

On February 25, the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce said, "the business and industrial climate is in jeopardy, the jobs of present employes possibly affected, and the hope of attracting new business and industry positively affected." Our modern industrial patterns, with their delicately balanced interrelations, cannot breathe in a climate of disorder. At some point, the crisis will have to be ended; the questions were, on what terms -- and how soon? Three thousand Negroes turned out for an NAACP meeting in Richmond, where they were exhorted to stay out of recalcitrant stores and to close out their accounts. All over the South, Negro adult leaders moved to support the movement begun by students. In Chapel Hill, a group of white and Negro collegians, acting with the embarrassing directness which, whether calculated or not, has frequently been displayed, chose for their "sit-in" not only a national firm (Howard Johnson's), but one that occupied a building owned by Governor Hodges and U. S. Senator Jordan.

Left to their own workings, economic pressures and civic sense of responsibility could probably open up their own satisfactory solutions. It would quite likely be a better settlement than one hammered out through litigation in already over-burdened courts. Law enforcement officials have an obligation to maintain order and respect for law. If state and local officials go beyond that neutral ground, the predictable result will be that questions of civil rights and liberties will be thrown up for court decision, and court order. Municipal and state administrations can help tremendously toward a solution of the controversy through mediation and opinion leadership. But if they take sides, the chances of a solution on the local level, without court orders, will be dim.

All in all, these weeks have been, as Claude Sitton put it in the New York Times, a time of disenchantment for the South. The South is learning, harshly, how its race relations really do look to its Negro citizens.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF THE CITIES IN WHICH DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED

FEBRUARY 1 - MARCH 31, 1960*

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establishments?	Sit-ins at Bus & Train Stations?	Sit-ins at Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Feb. 1	Greensboro, NC	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 8	Durham, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 8	Winston-Salem, NC	Yes	No	No	march	There have been occasional attempts to re-open lunch counters. Stools removed at one store and counter desegregated.
Feb. 9	Charlotte, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 9	Fayetteville, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 10	Raleigh, NC	Yes	No	No	picketing prayer meeting on state capitol steps	
Feb. 11	Elizabeth City, NC	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 11	High Point, NC	Yes	No	No		Mayor's committee recommended 60-day trial integration 3/31; no immediate response from variety stores.
Feb. 11	Hampton, Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing march	
Feb. 12	Concord, NC	Yes	No	No	religious service on courthouse lawn, march	

* This list is compiled principally from press reports. Although the record on these and the following pages is as accurate as we can make it, some events were undoubtedly unreported or not included in our files.

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establishments?	Bus & Train Stations?	Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Feb. 12	Norfolk, Va.	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 12	Portsmouth, Va.	Yes	No	No	march, attempted boycott	White and Negro mobs dispersed by police 2/16-17
Feb. 12	Rock Hill, SC	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 12	Deland, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 13	Nashville, Tenn.	Yes	Yes	No	picketing	Student leader expelled from Vanderbilt Divinity School. Negroes served at Greyhound Station 3/16
Feb. 13	Tallahassee, Fla.	Yes	No	No	march	Police broke up march 3/12 with tear gas.
Feb. 16	Salisbury, NC	Yes	No	No		Three drug stores gave desegregated service 3/7 -- apparently the first genuine victory of the movement.
Feb. 18	Shelby, NC	Yes	Yes	No	picketing	Negro picket attacked
Feb. 18	Suffolk, Va.	Yes	No	No		Stools removed at one store and counter desegregated; business declined an estimated 75%.
Feb. 19	Chattanooga, Tenn.	Yes	No	No		Riots 2/23-25.
Feb. 20	Richmond, Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing	
Feb. 20	Baltimore, Md.	Yes	No	No	picketing	Picketing directed at theatre.

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establishments?	Sit-ins at Bus & Train Stations?	Sit-ins at Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Feb. 22	Newport News, Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing march	
Feb. 25	Montgomery, Ala.	No	No	Yes	march, mass rally on campus	Violent attacks on Negroes 2/28. Riot 3/6. Leaders of demonstration were expelled from Alabama State on order of State Board of Education. Touring Northern white students and instructor jailed for eating with Negroes in a cafe.
Feb.25	Orangeburg, SC	Yes	No	No	march	Police used fire hose and tear gas to disperse Negro marchers 3/12.
Feb.25	Henderson, NC	Yes	No	No		Negro student assaulted white man.
Feb.25	Charleston, SC	No	No	No	march	
Feb. 27	Lexington, Ky.	Yes	No	No		
Feb.27	Tuskegee, Ala.	No	No	No	march, attempted boycott	One march of Tuskegee students was in Montgomery.
Feb.27	Petersburg, Va.	No	No	Yes	negotiating teams visited stores asking for desegregated service and rest rooms	Sit-in took place in public library.

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establishments?	Sit-ins at Bus & Train Stations?	Sit-ins at Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Feb. 28	Chapel Hill, NC	Yes	Yes	No		
Feb. 29	Denmark, SC	Yes	No	No		
Feb. 29	Tampa, Fla.	Yes	Yes	No		
Mar. 1	Monroe, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 2	St. Petersburg, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 2	Sarasota, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 2	Daytona Beach, Fla.	Yes	No	No	attempted boycott	
Mar. 2	Columbia, SC	Yes	Yes	No	march	Negroes attacked several cars at a white drive-in restaurant 3/5
Mar. 3	Atlanta, Ga.	Yes	Yes	Yes	newspaper ad, picketing	Sit-in included theatrical performance at Municipal Auditorium
Mar. 4	Sumter, SC	Yes	No	No	rally on courthouse steps	
Mar. 4	Florence, SC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 4	Orlando, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 4	Miami, Fla.	Yes	No	No		Participants were adult ministers

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establishments?	Sit-ins at Bus & Train Stations?	Sit-ins at Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Mar. 5	Houston, Tex.	Yes	No	Yes	picketing	Negroes served in City Hall Cafeteria 3/25; lessee announced return to segregation 3/26. A Negro brutally tortured by white youths 3/7.
Mar. 5	Xenia, Ohio	Yes	No	No		Restaurant desegregated after 3-day closing.
Mar. 7	Sanford, Fla.	No	No	No	students met with city manager and petitioned unsucessfully for use of civic center	
Mar. 7	Bluefield, W. Va.	Yes	No	No	picketing	Theatre included in demonstrations.
Mar. 7	Knoxville, Tenn.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 8	New Orleans, La.	No	No	No	on-campus parade	
Mar. 10	Little Rock, Ark.	Yes	No	No		State Atty. Gen. smeared president of students' college (Philander Smith) as suspect of left-wing subversion.
Mar. 10	Huntsville, Ala.	No	No	No	march	

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establishments?	Sit-ins at Bus & Train Stations?	Sit-ins at Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Mar. 11	Austin, Tex.	No	No	No	march, picketing leaflets	Demonstrations were directed against the segregationist housing, athletic, drama policies of the University of Texas
Mar. 11	Galveston, Tex.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 12	Jacksonville, Fla.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 13	San Antonio, Tex.	No	No	No	ultimatum conference	Six variety stores and a city-wide drug chain began desegregated service 3/16.
Mar. 15	St. Augustine, Fla.	Yes	No	No		Fights suppressed by police 3/17.
Mar. 16	Savannah, Ga.	Yes	No	No	picketing attempted boycott	White and Negro mobs dispersed by police 3/17.
Mar. 17	New Bern, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 18	Memphis, Tenn.	Yes	No	Yes	meeting with City Commission	Most important sit-in has been for library service. Art gallery also a target.
Mar. 19	Wilmington, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 19	Arlington, Va.	Yes	No	No		Sit-in led to fight between store owner and Negroes

First Date	City	Sit-ins at Private establish-ments?	Sit-ins at Bus & Train Stations?	Sit-ins at Public Buildings?	Other forms of Protest	Remarks
Mar. 19	Lenoir, NC	No	No	Yes		Negroes entered library and were not disturbed in using the facilities.
Mar. 21	Statesville, NC	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 25	Pine Bluff, Ark.	No	No	No	attempted boycott	
Mar. 26	Lynchburg, Va.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 26	Charleston, W. Va.	Yes	No	No		
Mar. 26	Marshall, Tex.	Yes	Yes	No	mass gathering on court house square	Police used fire hose to disperse crowd 3/30. Bishop College fired an instructor after governor charged demonstrations Communist inspired
Mar. 28	Baton Rouge, La.	Yes	Yes	No	march	Leaders of demonstration expelled by Southern University; other students are staying out of classes in protest.
Mar. 31	Birmingham, Ala.	Yes	No	No		

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LUNCH-COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN CORPUS CHRISTI, GALVESTON, AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

by Kenneth Morland

Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College

SRC-15
May 10, 1960

Introduction

San Antonio was the first city in the South to receive publicity for the desegregation of its lunch counters on March 16, 1960, and announcements of Galveston's desegregation on April 5 followed. However, Corpus Christi had made some steps toward desegregation as early as 1950, and the Woolworth counter was desegregated in November, 1958. All of the remaining downtown Corpus Christi lunch counters were desegregated without any publicity on March 28, 1960.

The way in which desegregation came about in each of these cities was different. In Corpus Christi the early desegregations were the result of requests by Negroes for equal service and the granting of those requests by individual managers. The recent desegregation resulted from the objection of an NAACP leader to the refusal of Kress's to serve a Negro, and from the consequent agreement by the managers of four large downtown stores, after several conferences with the Negroes, to desegregate. In San Antonio religious leaders took the initiative in helping store managers and protesting Negroes to work out a solution. Only in Galveston were there overt demonstrations in the form of sit-ins, and a mediating group composed of prominent white businessmen and lawyers, as well as religious leaders, brought about an agreement between managers and Negroes.

Since the story of lunch-counter desegregation in each town is different, it is necessary to trace the development in each separately. Then, generalizations from these three case studies will be derived. But one result can be reported at this point: desegregation of lunch counters is working well in each city, and there is general community acceptance of the change.

Corpus Christi

Corpus Christi is a fast-growing city on the Gulf of Mexico in south Texas. In each ten-year period since 1920, the population has about doubled, and informed persons estimate that there are now about 175,000 residents, made up of 7% Negro, 33% Latin-American, and 60% Anglo. As a rapidly growing city, it has a comparatively large number of young people, a factor cited by some community leaders as a reason for the ready acceptance of change in lunch counter service. Public schools, including Del Mar Junior College, were integrated in 1955, and public recreational facilities, including golf and swimming, were integrated a year later. The local NAACP took the lead in asking for desegregation, but there was little opposition and even some encouragement by white civic leaders.

Steps in the Desegregation

The first lunch-counter desegregation came in 1950 in the H. E. Butt grocery stores, the largest of which have lunch counters. When a Negro customer was refused service, he asked to speak to the store manager, who referred him to the general manager, who suggested that he talk to the owner, Mr. Butt. The Negro was told by the owner that he could be served, and an order was issued to the store managers that all customers, including Negroes, were to be served at the counters in the same way. However, it was not until 1952, according to one report, that all store managers fully complied.

The next step in lunch-counter desegregation took place in the fall of 1958. Negro and white classmates from an integrated school stopped in Woolworth's, sat at the lunch counter, and requested service. When the Negro children were refused, the whites walked out with them. Later an adult Negro member of the NAACP called on the manager of the store to inquire of his policy toward serving Negroes. The manager replied that he was willing to have Negroes served seated at his counter, and since

that time Negroes have eaten there without restriction. However, apparently not all Negroes knew about this privilege, for weeks later some were still standing to eat or were taking food out. A Negro dentist and former state NAACP president told the writer that he asked the Negroes who were standing why they did not sit down. When they reported that they did not know they were permitted to, the dentist went to see the manager who assured the Negroes that they could sit if they wished.

In a lengthy interview with the manager, the writer was told that managers of Woolworth stores were allowed to run their stores as they see fit. The manager said that he felt it silly and unfair to allow Negroes to purchase in other parts of the store and to treat them unequally at the lunch counter. So without consulting the managers of other stores or anyone else, he allowed Negro customers to be served. He was sure that desegregation was coming sooner or later and that his action helped Corpus Christi avoid the difficulties that have developed in other Southern cities. While he had received some "kicks" from other merchants and from a few white customers, he told them that he had to run his store according to his best judgment. He noticed no loss of business from whites or Latin-Americans because of the integration.

The final phase in the desegregation of lunch counters began March 15, 1960. The manager of Kress's had been allowing a Negro employee to eat at one end of his lunch counter, but when this employee invited a Negro friend to eat with him, the friend was refused service. The Negroes reported this to an NAACP leader who then telephoned the manager and arranged a time when they could discuss the matter. In the meantime the Kress manager called together the managers of other stores in which there were sizable lunch counters: Walgreen's, Grant's, and Lichtenstein's (a fashionable department store with a tea room on the fourth floor). After several conferences among the managers and talks with the NAACP leader, the managers agreed

on March 25 to desegregate their lunch counters. They requested that no formal publicity be given to this decision but rather that Negroes be informed by way of the "grapevine." Several Negro ministers announced the decision in their churches, and word was passed from Negro to Negro.

Results

None of the managers reported any real difficulty with the desegregation. Negro customers have not been numerous, and have been generally polite. In casual conversation with several lunch-counter waitresses, white patrons, and taxi drivers, the writer found ready acceptance of desegregation. But it was evident that not all prominent white citizens of the city knew about the desegregation. For example, when asked by the writer, the pastor of one of the leading Protestant churches replied that he did not know whether any of the lunch counters were desegregated. This is clear evidence that the matter has been kept quiet.

Factors Contributing to Desegregation

The following factors appear to be important in the success of lunch-counter desegregation in Corpus Christi:

(1) The general attitude of the community has been permissive toward integration. While there has been no overt drive toward desegregation by white community leaders, only gentle prodding by the NAACP was required to induce the whites to grant equal treatment.

(2) White opposition, in the form of a White Citizen's Council, has been weak and led by low-status persons. When the Council objected during the Christmas season of 1956 to having one of the wise men in a public representation of the manger scene depicted as black, the objection was ridiculed by churchmen and civic leaders. When the Council demanded that the newly-built public swimming pool be restricted to white use, the Park and Recreation Board, after hearing the NAACP

argue for its use by all, decided in favor of non-segregation.

(3) The fact that about one-third of the population is Latin-American made the integration of counters more readily accepted. Apparently most Latin-Americans do not have the prejudice against the Negro felt by many Anglos. And the Latin-American is more likely to have contact with the Negro, in residential areas and at lunch counters. In casual conversation with about ten or twelve Latin-Americans, the writer found no hint of non-acceptance of desegregation but rather a pride in its accomplishment. Also, since Latin-Americans have been integrated into most aspects of community life in Corpus Christi, the integration of Negroes was easier for the whites to take.

(4) Negro leadership has been effective. While not aggressively and overtly pushing for equality, it has, nevertheless, accomplished a great deal. The Negro dentist mentioned earlier has, for example, by working quietly and persistently, won the respect and confidence of white leaders. If desegregation is to be brought about in other areas of community life--restaurants, hotels, movies, the University of Corpus Christi (Southern Baptist)--it will require the same caliber of Negro leadership and initiative.

SAN ANTONIO

San Antonio is a city of half a million people, with a racial composition estimated by informed persons to be 9% Negro, 42% Latin-American, and 49% Anglo. An important part of the economy of the city is its military installations: Fort Sam Houston, headquarters for the Fourth Army; and the Air Force bases at Brooks, Kelly, Lackland, Medina, and Randolph fields. These installations are integrated, and San Antonio lunch counters have for some time served uniformed Negro soldiers and airmen, especially when accompanied by white military personnel. Public golf courses were desegregated in June, 1954, and all other public recreational facilities, including swimming pools, in March, 1956. Desegregation of public schools began in 1955 and by 1960 all grades were desegregated. The six colleges in the area, both municipal and private, have Anglo, Latin-American, and Negro students.

Steps in the Desegregation

When the sit-in demonstrations spread over the South during February, 1960, three independent developments began in San Antonio. (1) The executive director of the Council of Churches (an organization of 150 Protestant churches of all prominent denominations except the Southern Baptists) started talking with religious and civic leaders to see if any action could be taken to avoid overt demonstrations in the city. Public officials, including the mayor, felt that it would be best if they did not participate directly, and they urged that representatives of the various faiths take the lead. The executive director of the Council of Churches then brought together white representatives of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant churches, along with the executive director of the Community Welfare Council. They began to meet toward the end of February to discuss the problem. (2) The managers of downtown San Antonio stores with lunch counters met and agreed informally on a policy of not serving Negroes if they demanded service. (3) The NAACP opened

discussions on what course of action it might take to bring about lunch-counter desegregation. On March 7, 1960, a 17-year-old college freshman, president of the San Antonio Youth Group of the NAACP, began sending letters to downtown stores requesting equal service for Negroes. On March 13, at a mass rally of 1,500 Negroes, the NAACP decided to mail a formal "ultimatum" to downtown stores requesting desegregation of lunch counters by Thursday, March 21.

This action brought the three separate movements together. The religious leaders, chaired by the head of the Council of Churches, arranged a meeting with the store managers for Tuesday, March 19, promising that any decision about lunch counters would be that of the merchants themselves and that no publicity would be given to the meeting. This proved to be an all-day session, and ended with an agreement among almost all of the managers that they would desegregate their lunch counters the next day, March 20. A turning point in the meeting came when the manager of a national chain store urged that the counters be desegregated. He declared that to solve a moral problem was, at the same time, to solve a business one, for, he said, strife disrupts business and creates ill will. He pointed out that business had fallen off from 45 to 60% in some of the stores in his chain where demonstrations had occurred. He further pointed out that it was silly for whites to complain of lunch-counter desegregation as too personal when in his store they tried on hats and girdles that Negroes had tried on before them.

The store managers secured three commitments from the mediating committee in regard to the proposed desegregation. The first was that responsible Negro leaders be informed about the new policy and requested to move slowly in taking advantage of the desegregation. The second was that the Negroes agree to take no action for 30 days against any store that was not ready to desegregate on March 20. The third was that the mediating committee do everything possible to convince white church members that

desegregation was in the best interests of the entire community. (See letter attached--Attachment A.) The mediating committee immediately began carrying out these requests. The chairman called together four leading Negro citizens, all of whom were associated with the NAACP, to explain the new policy and to ask for suggestions toward implementation. These said that they would be glad to pass on to the Negro community the requests of the store managers that Negroes move slowly at first. At a mass meeting of the NAACP on Thursday, March 21, Negroes hailed the agreement and were urged by their leaders to be especially courteous and neat when they ate at the lunch counters.

Results

Managers of the stores reported no difficulty and no loss in sales following the desegregation. They received a few telephone calls complaining of the action, and a few persons closed their accounts. But they also received words of commendation from many white persons, and some Negro customers expressed their appreciation.

On the first day, reporters and cameramen were on hand. Cameras were hurriedly set up when two Negro men entered the Kress cafeteria. But the white patrons showed far more interest in the newsmen than in the two Negroes, and when one white woman asked about the excitement and was informed that there were Negroes in the cafeteria line, she remarked that she thought they had always been served in that cafeteria. Newspaper accounts of the first few days of desegregation reported that few Negroes sat at the lunch counters. The following two incidents, reported by members of the mediating committee, illustrate the attitude of some Negroes toward their use of the facilities. A Negro shoeshiner was asked if he had eaten at one of the desegregated counters yet. The reply was that he would eat there only when he could be properly dressed, not when he was in his work clothes with shoe polish on his hands. Five Negro youngsters standing outside Woolworth's debated whether they would really be served if they sat down. A member of the mediating

committee who happened to be standing near assured them that they would. He suggested, however, that all five not sit together. Two of the youths then went in together, were served, and when they left the store the other three went in.

The Future

An interracial commission has been set up, with the executive director of the Community Welfare Council as its chairman. Its purpose is to consider quietly other types of desegregation. Managers of hotels, motels, and restaurants will be invited in to discuss with the committee the possibility of desegregating their facilities. Still one difficulty remains, however, in the completion of the desegregation of eating facilities in those stores where Negroes are invited to shop but are not allowed to sit to eat. Joske's, the only large, downtown store that asked for more time to consider desegregation, did announce the desegregation of its basement cafeteria facility at the end of the thirty-day period. However, the store refused to desegregate the more fashionable eating places on its first and second floors, arguing that its basement facility was more comparable to the lunch counters and cafeterias in the desegregated variety and drug stores. The Negroes are not happy about this arrangement and have talked in terms of sit-ins and boycotts at Joske's. However, the white members of the interracial committee are urging the Negroes not to resort to overt demonstrations for fear they might undo much of what has been accomplished. Apparently a great deal of pressure is being brought to bear on the moderate Negro members of the committee by the more aggressive Negroes. At the time of this writing it is not clear how this issue will be resolved.* But there is no question about the ultimate goal of the Negro

* Subsequently, picketing in Joske's was begun, and one fight has occurred. It is reported that the demonstration does not have the undivided support of the Negro community. At any rate, the demonstration is not regarded as a reversal of the progress made; in fact, several places not a party to the first agreement have since quietly desegregated.

leaders; it is to make San Antonio a completely "open" city.

Factors Contributing to Desegregation

The following factors were pointed out by San Antonians as being of importance in bringing about lunch-counter desegregation:

(1) The presence and success of integration in the large military bases, and in the public recreational facilities and schools, helped to show the city that desegregation could "work."

(2) The large Latin-American population, about 42% of the total, feels less prejudice toward the Negro than does the white. As one of the Negro leaders said to the writer, "You know, the Latin-Americans accept us more readily than do you whites." Furthermore, some of the Latin-Americans have dark skins, and whites have grown accustomed to seeing them eating at the counters. Politically, the Negroes hold the balance of power between the other two races, and some persons interviewed suggested that this was a factor in bringing about desegregation.

(3) Channels of communication between Negroes and whites have been developed through interracial membership of such civic committees as those for housing, libraries, and city planning. Through the past several years, the members of these committees have learned to understand and respect one another. It was from the membership of these committees that the Negro representatives were chosen to explain to other Negroes the proposed change of policy agreed to by the merchants.

(4) The vigorous leadership offered by white ministers helped in reassuring the managers and in explaining their point of view to the Negroes. For a number of years, forthright condemnation of enforced racial segregation had been made from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish pulpits, thus defining segregation as a moral issue. It is difficult to see how the problem could have been worked out without the effective direction given by the mediating committee of ministers.

(5) The pressure of the NAACP precipitated the meeting which led to the

desegregation agreement. Such pressure helped to crystallize the fear that had been felt because of the sit-ins and other demonstrations over the South. However, whites and Negroes interpreted the effect of the NAACP "ultimatum" differently. Some of the white persons involved claimed that it almost wrecked negotiations with the managers, while the Negro leaders were sure that desegregation would not have been agreed to by the managers unless they had been under such pressure.

(6) Favorable press coverage helped to show this conflict as a human rights struggle, and the press did not treat the situation in such a way as to arouse racial antagonisms. The meeting of the religious and business leaders was given no publicity so that those present would feel free to speak their minds.

GALVESTON

Galveston is located in southeastern Texas on the eastern end of an island thirty miles long and three miles wide in the Gulf of Mexico. Many of its inhabitants think of it as "different" from the rest of Texas because it is separated from the mainland. Its population in 1960 is estimated by the Chamber of Commerce to be 70,000, with a racial composition 33% Negro, 15% Latin-American, and 52% Anglo. One of its largest "industries" is the University of Texas Medical School, which is integrated. Public buses are desegregated, and, while most Negroes live separately from the Latin-Americans and Anglos, there is no rigid residential segregation. Some Negro families are scattered among non-Negro families. The public schools are segregated, although the school board had planned to begin integration at the first grade level in September, 1957. The plans were halted by a Texas law, which went into effect on August 22, 1957, requiring a local referendum before desegregation of schools. To integrate by order of a school board would result in a loss of all state funds for education and fines up to $1,000 for violators. Although the Galveston school board attorney believed the law unconstitutional, he suggested that the city not try to contest it by having state funds cut off.

Steps in Desegregation

On Friday, March 11, 1960, around noon, a group of 25 Negro students from Central High School began sit-in demonstrations at Woolworth's. The students had a holiday because of a teachers' convention. Their resolve to claim equal service had grown, according to the youngster who organized the demonstration, out of discussions in their American history class. They carried copies of the United States Constitution and chanted, "We'll take a seat and sit for a week." When the manager of the store turned off the lights and cooking burners and announced the counter closed, the students went to the counters at Walgreen's,

which were promptly closed, and from there to McCrory's, and then to Kress's. The sit-ins continued on Saturday, and most of the next week after school hours. Police kept close watch over what was a fairly tense and threatening situation. The managers of the stores consulted informally among themselves and agreed to ignore the Negroes rather than close the counters.

During one of the demonstrations in his store, the Woolworth manager asked the students who their spokesman was, and a 16-year-old junior came forward. He assured the manager that the sit-ins were entirely the idea of the students and that no organization or adults were behind them. The manager then requested that the leader secure the help of responsible Negro adults who might talk the situation over with the managers of the stores. The Negro youth went to the wealthiest and most influential Negro in Galveston, a real estate dealer, who suggested that a white lawyer, who had chaired the school board committee recommending desegregation of public schools, be asked to explain to the managers what the Negroes wanted. The high school boy then called on the lawyer who, rather than talking with the managers by himself, decided to set up a mediating committee of influential whites.

This white mediating committee proved to be of crucial importance in working out a solution. It was composed of eleven persons: three lawyers; the owner of a radio and television station; a clothing merchant; the wife of a cotton broker; the owner of a furniture store; and four ministers, representing the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish faiths. This committee met without publicity and agreed on two basic principles: (1) they would attempt to provide needed leadership in order to keep irresponsible forces from moving into the situation; and (2) no publicity would be given their attempt to mediate the conflict. The committee then asked the managers of the stores involved to meet with them.

After a lengthy conference, almost all of the managers agreed to desegregate their counters, provided certain

conditions could be met: (1) responsible adult Negro leadership would have to be organized to communicate the new policy to the Negro community; (2) some assurance would be given that no further demonstrations would be held for at least a month, giving those stores that could not decide on desegregation immediately time enough to consider it; (3) a promise that Negro high school students would wait two weeks before using the counters, and that Negro adults would not overflow the counters; (4) extra police help would be available as the counters opened; (5) the ministers on the mediating committee would make a public statement supporting desegregation. A detailed statement of these conditions was later written and put into the hands of each manager, mediating committee member, and Negro committee member. (A copy of this statement is attached--Attachment B.)

The mediating committee then called the high school youth and the real estate dealer, requesting that a responsible Negro committee be set up. This was done within four hours and was composed of Negro businessmen, school teachers, labor leaders, doctors, dentists, and representatives from the Negro students. The white mediating committee met with the Negroes and conveyed the willingness of the managers to desegregate if they could be assured the conditions would be met. The Negroes readily agreed and promised to try to their utmost to persuade the entire Negro community to comply.

When the mediating committee relayed the Negro promise of cooperation to the managers, the final agreement to open the counters on Tuesday, April 5, was made. On the prior Sunday, Negro ministers urged their congregations to move slowly in their use of the counters, and on Monday, April 4, the full statement of agreement was announced over the public address system to the Negro students at Central High. Then, on April 5, the Galveston Tribune carried the headline, "City Lunch Counters Integrated," giving the city the first official news of the decision. Contained in the newspaper account was the following statement, agreed upon by the mediating committee and the managers:

After conferences held between Galveston store managers and Galveston leaders of all religious faiths, and civic and business leaders of the community, the managers of practically all the Galveston stores having lunch counters have decided that it is in the best interest of the entire community to open their lunch counters to all of their patrons. This decision has already been put into effect.

Religious leaders of Galveston have joined in commending all persons and interests involved for the example they have set by solving their mutual problem quietly and moderately in the spirit of good citizenship. The store proprietors in turn have expressed their appreciation to those who provided the mediation that led to this amicable solution.

The next day the following statement appeared in the Galveston News, written by Mr. T. D. Armstrong, Negro real estate dealer and adult leader of the Negro group:

The Negro citizens of Galveston are thankful that this community problem has been solved in a quiet and moderate spirit of good citizenship, functioning on the community level as suggested by President Eisenhower.

We are especially grateful to the mediation which led to the solution being provided by white civic and religious leaders on their own initiative. We intend to see that our conduct in using this new privilege will prove us worthy of our responsibility as good citizens in a city of good will.

Results

Both the Negro adults and students complied fully with the conditions set down by the merchants. Few Negroes sat at the counters during the opening days of desegregation, and when they did, not more than two of them sat together. The Negro high school students scrupulously avoided the counters during the first two weeks, and they did not demonstrate against stores that did not desegregate. Some of the store managers received complaints from white customers because of the desegregation, and four accounts were closed in one drug store and two in another. However, in one case, the husband phoned in the closing of the account and the wife came to the store the next day and reopened, apologizing for the hasty decision of her husband. None of the merchants felt that they had lost trade during the first weeks of desegregation. At one drug store, which has 40 lunch-counter seats, the manager compared the total sales for April 1-19, 1959 with those for the same period in 1960. He found that his lunch-counter

sales were about the same, while the sales in the rest of his store were several hundred dollars higher in 1960.

Most of the people with whom the writer talked at lunch counters, in taxi cabs, on buses, and on the street, accepted the desegregation readily. Typical of remarks of approval were: "If Negroes purchase in one part of the store, it is only fair that they should be able to purchase in all parts." "I'd rather sit by a clean colored person than next to an unbathed white." "It wasn't right for the Negro to have no decent places to eat downtown." "God made us all, and it isn't right for some to try to act like they're better than others." "We have a good spirit in this town." Other statements of reluctant approval were: "It had to come, and there wasn't much we could do about it--but I hope we don't get to intermarriage!" "The Negroes just wanted to prove they could do it." "Now that they can eat at the counters, they don't bother to do so." "They don't bother me, for I never sit near them." None of those talked to casually knew very much of how the desegregation was brought about. They remarked that they knew some influential committee was at work on the problem, but they did not know who composed the committee or how things were working out. One who disapproved said that the whites must have given in to the Negroes, and he did not know where it would all end. The head of the chamber of commerce received a long distance call or two from out-of-town persons who said they would not vacation in Galveston again. He also received a call from Governor Collins of Florida who wanted to find out how Galveston managed to desegregate its facilities so quietly and successfully.

The ministers of all faiths and races have set up an informal group which a steering committee can call together at any time. There is no question but what there will be efforts by Negroes to desegregate other facilities. Negro leaders feel now that there are channels through which they may make appeals, rather than having to resort to overt demonstrations.

Factors Contributing to Desegregation

(1) As was true of the other two cities, background factors were important to the success of the desegregation. The school board was ready to begin a program of school integration, with apparently no strong objection from the community. The presence of the integrated University of Texas Medical School and of integrated Latin-Americans provided a favorable atmosphere for the desegregation.

(2) Influential white leadership arose and took charge of the situation. These were persons of good will who worked quietly and with genuine modesty to effect a solution. Because of their positions in the community, they could speak with assurance to both the merchants and the Negroes and thus were excellent mediators. Furthermore, they gave vigorous and unequivocal support to the decision once it was made. Special credit for the success of the mediating committee goes to the lawyer who called the group together and to the minister who chaired the sessions.

(3) The store managers acted in a restrained manner. They did not order the demonstrating Negroes out of the store or have them arrested, and they were willing, furthermore, to learn their point of view. One manager took the lead in asking the Negro students to arrange to have adult Negroes represent them. Another manager, born and reared in East Texas, stated at a crucial point in the meeting of managers and mediating committee that he would be willing to desegregate his lunch counters if the others would. His decision helped to sway his fellow managers, for he had lived in Galveston longer than any, and they felt he knew the local situation well. His statement is credited by mediating committee members as turning the tide. Of course, the managers feared that continued demonstrations would disrupt trade, and they wanted to avoid them. But they also spoke of wanting to be fair to their Negro customers. The managers had foresight enough to allow time before the decision to desegregate went into effect to talk to their employees. Some waitresses objected, but the managers were able to reason with

them. No employee resigned when the new policy was announced.

(4) Negro leadership was highly effective in making sure the terms of the agreement were carried out. Church services, lodge meetings, school sessions, and informal gatherings were used to urge Negroes to be careful in taking advantage of lunch-counter desegregation. All of the white persons involved in the negotiations stated emphatically that the responsible, circumspect behavior of the Negroes was a big factor in the success of desegregation.

(5) The clear support of the white ministers on the mediation committee stressed the religious and moral aspect of the issue. The cooperation among the three faiths was itself evidence of good will and a reflection of unity.

(6) Favorable reports on the results of the desegregation of lunch counters in San Antonio reassured the merchants. By chance, the regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith had just arrived in Galveston after spending several days in San Antonio. He was consulted by the committee and was able to point out that things were working well in that city and that none of the stores with desegregated counters had encountered difficulty.

(7) Publicity was kept to a minimum. During the time of the mediation, few persons in the community knew what was going on. Those present in the meetings felt free to speak frankly without fear of being quoted. None of those in leadership positions attempted to gain anything personally from the situation. They repeatedly stressed to all concerned that it was a community problem that required a community solution.

(8) Prompt police action prevented any possible disorder. The police did not allow any crowds to gather in the stores nor on the sidewalks.

GENERAL SUMMARY

(1) It can be seen that each of the three cities followed a different pattern in desegregating lunch counters, and it would seem likely that each community of the South, depending on its size, racial composition, and traditions, may proceed somewhat differently. In other words, no single approach can be used. However, of the three cases studied, Galveston, with 33% Negro, is the most like other Southern cities.

(2) When the chips were down, influential white citizens in each city took a firm stand for desegregation. In Galveston, this was done through direct participation in the mediation by lawyers, ministers, and businessmen. In San Antonio, only the religious leaders involved themselves directly, but they had the tacit support of other influential persons. In Corpus Christi, the managers themselves agreed to desegregation without a mediating group, but they felt sure that white community leaders supported them. It is to be noted that public officials stayed out of the negotiations. When approached by other white leaders, the officials felt that mediation should be established on a less formal basis.

(3) Religious leaders were important to the success of desegregation in Galveston and San Antonio. In both instances the managers asked for and received public support from these leaders, and their support gave strong reassurance to the managers.

(4) Those managers who took the lead in deciding for desegregation put the decision on a moral basis, in line with American values. In each of the three cities, one of the managers, at a crucial point in the negotiations, stated the solution in terms of democratic ideals and expressed his willingness to desegregate. Of course, the economic factor was also involved in the decisions, for the managers reasoned that the alternative to desegregation would be worse for

their business than desegregation. Examples of what had happened to businesses in other cities helped to convince them that they should desegregate.

(5) Negroes in each of the cities revealed a willingness, even an eagerness, to comply with the terms requested by the managers. In Galveston, the high school students who started the sit-ins gladly waited two weeks to show good faith, and in San Antonio and Galveston the Negroes readily agreed to a moratorium on acting against those lunch counters that did not feel that they could desegregate at the time of the decision. And, for the most part, Negro patrons of the lunch counters have been almost overly careful to avoid offending whites. In all three cities the Negroes acted with a strong sense of responsibility in making sure the desegregation was successful.

(6) In each case publicity was kept to a minimum. Everything said during the meetings was held in confidence, no member of the press was present, and reports to the press were cleared with the group. Even after the decision to desegregate was put into effect, the leaders were careful to limit the type of publicity permitted. In both Galveston and San Antonio, reporters and photographers from nationally circulated magazines wanted stories and pictures of the individuals involved in the mediation. But the leaders pleaded with the representatives from the magazines not to give the decision this sort of publicity, for they believed it could do a great deal of harm to focus the glare of publicity on something that was working well. They stressed to the reporters that this was a cooperative, community decision, rather than the work of individuals. The magazines complied. For example, in the April 18, 1960, edition of Life, the only publicity given to the Galveston desegregation was a picture of four religious leaders, representing both races and the three faiths, with a "Welcome to Galveston" sign in the background. Those depicted are referred to as "catalysts in the quiet negotiations."

(7) It was freely admitted by the white leaders that without some direct pressure by Negroes, desegregation would have been highly unlikely. The Negroes were even surer of this. The type of pressure varied from requests over the telephone, to mass rallies demanding action, to actual sit-in demonstrations. No steps toward desegregation were taken until Negroes in each of the cities asked for it. In Galveston, one of the managers said that if he and the other managers had attempted desegregation on their own, without the crisis caused by the sit-ins, the white community would have been up in arms. But once the sit-ins started, desegregation became a defensible solution.

(8) The success of the desegregation, in terms of the smoothness and calmness with which it was generally accepted, surprised most of those involved. The managers said that they had expected far more trouble, and far more resentment by white patrons. However, as one manager expressed it, "Most of our fears were creations of our own minds." Regardless of how whites felt about lunch-counter desegregation before such desegregation took place, many of them expressed pride in the accomplishment, once it was done.

ATTACHMENT A

THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF METROPOLITAN SAN ANTONIO
Farm and Home Building
403 East Travis Street
San Antonio 5, Texas

The Reverend J. Edward Marshall, President
The Reverend Martin P. Kniker, Vice President
Mrs. Leland Palmer, Vice President
The Reverend Frank R. Neff, Jr., Secretary
Col. A. H. Seabury, Treasurer

The Reverend C. Don Baugh, Executive Director
Mrs. Al Peacher, Director of Christian Education
Mrs. Charles Jordan, Office Secretary

SPECIAL REQUEST TO THE CLERGY

As your representatives to the businessmen of San Antonio, The Reverend J. Edward Marshall, The Reverend Spencer Stockwell, Mr. Olin LeBaron, and I committed the Protestant clergy to make a special announcement from their pulpits on Sunday March 20, concerning the variety stores, drug stores, and the department store of our community who have set a policy in serving all people without discrimination in the lunch counters.

These men have shown a wonderful spirit during the deliberations and we unhesitatingly assured them that the Christian communities and the Jewish community would support them in their policy.

Please cooperate by commending the businessmen for their vision and action and ask your congregation to show their appreciation by continued patronage and in every other means of assurance.

C. Don Baugh

ATTACHMENT B

Note: The following set of conditions for the desegregation of lunch counters in Galveston, Texas, was worked out by the managers of Woolworth's, Walgreen's, Kress, McCrory's, Neisner's variety stores; and Star, Central, Pharr, and Texas drug stores, March 30, 1960. This was done with the help of a mediating committee composed of eleven white civic and religious leaders. It was submitted by the mediating committee to representatives of the Negroes protesting lunch-counter segregation, and accepted by them and carried out in every detail, without incident.

1. Date for Opening Lunch Counters:

On the supposition that the day selected for opening of lunch counters on an integrated basis should be the day when the fewest customers would be on hand, it would appear that next Tuesday, April 5, 1960, would be the proper time.

2. Moratorium:

We understand that Romar and Seawall Drug Stores are not prepared to open their lunch counters as yet. The agreement of the Negro group will be secured that no Negro will attempt to patronize those lunch counters, have a sit-down, or boycott, or take other action relating to those stores for a period of one month from April 5, 1960. At the end of this time, if the Negroes desire that those lunch counters be open counters, they will first discuss the matter with the manager before taking any further action.

3. Publicity:

It apparently is the consensus that the less publicity the better, since publicity will tend to attract extremists from both races involved.

A formal news release should be given out. The store owners and managers should be prepared in the event of inquiry by newsmen, to state something as follows:

> After conferences held between the store managers and a committee of ministers of all faiths, and civic and business leaders of the community, the store managers of practically all of the stores decided that it was in the best interest of the entire community to open their lunch counters to all of their patrons without regard to race.

If the colored persons involved are approached by newsmen, their reply should be, "No comment." If asked if a similar agreement will be sought from cafes and restaurants, the colored patron should say simply, "No."

At all events there should be no publicity at all until the opening of the counters is an accomplished fact, and then in the

lowest possible key. There should be no suggestion at all that this step was taken "to avoid violence," for such is an invitation to extremists of both races.

/Note: it was later decided that a formal release to the newspapers, in much the same form as above, be given by the chairman of the mediating committee, a Presbyterian minister./

4. Police:

Mr. Walter Rourke, Police Commissioner, will be requested to provide adequate policing during the early stages and as long as it appears such is needed, with the request that he deal forcefully with any at the first sign of violence on the part of any person of any race.

5. Undertakings of the Colored Students:

It must be agreed:

a. That no colored high school student will seek to patronize the lunch counters involved for a period of two weeks, from April 5 to April 19.

b. That at no time in the future will the colored students seek entrance to any of the stores maintaining open lunch counters giving integrated service to colored patrons in any organized group, nor congregate in any such store in large numbers, in the spirit of merely demonstrating that they have the privilege of being served at the lunch counter.

c. That if the manager of a given store maintaining an open lunch counter feels that colored students have unduly congregated in his store in such large numbers as to impede his normal service to his other customers, in violation of "b" above, the manager may request that a portion of the school children leave the store and the students will comply.

d. If any individual colored student, or group of colored students, become boisterous, profane, intoxicated, or otherwise do not conduct themselves in accordance with ordinary propriety, the manager of the store may eject such students from his store, just as he would for any other such customer.

e. That a colored student will not deliberately impose his presence on a white customer by sitting beside that customer, if other seating is available, nor attempt to engage that customer against his will in conversation.

6. Undertakings of Adult Colored Leadership:

The adult colored leadership will exert every means within their control, in church, lodge meetings and the like, to suggest to the entire colored adult population that the opening of the lunch counters to them is not a legal right that has been secured, but is a privilege that the stores involved have conferred on their patrons as citizens of the community. That in appreciation to the stores that have granted this privilege, the colored community must recognize that every privilege entails responsibility, and conduct themselves accordingly.

The adult colored community will be strongly requested to comply with the general spirit of the limitations of 5b, c, and d above.

7. Further Liaison:

If any store manager feels that colored patrons, student or adult, are creating needless problems, or are not conducting themselves properly, the membership of the white committee and the adult colored committee will continue to be available to the store managers to do whatever is possible to eliminate such objectionable practice.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TOWARD A SOLUTION

OF THE

SIT-IN CONTROVERSY

by

Margaret Price

SRC-16
May 31, 1960

This is a report which seeks to describe how some Southern communities have responded to the challenge of the Negro "sit-ins" for equal lunch counter service. The communities reported are those which have endeavored through some avenue of conciliation to bring the present crisis to an orderly and sound solution.

Negro students in the Winter and Spring of 1960 have asked the South to solve one of its old problems of racial discrimination in a new way. They have appealed to conscience and self-interest instead of law. They have argued on the basis of moral right and supported that argument with economic pressure.

By their action they have given the South an excellent opportunity to settle one facet of a broad problem by negotiation and good will instead of court order.

Clearly, many Negroes, especially the young and educated, are no longer content to forego privileges they feel are their due. Implicit in the protest movement is the young Negro's belief that the courts and the white South are moving too slowly in granting him full citizenship.

The current appeal began February 1 with demonstrations by Negro college students for equal lunch counter service in Greensboro, N. C. The idea spread quickly to colleges and cities, large and small, and was transformed from a small protest into a widespread movement. The movement has resulted in the now familiar "sit-in," picketing, and boycotts. The chief targets have been variety and drug stores which welcome Negro business everywhere but at the lunch counters.

Local reaction has varied considerably.

At one pole is Birmingham, Ala., which met the appeal with an announce-

ment that the city's 443 firemen had started riot training to support 450 policemen in the event of racial disturbance. Other cities have dusted off trespassing and disturbance ordinances and over 1,500 students have been arrested.

At the opposite pole are several Texas cities which quickly and quietly arrived at a solution--service to all at downtown lunch counters--with a minimum of ill will and trouble.

In Florida, the lunch counter question has been constructively faced on a statewide level under the leadership of Gov. LeRoy Collins. The governor of Oklahoma, J. Howard Edmondson, has undertaken to form a statewide committee and program to improve race relations. The Kentucky legislature has created a new advisory agency, the Commission on Human Rights.

In all, at least 30 Southern cities, 12 of them in Florida, have set up some kind of community organization to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes.

Some have settled the issue with speed. Others have arrived at solutions only partially--and temporarily--satisfactory to the Negro community. A few have ended in stalemate or outright failure, while others are continuing white-Negro negotiations with reasonable expectation of a just settlement.

Regardless of the present state of negotiations, all these communities have a common advantage: if they have honestly sought a solution and indicated a willingness to change old racial patterns., they now stand a far better chance of avoiding violence and bitterness than communities which have raised banners of bitter-end resistance.

The student sit-ins--only one aspect of Negro discontent--have been too widespread, and indicative of too great impatience, for anyone to expect they will disappear as quickly as they began. The movement may die down during

vacations, but it seems unrealistic to expect that this dramatic movement, which has captured so many imaginations North and South, and won in turn the support of so many Negro adults, will die easily before it makes widespread new gains for Negroes in their drive for dignity.

More and more communities inevitably will be confronted by the sit-in problem. A look at what has been done in some cities may offer other communities guidelines, and reassurance.

To date, lunch counters have been opened to Negroes in Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, San Antonio, and Galveston, Texas; Nashville, Tenn.; and Winston-Salem and Salisbury, N. C. There has been some change in the rigid no-Negro pattern at lunch counters in Richmond, Va., where four drug stores in a predominantly Negro area voluntarily opened lunch counters to Negroes. And, of course, the "sit-in" movement led to desegregation of lunch counters in Oklahoma City over a year before it began anywhere else.

In the five Deep South states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, only one city set up an interracial negotiating committee. In this one Deep South city, Savannah, Ga., the effort to reach a solution ended in failure.

A more detailed account of what has taken place:

NORTH CAROLINA

GREENSBORO, where the current wave of student demonstrations began, offered great hope initially for an amicable settlement, but by mid-May merchants still had refused to change their policies.

On February 26, Mayor George Roach appointed the Mayor's Advisory Committee on Community Relations, which the Greensboro Daily News said represented "the community's top power structure." Chairman of the nine-member group was Edward R. Zane, Greensboro's top executive at Burlington Mills. Others included the

city's only Negro councilman, Waldo Falkener; Councilman David Schenck; Bland Worley, bank vice-president and president of the Chamber of Commerce; and O. L. Fryman, National Cash Register Company executive and president of the Merchants Association.

The Committee conferred with North Carolina A. & T. College student leaders, adult Negro leaders, other Greensboro citizens, and merchants. It solicited public views, in writing, on the questions raised by the sit-ins. After eliminating letters expressing no opinion, those from outside the community, and from persons claiming to speak for a group, the committee said in an April 1 report to the mayor it had received 2,063 communications. Of these, 1,501, or 72.8%, favored equality of service; 562, or 27.2%, opposed any change in lunch counter service.

The Advisory Committee on April 1 proposed a "plan of minimum accommodation.../which/ would offer a choice of facilities with a portion of the counter unrestricted and a portion for white only..." The merchants refused this plan, arguing they would lose business to segregated restaurants.

Mayor Roach commented, "The committee's splendid efforts have not resulted in a solution. It must be obvious that if this situation is allowed to revert to the brink of violence, the city government, being responsible for the public safety, will be forced to act swiftly to avert any threatened disorder. Accordingly, I am calling on the management of the stores to place the safety and good of this community above their own personal desires and to operate these business establishments in such manner as to eliminate racial tension." Later, Roach added, "I was addressing the management of Kress and Woolworth. They're the only stores where there's been trouble." The committee, on the other hand, insisted that no store should be singled out for censure; it reported that no store in town was willing to integrate.

During the negotiations, Negro students had called a seven-week truce. When the committee announced it had failed to solve the question, the students resumed picketing at Woolworth and Kress stores on April 1. The managers closed the two lunch counters, but Kress reopened April 21. One student leader questioned the committee's conclusion that partial desegregation of the counters would be acceptable to the students. The Student Executive Committee for Justice issued a statement thanking the Mayor's committee for its efforts and criticizing the management of the variety stores.

Greensboro is in many ways a city of peculiar contradictions. At the end of the first week of picketing in February, a young white hoodlum element moved into the stores, the Ku Klux Klan also was present, and there was a near riot. Several white persons were arrested for using abusive language and one for setting fire to a Negro's coat. Still, Greensboro was one of the first three cities in North Carolina to agree to token desegregation of public schools. The restaurant at the new airport terminal is desegregated. The city library and public parks are open to all. Both the municipal coliseum and city skating rink are desegregated and at the latter dressing rooms and a stand-up snack bar are used by whites and Negroes. On the other hand, the city has sold its swimming pool to private operators to avoid integration of it. The Negro councilman was elected in a city-wide election and Negroes serve on all major city commissions. Two ministerial organizations adopted resolutions approving integrated lunch counters and both daily newspapers supported the advisory committee. The majority of citizens who expressed their views to the negotiating committee favored lunch counter service for all. Nevertheless, no agreement has been reached.

In WINSTON-SALEM, a different result has been achieved.

This is another city of contradictions. It has some school desegregation.

The public libraries are desegregated. So are city buses, ministers' conferences, public golf courses, rest rooms and drinking fountains in public buildings. Separate seating arrangements have been abolished at the Reynolds Auditorium, the Coliseum, the baseball park, and the community center. Negroes are employed by the police and fire departments.

Nevertheless, Winston-Salem ran into serious difficulties on the lunch counter problem. Negro students of Winston-Salem Teachers College began demonstrating for equal service in February. They were joined from the first by some white students from local Wake Forest College. The by now familiar pattern of arrests and lunch counter closings followed.

Mayor Marshall Kurfees then appointed a Goodwill Committee, which asked variety store managers to keep their lunch counters closed and students to suspend picketing. Both sides agreed.

The committee, at its first meeting, heard a report from Clarence H. Patrick, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Wake Forest. He told of a survey he and some of his students had conducted among white customers chosen at random in Winston-Salem dime stores. In brief interviews, 790 customers were asked if they would accept desegregation at lunch counters. Of these, 368, or 47%, said they would; 39, or 5%, were undecided; and 383, or 48%, said they would not. Asked if they would continue to trade at stores which desegregated lunch counters, 700, or 89%, said they would. In 52 longer, or depth, interviews, 38 said they would accept desegregation.

Sixty of about 120 faculty members at Wake Forest College asked the managers of five stores to open the lunch counters to all. A majority of members attending a meeting of the Forsyth Ministers Fellowship expressed "sympathy and admiration" for the lunch counter protest.

The Winston-Salem Sentinel in an editorial (March 17) said: "It is logical

to suggest that when they [the lunch counters] are opened again that they be opened on a desegregated basis...Such a move would tell the Negro citizens that the white community is receptive to reasonable requests for removing racial discrimination. That in itself could advance the cause of good relations in the community."

The mediating efforts of the Goodwill Committee were suspended on May 9. At that time, reportedly, the chain stores were willing to open their counters to Negroes, but only if a local store would do likewise, and it had refused. The stores re-opened their segregated counters, and demonstrations were renewed in such size and nature as to cause real apprehension for public order. In this situation, the committee, with invaluable assistance from the City Manager, was able to restore calm: counters were again closed, demonstrations ended, and the committee again entered into discussions, principally with the merchants. The outcome was a brief public announcement on May 23 that the stores would shortly re-open their lunch counters on a desegregated basis. Following close upon the desegregation of service in Nashville (to be discussed later), the Winston-Salem action promised to be of the greatest importance as an example to the South. [A separate and detailed report on Winston-Salem is in preparation and will be released soon.]

HIGH POINT Negro high school students started sit-in demonstrations February 11. Near riots and some arrests followed. As a result, Mayor Jesse Washburn appointed a Mayor's Human Relations Committee, headed by the Rev. William P. Price, an Episcopal minister, and composed of 17 white and three Negro citizens. It recommended that variety stores integrate lunch counters for a 60-day trial period. Merchants did not respond. However, two variety stores removed stools from their lunch counters, and offered stand-up service on a desegregated basis.

In March, RALEIGH Mayor W. G. Enloe appointed an interracial committee to study chain store picketing. The committee came to no conclusions. Some white members could not agree to recommend opening of lunch facilities to all, and Negro members would accept no compromise. Fifty-nine white and Negro ministers issued a public statement urging service "in all community relationships" regardless of race. The Raleigh Times in an editorial (March 5) said the mayor, in appointing the committee, had "given Raliegh a chance to work out its own problems. Raleigh must not fail to use this chance."

DURHAM had an interracial group before student demonstrations began: the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, with two Negro and seven white members. In March, about 30 citizens of both races gathered at the invitation of the committee and drew up a proposal. On May 12, the committee presented the proposal to the City Council. Three recommendations were made:

1. That the three local stores involved in sit-in and picketing protests desegregate their lunch counters.

2. That a waiting period precede actual integration, however, in order to "let tension subside," and that Negroes request service at first on a controlled (limited number) basis.

3. That if desegregation were agreed upon, demonstrations be stopped until the community had time to "absorb" the change.

Representatives of the demonstrators agreed to the second and third provisions, if the first were granted. The chairman of the Mayor's Committee said managers of the three variety stores would desegregate "if it is the will of the community." A Negro leader said privately the variety store managers had indicated they would insist that all stores in the city desegregate, along with their own. In any event, a week after the report to the council the stores had not changed their policies.

In CHARLOTTE, Negro students at Johnson C. Smith University demonstrated against white-only facilities at several locally owned and chain stores. This led Mayor James S. Smith to appoint a Friendly Relations Committee, which in turn set up a 10-member sub-committee of seven white and three Negro members. The group held several meetings, the first on April 20, including some with students and merchants. The chairman of the full committee, Dr. John R. Cunningham, former president of Davidson College, said that he was hopeful a solution would be reached. As negotiations continued, students stopped sit-ins and have engaged in only sporadic picketing.

At SALISBURY, desegregated service at three drug stores was reported on March 7. Some downtown stores have served Negro students at lunch counters for the past two years. Chief negotiator for the Negroes has been S. E. Duncan, president of Livingstone College, a Negro institution. In a meeting of the mayor and city council, and some merchants and ministers, with the college president, all agreed to "go along" with the practice of serving Negroes at lunch counters. One dime store has refused to change its practice of discrimination.

TENNESSEE

The story of recent events in NASHVILLE, which began with student sit-ins and massive arrests, and ended May 11 with six downtown stores, including two department stores, serving Negroes for the first time on an integrated basis, will be told in detail in another report. A committee appointed by Mayor Ben West had presented a plan acceptable to neither side, and demonstrations were resumed and a boycott organized. The eventual agreement, merchants said, was reached secretly in talks with civic leaders of both races. Motives leading to settlement were a blend of earnest good will, politics (Negroes cast about 30% of the Nashville vote), and economics (the more than 100,000 Negroes in the

city spend an estimated $7,500,000 annually in the downtown stores). As in Winston-Salem, negotiations had first to break down and conflict to be renewed before agreement could be found.

The mayor of KNOXVILLE did not wait for a sit-in to appoint an interracial committee; it was formed on February 18, probably the first in the South created specifically to deal with the sit-in issue. Also, the mayor, the president and executive director of the Chamber of Commerce, and two Knoxville College students went to New York to talk to chain store executives about changing lunch counter policies in their stores. In the early days of the sit-ins, Knoxville students staged only one demonstration. They "walked through" a store with segregated lunch counters. It was not until May 12 and 13 that they began sit-ins in some of the downtown variety stores, in an effort to prod managers into a change of policy. Meanwhile, substantial business and civic groups indicated they would support desegregation of downtown lunch counters. A solution seems imminent.

In March a group of Negro citizens in OAK RIDGE placed an ad in the local newspaper, the Oak Ridger. The citizens called attention to student demonstrations in other parts of the South and said they hoped their city could avoid them. They referred, however, to certain injustices and suggested appointment of a negotiating committee. On March 22 the City Council appointed an interracial Mayor's Commission on Racial Relations, which has begun holding closed sessions to discuss problems of the city.

Students in MEMPHIS staged some lunch counter sit-ins but concentrated to a greater extent on equal privileges in the city library and art gallery. Their demands were considered by the Greater Memphis and Shelby County Human Relations Committee, a group organized more than a year ago. The full committee consists of about 200 members, with an executive body of 35 to 40. The latter includes

the president of the school board, editors of both daily newspapers, representatives of labor and industry, and five NAACP lawyers. No agreement was reached on a recommendation regarding lunch counters, but the executive body did agree unanimously on a recommendation to offer full use of the library to Negroes. The library board, however, was unmoved. Members of the board are appointed for life, with the right to name their successors. The executive committee of the Human Relations Committee also recommended the opening of the art gallery and some recreation facilities to Negroes on the same basis as white citizens. The committee presented its suggestions to the mayor and city commissioners, but no action has been reported to date. Some Negro leaders in Memphis feel that the people as a whole are more willing to accept change than are public officials, and that the prospects on the official level are unpromising. They believe that unless there is some breakthrough before long their next recourse will be to the courts.

In CHATTANOOGA, since the riots of late February, quiet, informal meetings of white and Negro ministers, officials, store executives, and others have been held.

VIRGINIA

A resolution to create a commission to study racial relations died in committee in the legislature in April. Now, in Richmond, the League of Women Voters and other civic groups have stimulated public discussion of the need for a bi-racial committee to consider Richmond's racial problems. In May, the League polled all candidates for city council, and most of them stated that they favored appointment of a committee.

FLORIDA

The governor of Florida was the only chief executive in the lower South to seek a positive solution. In a state wide radio and television speech on

March 20, Gov. LeRoy Collins announced he would appoint a Florida Commission on Race Relations, which would be a bi-racial, official body. In his speech, the governor said:

"...If a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come to his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department, though, and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department. Now he has a legal right to do this. But I still don't think he can square that right with moral, simple justice..."

The governor said Christ warned in the Bible that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every house divided against itself falls." He also said that, "Nothing can aid the Communists more to establish supremacy over this country than racial strife."

In announcing that he would appoint a state interracial advisory committee, he called upon Florida communities to do the same. Six weeks after his speech, twelve such committees were in operation, including eight which existed previously. Sixteen were in the process of formation.

The week following his speech, Collins received 2,381 letters or telegrams approving the move and 288 disapproving. Nearly all the favorable communications were signed; about one-third of the unfavorable were unsigned.

The governor appointed Cody Fowler of Tampa, a former president of the American Bar Association, chairman of the six-member state committee of four white, two Negro members. The other white members were: Sheriff Don Genung of Pinellas County; Mrs. C. D. Johnson of Quincy, chairman of the Florida Children's Commission; and John B. Turner of Miami, civic leader and vice-president of the Orange State Oil Company. The two Negro members were: Perry C. Harvey, president of an International Longshoremen's local at Tampa; and the Rev. Eugene C. Tillman of the Mount Bethel Baptist Church of Daytona Beach. The

commission appointed two full-time staff assistants, and made its headquarters in Tampa.

Several advisory committees were set up by the commission. They included a 35-member committee of college representatives--presidents or deans of four-year colleges and universities, and presidents of the student bodies of each. There was another committee whose members were drawn from information media. An advisory committee of variety store managers dissolved after one meeting, saying it could be of no further service.

There were other disappointments and setbacks and there was, of course, some opposition to the governor's committee. Tallahassee Mayor George S. Taff said little would be accomplished by interracial committees. Both the leaders of the Florida House and Senate disagreed with Collins' stand on sit-ins.

One of the first to follow the governor's suggestion to set up a local committee was MIAMI. The mayor appointed a Biracial Committee of 10 members. It began by talking with managers and owners of downtown stores with lunch counters and found, somewhat to its surprise, that almost all were ready to change their policies. Several seemed only to be waiting for the others to take the initiative, and there are some indications that the stores would already have desegregated except for certain events which derailed the new policies. Consequently, there is a better than even chance that downtown food facilities may open to Negroes in the near future.

On May 18, Negroes ate for the first time in the heretofore segregated cafeteria of the big, county-owned, Jackson Memorial Hospital in Miami. Negroes entered the cafeteria by twos and threes. Previously, the cafeteria had been restricted to use of the 1,000 white personnel of the hospital. The hospital's 700 Negro employes had been using a "hospitality center."

GEORGIA

SAVANNAH was deadlocked for several weeks after picketing and sit-in demonstrations began there. A Negro boycott against retail stores reportedly was taking a heavy toll. In May, police began arresting demonstrators under a state law and charging them with unlawful assembly. Before the arrests, Mayor Lee Mingledorff appointed a special interracial committee to ease tension. (White Citizens Council members manned anti-boycott picket lines and there were a number of instances of violence.) The mayor's committee became inactive when neither white nor Negro citizens cooperated with its members.

There was a split in the Negro community. The NAACP issued a four-point statement to local businessmen saying boycotts and sit-ins would continue until certain requests were met. The NAACP asked for lunch counter desegregation, provision of equal job opportunities for Negroes, use of courtesy titles, and dropping of charges against the young demonstrators. The 1,700 member Savannah Negro Citizens Protective League voted to fight the boycotts and sit-ins, charging that such activities were fomented by newcomers.

One voice from a respected quarter dissented from the belief in the usefulness of bi-racial committees. Mayor William B. Hartsfield of ATLANTA thought that in his town white persons of influence could not be persuaded to serve. Implicit in the mayor's attitude, however, was the thought that interracial communication and planning was a normal part of the duties of Southern municipal officers, and that the responsibility for interracial mediation was squarely on the mayor himself. It is known, however, that during the past several months informal talks between Negro students and white civic and business leaders have several times occurred at the initiative of the latter. Also, at least one meeting has been held between a student leader and officials of A. & P. stores, now being picketed in a campaign for non-discriminatory employment.

ARKANSAS

Ministers of both races took the lead in PINE BLUFF in setting up a city wide committee to discuss interracial differences. Their efforts followed the boycott of two downtown variety stores by Negroes, mostly adults, protesting the refusal of lunch counter service. The mayor and seven of the eight city councilmen gave their approval to the unofficial arbitration committee on which both white and Negro civic leaders agreed to serve. However, even before a formal meeting could be held, the committee fell apart, for lack of agreement on any subject. Meanwhile, the boycott of the two variety stores has continued in what Dr. David Parker, local NAACP president, said is a "very effective" manner.

TEXAS

Details of methods used in three Texas cities--San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Galveston--are given in another report (see Kenneth Morland, Lunch Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas. SRC Special Report, May 10, 1960).

Briefly, in SAN ANTONIO action by students, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and religious leaders laid the groundwork for settlement. The decision to open lunch counters to all was made at a meeting of religious leaders and store managers; the turning point came when the manager of a national chain store urged desegregation.

Only very gentle prodding was necessary to bring about a change in CORPUS CHRISTI. One Negro leader talked with merchants who agreed, with a minimum of fuss, to start serving Negroes at their lunch counters.

A committee of 11 prominent white persons in GALVESTON worked out a solution with store managers. The latter asked for assurance from the Negro community that certain conditions would be met and this was given.

In other Texas cities as well, there is determined progress toward re-casting racial practices in ways which will satisfy not merely white Southerners, but all Southerners. In DALLAS, an interracial group of citizens has worked quietly, without publicity or public pronouncements, to reach agreement with merchants. At least a dozen downtown stores already have started serving Negroes. This, it is worth noting, has occurred in a city which, unlike Nashville and Winston-Salem, has no school desegregation.

AUSTIN reached a partial change in policy on a second try. A group of students on April 21 sent a message to merchants asking for equal service at drug and variety stores. Then, on April 29, an interracial body of students from the University of Texas demonstrated in a mile long march and conducted some sit-ins. A bi-racial group already in existence, composed largely of ministers, tried without success to work out a solution. Next, the mayor appointed a Citizens Committee which included councilmen and white and Negro representatives of business, banking, and the professions. This group met with merchants and, when no agreement was reached, appointed a chairman, retired state Supreme Court Justice St. John Garwood, and asked him to act for the committee. He negotiated with the merchants and on May 1 several of the downtown variety stores and a local chain drug firm began serving Negroes, at first in groups of only three or four. Another local chain drug company and the city's major department store did not change their policies. The citizens group now has disbanded.

In MARSHALL students at two Negro colleges, Bishop and Wiley, made an unsuccessful effort to obtain service at lunch counters. An interracial commission composed of five Negro and five white members, in addition to a white chairman, retired Appeals Court Justice Reuben Hall, failed to reach a solution.

When young Negroes occupied lunch counters in five stores and picketed a sixth in HOUSTON, the Houston Council on Education in Race Relations began

behind the scenes efforts to persuade Mayor Lewis Cutrer to appoint a bi-racial committee to seek a solution. (The Council is a 16-year-old organization sponsored by eight religious and social agencies.) The Retail Merchants Association said it was ready to name representatives to any such committee. Leaders of the Negro student movement notified the mayor they would stop their demonstrations if he would appoint a committee to study the lunch counter question.

On April 6, Mayor Cutrer appointed a Citizens Relations Committee--somewhat reluctantly it seemed to some--of 37 citizens, 26 white and 11 Negro. Later, he added three members.

In the following month, hopes that the committee could reach an early settlement with merchants dimmed. One subcommittee headed by a white oil industrialist indicated the student demands raised legal questions. A second subcommittee headed by a Negro felt it was a matter for community action and indicated that other discriminatory practices should be explored also. One group of Texas Southern students, impatient with the delay, refused to go along with other TSU students on holding off demonstrations any longer and resumed sporadic demonstrations April 26. A split, apparently of long standing, reappeared in the Negro community over leadership. As for the stores, some simply closed their lunch counters. Meanwhile, the community was involved in discussion of the scheduled June 4 election to find out whether Houston wants to desegregate schools. This election, said a Houston business leader, had the lunch counter question "all mixed up in politics."

SUMMARY

Why have some communities either solved or made a promising start toward solution of this particular racial issue?

The answer is simplicity itself. In each, there have been men and women, white and Negro, who have been deeply interested in the welfare and peace of the community and willing to work for a just solution to Negro aspirations.

Where settlements have been reached there has been little solace for the South's prophets of disaster.

No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss of business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase. In contrast, reports from the change-resistant towns have indicated that business in some variety stores -- key targets of the demonstrators -- has fallen off by from 15% to as much as 65% in one store in Charlotte, N. C.

Once lunch counters have been opened to all, the change has been accepted with considerable urbanity. Negroes have not congregated to demonstrate a victory. Those who have appeared at lunch counters have done so with dignity. White customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine.

The methods used to reach agreement have followed no precise pattern and thus do not furnish a blueprint suitable to every community. They do offer suggestions which might be adapted to local situations.

In two or three communities, merchants merely were waiting for someone to take the lead, but no one had bothered to check their attitudes. In fact, in Dallas, San Antonio, Galveston, and Salisbury

only very slight pressure was required to induce the stores to desegregate and the community to accept. In Nashville and Winston-Salem, however, matters seemingly had to "get worse before they could get better." In no place -- and this should be noted -- have white civic, business, or political circles initiated desegregation without some demand or pressure from Negroes.

Generally, the best promise of successful settlement has come from a small interracial committee of outstanding citizens who are amenable to change. In some cities (e. g. San Antonio, Austin, Salisbury) there have been unofficial committees of civic or church leaders, or both. In other cities, (e. g. Winston-Salem), the committees were appointed by mayors. Obviously, those appointed by mayors only as a political gesture offered neither hope for settlement nor for satisfying Negro citizens for long.

By and large, the successful committees have worked without undue publicity at first. It is important that these committees establish initial agreement on what they hope to accomplish, without a detailed airing of personal differences, demands and counter-demands which can divide the community into hostile camps. Eventually, of course, the areas of agreement will be publicized.

Most of the groups have thought it advisable to include representatives of local newspapers on their committees and to consult them as to the timing and kind of publicity most desirable. Some communities have found it preferable to desegregate without any publicity at all.

Generally, committees have consulted with Negro students and adult leaders, and with merchants, perhaps separately at first and then together.

It has been helpful if the merchants could be assured in advance of support by an influential segment of the community. Here, religious leaders have been able to play an especially valuable role when they have been able to give the issue moral and religious perspective.

Whatever the method, the path has not been entirely smooth for most of these committees. And, there still are more committees than results.

More ominously, there are scores of Southern cities which are not even making an effort to solve the sit-in dilemma, present or potential. Southern white citizens will have only themselves to blame if they are faced with a new rash of time and money consuming law suits. They will have only themselves to blame if they permit the extremists to lead them down the path toward hate and violence and economic damage.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A REPORT ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FOR 1960-61

SRC - 17
August 19, 1960
(covering events up to August 12)

CONTENTS PAGE

1. Introduction 1

2. Areas of Principal Interest 5

New Orleans 6
Houston 10
Knoxville 13
The Florida Scene 14
Dollarway 16

3. Recovery from Crisis 18

Token Desegregation 18
Principal Court Rulings 20
The Virginia Private Schools 22

4. Other Areas of Interest 29

Alabama 29
Arkansas 29
Georgia 32
Louisiana 34
Mississippi 35
North Carolina 35
South Carolina 36
Tennessee 36
Texas 37
Virginia 38

The desegregation of Southern schools was overshadowed in dramatic interest during 1959-60 by the sit-in movement, by the struggle in Congress over new civil rights legislation, and by the civil rights planks advanced by both the Democratic and Republican parties. The year was, for the school issue, a period of recovery from crisis in some areas, and preparation for crisis in others.

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly, the most important development of 1960 was the protest by Negro students against segregation, expressed effectively by the sit-ins at lunch counters. The movement was historic not only for its immediate objectives but for the new dimensions it added to the region's dominant problem. Massive resistance had bred massive determination. At the core of the students' protest was an impatience over the pace of change, particularly in school desegregation. If in the outcome the sit-in demonstrations may have brought more tension to the school controversy, there were other equally probable products. The resolve of Negro Southerners to push against the policies of calculated delay and minimal compliance was deepened; and a growing body of community leaders learned, as evidenced by the impressive number of settlements of the lunch counter question, that the region's racial conflicts begged for solution, and not for more evasion.

Something of the same impulsion toward a policy of solution rather than avoidance may have moved the political parties at their national conventions in July, 1960. Their civil rights planks represent explicit demands that standards of democracy agreed upon nationally be accepted in every section of the country. Political platforms always have as their purpose the attraction of votes, but Southerners will only delude themselves once again if they regard these declarations of intent as merely opportunistic politics. Political consensus in a democracy usually embodies a popular consensus of what is

right and urgent. To expect the civil rights planks to be followed in full by governmental action is probably naive; but it would be even more unrealistic for Southern opinion not to recognize that, regardless of which party wins in November, the strength of the national government will be increasingly, and decisively, applied against racial discrimination. In 1960, for the second time in recent years, the Southern Congressional bloc was unable to prevent enactment of a statute to protect civil rights, though the measure as finally passed did not promise a quick end to voting discrimination, its main objective. Both parties are now heavily committed to more thorough, aggressive programs, and the present power alignment in American politics has further weakened the ability of the traditional South to obstruct.

Discussion of the school problem went on, but against a background altered by the revolt of Negro youth and the decline of Southern influence within national politics. There was an encouraging growth in the willingness of Southerners to criticize publicly the policies of massive resistance. The cage of conformity which had largely prevented any public debate before 1959 was broken. Most of the dissent expressed at P-TA meetings, in letters to the editor, and at church and public forums was registered against the prospect of closed schools and abandonment of public education. Here too, however, the sit-ins had effect, for they elicited public discussion, and even more private reflection, about the moral values at issue.

The sit-ins succeeded, as nothing else had, in causing white Southerners to see Negro Southerners as individuals. This is, after all, the crux also of the case for desegregation of schools: that the Negro child be regarded and treated as an individual. What so many dime stores have now acknowledged is what the law suits have asked, and still ask, the school systems to practice.

Political contests within the states underscored the fact that the South was no longer "solid" on the race question, that the facade of monolithic

unanimity contrived between 1954-1958 had cracked sharply. There were critical elections in seven states of the old Confederacy, and the overall result seemed to be a small but murky triumph for the partisans of 1860: but in the two campaigns taking place in the upper South, the victory of the relatively liberal forces was emphatic.

In the May gubernatorial primary of North Carolina, the segregationist candidate in a field of four polled about one-fourth of the vote and ran second; in the June run-off, which was dominated by the race issue, he did substantially better but was soundly defeated by Terry Sanford. Perhaps the most crucial election of the year, however, was in Tennessee, where Senator Kefauver's record was subjected to an all-out assault on the ground that he had betrayed his constituency by liberalism on civil rights and liberties. Despite informed predictions of a close election, even of a segregationist victory which would run through the South as a signal of a regional closing of ranks, the Senator was re-nominated by almost 2 - 1.

In Alabama, presidential electors had to be chosen, and the rather confusing result in the Democratic primary was a vote for six independent electors and five pledged to support in November the national ticket.

On the other side, Governor Faubus won a clear majority in his bid for an unprecedented fourth term in Arkansas over four opponents, three of whom presented themselves as "moderates" on the desegregation issue; Representative Dale Alford, who had entered Congress in 1958 as a champion of non-compliance, also won an easy renomination from the Little Rock district. Mississippi chose as its governor, to succeed the widely respected J. P. Coleman, a man from the extreme segregationist camp. Louisiana turned away from the Long organization, which had traditionally salted its other unique qualities with relatively friendly attitudes toward Negro voters, spurned both an extreme and a "moderate" segregationist, and elected a governor somehow in between. And in an action

which might be regarded as a Florida style version of Mississippi, the gubernatorial candidate who sounded the conventional notes of Southern politics won over the "moderate" as the Democratic nominee; the decision seemed to have additional importance because of the liberal leadership which retiring Governor Collins had offered Florida and, indeed, the South.

Incredible as it may seem, the Mississippi legislature under the close guidance of Governor Barnett found five more statutory ways to strengthen the state's legal barriers to desegregated schools. The Louisiana legislature, after the gubernatorial election, enacted a mass of new laws. In both states, legislation was also directed at sit-in demonstrations and other aspects of racial controversy, and suggested the possibility that the South was in for a second wave of law-making for "massive resistance." Other states too--notably Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia--renewed, under the sting of sit-ins, their legislative fertility.

2. Areas of Principal Interest, 1960-61

The progress of school desegregation is still hammered out in the courtrooms. In the first couple of years after the Supreme Court's epochal decision, there was a rapid, extensive spread of voluntary desegregation in the border states, with some of it extending also to Arkansas and Texas. Since the initial surge ended, desegregation has been a campaign fought by laws and lawyers, over the careers of a few amazingly staunch Negro children. All desegregation to date in North Carolina has been without legal compulsion, though that has been more a matter of strategy than of conviction about rights.

There are presently close to half a hundred school cases on the dockets of federal courts. Many are old, kept formally alive after desegregation has already begun, but able to be re-opened at any time even though now dormant. Some are active, although the main question has been settled, and are again and again under argument as the parties contend over the manner in which court orders have been carried out; such old suits as those of Little Rock, Alexandria, and Norfolk are in this category. Many of the cases, on the other hand, have not yet been settled. And some few have been decided recently, and now face their first implementation. It is this last group which is likely to produce the crucial events of next September and from it chiefly come the localities discussed in this section. But there is always the possibility of some other situation rapidly developing, or of controversy flaring at some unexpected place.

The plodding gait of the law has tortured the discontent which, this past Winter, brought on the sit-ins. Now finally, there is the test at New Orleans this year, and at Atlanta and possibly other places next year. The Deep South at last faces the demand that it comply with the law. Perhaps the truth has been that desegregation can not move more rapidly in the upper South, can not break from the courtroom and be assumed as a community responsibility, while the

Deep South is uncompromising. When desegregation breaches the Deep South the myth of Southern ability to defy the law will have been fatally punctured; the consequence could be an emotional release in the upper South that would enable desegregation to move without the lash of the law.

If, on the other hand, the imminent crisis in New Orleans is not overcome, or even if New Orleans treads the bitter path of Little Rock between 1957-59, the prospects will be gloomy for the South and for national self-respect.

New Orleans

On September 4, 1952, a suit was filed in behalf of Negro children against the segregated school system of Orleans parish. The complaint was held in abeyance pending the Supreme Court's consideration of the cases before it. In 1955 the case was brought to trial. On February 15, 1956, a three-judge federal court ruled invalid all laws of Louisiana that "require or permit" school segregation. On the same day, the district judge, J. Skelly Wright, ordered the Orleans Parish School Board to make arrangements for the admission of children on a non-racial basis. This did not mean, he said, that the schools "would be ordered completely desegregated overnight, or even in a year or more;" then he added:

> The problems attendant desegregation in the deep South are considerably more serious than generally appreciated in some sections of our country. The problem of changing a people's mores, particularly those with an emotional overlay, is not to be taken lightly. It is a problem which will require the utmost patience, understanding, generosity and forbearance from all of us, of whatever race. But the magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, freeborn Americans, with a right to make our way, unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God.

Since this ruling, the case has remained in almost continuous litigation, as the School Board, the state government, and even private individuals, combatted the inevitable with every means they could find in their lawyers' tactical resources. The case has been repeatedly up to Circuit court and to the Supreme Court. On July 15, 1959, Judge Wright ordered the School Board to submit a

desegregation plan to him by March 1, 1960, subsequently extended to May 16. The Board refused to comply, contending that state law barred it from acting.* On May 25, almost eight years after the case began, Judge Wright directed that the schools be desegregated in September and laid down a plan for doing so: all children entering the first grade in 1960 and every subsequent year may, at their option, attend either the formerly all-Negro or formerly all-white school nearest their homes.

Litigation continues up to this moment, in a confusing series of maneuvers in state and federal court, and has yielded a state court preliminary injunction prohibiting the School Board from taking any steps to desegregate.

The School Board itself, on May 30, appealed Judge Wright's order to the Fifth Circuit; both the Circuit court and Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black have refused to postpone the effective date of Judge Wright's decree pending the appeal.

The N.A.A.C.P. has filed in federal court a motion to enjoin the Governor and the state's Attorney-General from any action which would block desegregation. ~~A hearing on the motion was held August 10.~~

This action looks forward to the possible application of Louisiana's school closing laws; one authorized the Governor to close any parish system ordered integrated, and the other (enacted in 1960) authorizes him to close schools throughout the state if any one is integrated. The School Board president has said that he believes the schools will be closed in September.

What lies ahead in the next few weeks for New Orleans no one can forecast. Assuming that there is no retreat from the federal court's order, some Negro

---

* A 1956 statute had placed the power to classify schools as white or Negro, in cities of over 300,000 population, in the state legislature; the law had already been declared by the District court, in a decision affirmed on appeal, unconstitutional on its face. A 1960 law is substantially similar, though applicable to every parish and city; the state insists that both laws are still in effect.

children will be admitted to formerly all-white schools on September 8. The closing of schools will be then a distinct possibility, and if the Governor does not extend the closure throughout the state the federal courts, under the Norfolk precedent, almost certainly will. Within the existing climate of Louisiana politics, there is also a danger of riots and violence. A serious crisis in New Orleans, especially if prolonged or violent, would almost force the Presidential candidates to state what they would do about it if in office, and would surely involve the present national administration. The attendant controversy would be an omnipresent issue of the Presidential campaign.

Louisiana has, by a law of 1958, provided for the payment of tuition grants for attendance at non-sectarian private schools if there is no segregated public school available or if a child is assigned to a bi-racial school against his parents' wishes.

In a way, there is cause to regret that New Orleans, rather than Atlanta, will be the first city of the Deep South to meet the test of desegregation. Unlike Atlanta, where the problem has been under vigorous citizen discussion since at least January, 1959, New Orleans has steadily, almost determinedly, ignored the likelihood that it would be affected. In recent months a number of civic groups, including P-TAs, have rallied in defense of open schools. Many ministers and church groups have spoken forthrightly. Most hopefully, two citizens' committees--of the sort which proved invaluable in Little Rock and Norfolk--have organized: one is named Save Our Schools, and the other the Committee for Public Education.

On the other hand, anti-integration sentiment in the city is strong and organized and a bevy of private school groups are in formation. There seems little doubt that extreme segregationist forces will, for a time at least, dominate opinion in the state at large, and will press the state government toward intransigence.

This combination of late blooming public interest, a well-intentioned school board majority caught between federal and state law, and a state government dedicated to massive resistance, is, in fact, strongly reminiscent of Norfolk in the Summer of 1958.

One factor greatly different is the role of the parochial schools; 46% of New Orleans' white and 15% of its Negro children were in Catholic schools in 1959-60. In early 1956, the Archbishop declared segregation "morally wrong and sinful." Not all Catholics were willing to accept his teaching. The Association of Catholic Laymen was formed, and one of its first moves was to appeal the Archbishop's statement to the Vatican; the reply was a stern rebuke. The Association has nevertheless continued, and directs its principal efforts to keeping the diocesan schools segregated.* In July, 1956, the Archbishop announced that "certain difficulties" would delay integration of the parochial schools until at least September, 1957. In a statement, of July 1959, his office said that they would be integrated "not later than when the public schools are integrated." There has been no further announcement of definite plans. In late May, 1960, he did write to the public School Board, urging compliance with the desegregation order.

Catholic as well as public schools receive free textbooks and other supplies from the state. An act of the 1960 legislature prohibits the giving of these to any integrated school.

In 1945, the public schools of New Orleans had about 28,000 white and 17,000 Negro students in average daily attendance. In 1960, white attendance had risen to 37,000, but Negro children now numbered 43,500. In 1959-60, there were 6,982 Negro first graders as against 4,042 white. As in most American cities, the actual extent of school desegregation will be limited by residential

* The Association's head is also the most strongly pro-segregationist member of the public School Board.

segregation, although there is less of that in New Orleans than in comparable cities. Preliminary studies in New Orleans show that there could be substantial numbers of Negro children entering white schools. Last May, the School Board conducted a mail survey of parents of public school children. They were asked whether 1) they preferred the schools open even with a small amount of desegregation; or 2) closed rather than desegregated in even small amounts. Of the white parents, 64% responded, and voted 82% (12,724) for closing schools; 49% of the Negro parents responded, and voted 95% (12,017) for open schools. This may well have been a fair reflection of community opinion. The experience of Little Rock and Norfolk suggests that it will change, when people are brought to the face/hard choices of reality.

Houston

If the New Orleans defense of segregation has been characterized by conflict and passion, that of Houston has been marked by ingenious procrastination. To end this, federal Judge Ben C. Connally on August 4, 1960, directed that Houston --the nation's sixth largest school system--desegregate this September. His order, similar to that of Judge Wright's in New Orleans, provides that each student in first grade may choose to enroll at either the formerly all-white or formerly all-Negro school within his attendance area; in 1961, children entering the first and second grades will have this choice; and so on.*

With this action, the court rejected as "palpable sham and subterfuge" a plan submitted by the Houston School Board on June 1, which would have designated for the whole city one elementary, one junior high, and one high school as integrated, beginning September, 1961. Children wishing to attend an integrated school could, upon application and after certain scholastic, character, and

* Judge Connally's order would seem to differ from Judge Wright's as well as from the Nashville plan in that free choice could be exercised each year; in other words, a child might go to the formerly all-Negro school in the first, shift to the formerly all-white for the second grade.

physical tests, be admitted; all other pupils would continue to be assigned by race. The plan--sometimes referred to as "salt and pepper integration"--had been drafted after the ideas of federal Judge T. Whitfield Davidson, who had disapproved a grade-a-year scheme for Dallas.

Neither of the two plaintiffs in the Houston case will be benefited. One graduated last June, and will be in college. The other will be through school long before desegregation reaches her grade.

On August 8, the School Board decided to wait on certain clarifications of the order, which have been requested by the N.A.A.C.P. attorneys, before undertaking an appeal. There is an ambiguity which the Board claims orders desegregation this September not for the first grade, but in kindergarten.

The Court action in August followed close after a referendum to ascertain whether or not the people wished to abolish the dual school system. In 1957, Texas enacted a law which has virtually stopped further desegregation in the state. The measure provides that no district not yet desegregated can end its dual system unless a vote, petitioned for by 20% of the electors, gives majority approval. If a district were to desegregate without voter consent, its schools would lose accreditation, its state funds would be cut off, and its officials would be subject to fines. The Texas Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has said:

> Integration in public schools and in colleges was brought almost to a complete standstill about three years ago, due primarily to the various laws passed at that time by our State Legislature. Integration was moving along in normal fashion, without any significant disturbances, until the enactment of such laws appeared to block the progress. It seems likely, from the facts assembled, that the local communities would have handled the matter in a satisfactory manner to all parties concerned, if they had been left entirely to their own devices without intervention of State legislation, the validity of which has not yet been determined by the courts.

In June, 1959, the School Board decided to seek a referendum. But not until April, 1960, after the court had demanded a desegregation plan by June 1, did the Board actively solicit signatures. In doing so, it repeatedly emphasized to the people the seriousness of Houston's dilemma: the city was required by

federal authority to desegregate; if it did so without an affirmative vote of the electorate, $6 million of state aid would be ended. By April 23, sufficient signatures were obtained, and the election set for June 4. What happened next was described by the Houston Post:

> But when the board majority realized that it had enough signatures to call the election, the reasons for the election--in their eyes at least--seemed to change.
>
> A week after the district had received enough petitions to call the election, School Board President Henry A. Petersen and the vice president, Stone Wells, warned voters that the real purpose of the election was not to keep the district from losing funds, but to show the board which areas wanted desegregation.
>
> Dr. Petersen and Wells told voters that the areas which showed they wanted desegregation would get desegregated schools first.
>
> On May 9, the entire five-member majority faction made it clear they felt the same as the president and vice president. The five-member majority voted down a motion by Negro Board Member Mrs. Charles E. White to urge a "yes" vote so that the district would not lose its funds and accreditation.
>
> That same night Wells reiterated his warning by saying, "The main thing I'm worried about is that the people should know that the areas which want desegregation are going to get it. And the ones that vote for it are going to get it first. That's what this election is for."

In the midst of the pre-referendum campaign, Judge Connally sent a letter to the School Board's attorney. "Your clients must recognize," he said, "that this is not a popularity contest, but is the performance of a duty which the law imposes." The judge also took note of press reports that the Board intended to begin desegregation in areas where the vote against desegregation was least heavy; he remarked that "such a plan would not be acceptable to the court."

The result of the referendum was 57,958 against, and 29,418 for, desegregation.

Unless the Court of Appeals decides differently, Houston schools will be desegregated in September. The city has been curiously quiet, even in recent weeks. There is little of the public interest and discussion which has been strong in Atlanta, and which has arisen in New Orleans. City officials have

stayed aloof; state officers have, for the most part, been silent. There is an appearance of drift about the city, almost as if it were indifferent.

The School Board through many months has, it would seem, done what the city wants: nothing, that the court did not compel. (In March, when the Board's attorney advised that the court was insistent, the chairman said, "I don't think we ought to be pressured about this thing, but I think we ought to be thinking about this thing. ...We ought to be ready to make up our minds as to what we have in mind." Another member said, "I'm going to be busy between now and Easter. There's no hurry, is there?") What the city itself will do, will shortly be seen. It is hard, though, to imagine that a city and a state as proud as are Houston and Texas will allow public education to be interrupted, or even seriously ruffled.

Knoxville

A third large city faces the prospect of desegregation next term, though no final court order has yet been handed down. On February 8, 1960, federal Judge Robert L. Taylor (who had presided over the famous Clinton case several years earlier) directed the Knoxville School Board to submit a desegregation plan by April 8. The Board did so, proposing a plan substantially like that of Nashville. It will take effect this August 31, when schools open.

The attorneys for the 17 Negro plaintiffs attacked the plan, however, and hearings were held on their objections August 8 and 9. If the judge, as he strongly implied from the bench that he would, approves the Knoxville procedure, the incoming first grade will be desegregated.

The objections of the Negroes were two-fold, both of which had also been made against Nashville. In the first place, they oppose the grade-a-year scheme, pointing out that none of the plaintiffs will be benefited and arguing that there is no need for a 12-year stretch-out. Secondly, they have objected to the provision which allows children who are in a racial minority in a school or grade

to transfer out (in Nashville, every white child who has been assigned to a predominantly Negro school has requested and been given a transfer).

The suit was filed in December, 1959. An earlier one had been lost by the Negroes in January, 1957, on a technicality. When the present case was brought there were reports that the city administration favored offering the Nashville plan immediately for court approval, and that the School Board desired to draw out the litigation as lengthily as possible. In fact, at the February trial, the Board's attorney told the court that the Board believed "to move without legal compulsion is to betray a trust."

By April 8, the Board had decided to cooperate. Community opinion in this East Tennessee city does not seem particularly aroused, but is believed to be willing to accept desegregation in stride.

In 1959-60, there were 17,260 white and 4,750 Negro students in Knoxville public schools. Fourteen elementary schools are in bi-racial school zones.

The Florida Scene

There is a good possibility that what happens this coming year in Florida may have more basic effect on school desegregation throughout the South than will the events of any other area, even New Orleans. For several years prior to 1959, the chief target of the N.A.A.C.P. legal attack was obviously Virginia. Today, the most varied and most demanding challenges on school segregation are being carried out in Florida. The developments may be summarized briefly.

a. Pensacola (Escambia County)

A suit was filed on February 1, 1960, asking not only the admission of Negro children to non-segregated schools but also an injunction against the assignment of teachers on a racial basis. The court eliminated this latter demand on June 23, ruling that the plaintiff children had no legal interest in how teachers were assigned.

b. Daytona Beach (Volusia County)

On June 3, 1960, there was brought what N.A.A.C.P. attorneys described as the most comprehensive suit yet against school segregation, and which they said would be a model for future proceedings. The suit embraces points which have been made in some earlier cases, such as in Atlanta and Pensacola, and goes beyond. The plaintiffs admit from the outset that they have not followed the Florida Pupil Placement law. They ask the court to enjoin further operation of a segregated school system, and to require that the county submit, not a desegregation plan, but a plan for the complete reorganization of the system on a non-racial basis. They ask that pupils, teachers, administrative personnel, and other employees be assigned without regard to race.

c. Dade County

Two Negro girls have been assigned to two white schools in North Miami Beach. This is really the first desegregation in Florida. The Orchard Villa school, where last year 490 Negroes were with eight whites, is in a changing neighborhood and may be all Negro in 1960-61. Homestead, Dade County's and Florida's other desegregated school of last year, is attended only by military personnel.

d. Palm Beach

One of the oldest of all law suits ground on in May and June two more frustrating steps.

e. Tampa

78 applications under the Pupil Placement law for transfers were received from Negroes. They were all rejected by the School Board on August 2. Negro leaders had earlier stated that a "massive" application was to be made as part of a statewide campaign.

In the District court's good time, there will also be a re-hearing, as ordered in April by the Circuit court, of Tampa's desegregation suit.

Dollarway District

Dollarway School District #2 is just outside Pine Bluff, Arkansas. It may be faced with desegregation this September. If so, the history of its conflict to date would suggest the possibility of another challenge to law and order in Governor Faubus's state.

On July 31, 1959, a federal District court ordered the admission of three Negro students--age 16, 13, and 12--to the white school the following September. The decision was appealed, and the opening of school postponed until the appeal could be decided. On September 21, 1959, the Circuit court reversed, holding that the lower court had erred in not requiring the three Negroes to exhaust the administrative remedies of Arkansas' Pupil Placement Act. The Dollarway schools thereupon opened--segregated.

The three Negroes then appeared before the School Board on October 8, 1959, to apply for transfers. A mob of 200 whites gathered outside during the two-hour closed hearing, and hurled rocks at the Negroes as they left the building. Four-hour physical examinations were given the next day, and six to seven hour intelligence and achievement tests the following week. On October 21, the applications were denied. The Negroes went back to court in December.

After prolonged, tedious hearings (in which a psychiatrist from one and a dean of students from another state college gave expert testimony on the harmful effects of integration), the District court in February, 1960, denied the Negroes' plea. They appealed at once to the Circuit court.

In ruling against the Negro applicants, the court at the same time ordered the School Board to present within 30 days a statement of the affirmative policies it intends to pursue to end compulsory segregation. The Board reluctantly did so. In its statement it said that it was opposed on educational grounds to the transfer of students from one school to another; it said further that wherever possible it will assign first-graders to the school requested by their

parents. The judge gave this statement his approval, warning that it must be applied without regard to race.

At a pre-registration for first-graders in May, three Negro children registered at the white school. The 75-year old Negro man who accompanied them was badly beaten by two white men.

There are thus two possibilities of desegregation this year. One is that the Circuit court may order the three older students admitted. The second is that the School Board may accept the three first grade children or be compelled to do so. The Board is taking no action on their registration until the Circuit court ruling is given.

3. Recovery From Crisis

Token Desegregation

In the Spring of 1960, desegregation in the Old Confederacy meant that approximately 4,200* Negro children were in school with white students; 3,300 of these were in west Texas and 490 were at a Florida school attended by only 8 white children. Outside of west Texas and Florida, 400 Negroes were in desegregated schools; the comparable figure a year earlier was 199. This was a gain larger than in any preceding year; there should be an even larger increase in 1960-61.

School Desegregation
1959-60

	Negroes in Desegregated Schools	
Arkansas		
Bentonville	2	
Charleston	8	
Fayetteville	31	
Fort Smith	4	
Hoxie	8	
Van Buren	23	
Little Rock	8	
Pulaski County	10	94
Florida		
Dade County	512	512
North Carolina		
Charlotte	1	
Greensboro	5	
Winston-Salem	7	
Wayne County	3	
Craven County	9	
High Point	2	
Durham	7	34
Tennessee		
Anderson County	11	
Oak Ridge	100	
Nashville	44	
Rutherford County	14	169
Texas		3,300

* Figures throughout this section are derived from the reports of the Southern Education Reporting Service.

Virginia	Negroes in Desegregated Schools	
Alexandria	16	
Arlington County	23	
Charlottesville	11	
Floyd County	13	
Norfolk	21	
Warren County	19	103
TOTAL		4,212

Of the above communities, several serve none but military personnel in desegregated schools; these include: Pulaski County (Ark.); Dade County (Fla.) in one (with 22 Negro students) of its two desegregated schools; and Wayne and Craven Counties (N.C.).

What increase there has been in the numbers of non-segregated Negro children has been principally due to the extension of desegregation to more localities, and not to increase within already desegregated situations. Thus in North Carolina desegregation occurred first in three cities; the record has been:

	Negroes in Desegregated Schools		
	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
Charlotte	4*	4	1
Greensboro	6	5	5
Winston-Salem	1	4	7
	11	13	13

This is the situation known as "token integration." Its intention is to placate both law and community custom. Its success has caused some of the old adherents of massive resistance to see it as an even more effective method of avoiding the law. It was a matter of some note in the South, for example, when the widely syndicated columnist John Temple Graves and the editor of the Charleston News and Courier, Thomas Waring, moved to this position; as Mr. Graves one time stated it:

> An unhappy handful of colored children, not to be more and wanting out, is to be preferred over closing our schools.

* One of these withdrew after harassment.

Taking the same position Tom Waring said at Selma last night he was not accepting even token integration willingly but "if it is forced on some of us we should neither despair nor commit rash acts in our anger... If a few Negro children are forced into scattered white schools, that does not mean they will be there indefinitely. Once the pressure groups find that massive integration is being denied them by the courts, their incentive will be dulled. It will become ever more difficult to recruit Negro parents willing to let their children become martyrs for a dubious cause.."

Massive resistance has at least, for some, a quality of heroic defiance; this new strategy, which in effect proposes that the spirits of Negro children and their parents be wrenched till they break, seems patterned after the anxious cunning of Br'er Rabbit.

These small beginnings toward desegregation have been approved by many in the belief that the main necessity was to take a first step, and in the expectation that once a community got over that it would advance steadily toward ending segregation. There is by now less reason to believe this. Where a desegregation plan has (as, e.g., in Nashville) a built-in principle that almost insures growth, there can be reasonable confidence that segregation will come to an orderly end. But plans which, as in the so-called Pupil Placement laws*, require school boards to pass on individual applications will proceed no faster than the disposition of officials, the stresses of politics, and the fortunes of litigation permit. The process can be forced by organized effort in the Negro community to multiply the number of applications, and this is, as later sections of this report will note, beginning to occur.

Principal Court Rulings

Some court decisions of the year make more chancy the hopes which inspire token compliance. The Alexandria (Va.) case drew from the District and Circuit courts several rulings which add importantly to the ground rules of desegregation: 1) although "academic achievement" is an acceptable criterion for pass-

* Placement laws have been enacted in every state except Georgia.

ing on transfer applications, Negro children with low achievement may not be rejected if white children with similar scores are accepted in the same classes; 2) Negro applicants for transfer may not be refused on ground of "mental or emotional instability" unless evidence is presented in justification; 3) assignment criteria must apply to white as well as Negro children seeking transfer to another school; 4) they must apply to children moving into the school district, as well as to transfer applicants. The Dollarway (Ark.) case added that, if the initial assignment of children is by race, and if the placement law is applied only to those who request transfer, "such application would be invalid." Two Circuit court decisions in Florida cases, affecting Miami and Tampa, were possibly the legal milestones of the year. In rulings which were meticulously confined to the points in controversy, the court seemed at the same time to be holding that school boards were legally responsible to take positive steps toward ending segregation; the Tampa case held that the Negro plaintiffs were entitled to a hearing in District court on their contention that the school board had not ended segregation and to an injunction if proved, without exhausting the administrative remedies of Florida's pupil placement law. The decisions would appear to maintain that school boards, regardless of whether any Negroes have asked for transfer, have a legal duty to move toward ending compulsory segregation.

In December, 1959, the Supreme Court declined to review the Sixth Circuit court's approval of Nashville's grade-a-year desegregation; this was the first plan to get this degree of Supreme Court endorsement. The Supreme Court was, perhaps, by its action indicating that the plan was constitutionally valid and was accepting the lower court's judgment of the plan's equity. If so, this would not mean that in every circumstance the plan would represent equitable relief. This apparently was the same understanding which the Third Circuit court had, for in July it struck down Delaware's grade-a-year program.

On July 29, oral argument was heard in District court at Richmond on the constitutionality of the closing of public schools in Prince Edward County (Va.).

The Virginia Private Schools

1959-60 was a quiet year around the schools of the South. If desegregation did not greatly accelerate, neither were there the spectacular crises of the past, and educators were freer than they had been to concentrate on their jobs. When the term began in Little Rock the police expertly dispelled an eager mob, and with that the clamors of the last several school years subsided, at least for a time. Besides the fact that life went on calmly in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas--in every place where schools were bi-racial--, and the fact of impending desegregation in cities of the Deep South, the most interesting and important development of the year was the private school experiment in Virginia. As the South once watched Virginia's frontal assault against Brown v. Topeka, so now it watches the fortunes of Virginia's unique educational course.

After withdrawing in January, 1959, from massive resistance, Virginia enacted a new program which included as its keystone a tuition grant provision, intended to give Virginians free choice between public and private schools. By a formula based on the educational expenditures of each locality, grants of up to $250.00 were available for matriculation at either public schools outside one's county or independent city, or at any non-sectarian private school anywhere. As of May 27, 1960, tuition grants numbered 4,029 at a cost of $778,703 and there were still others to be processed. Many grants went to students already enrolled in private schools, and even more to students in places unaffected yet by desegregation. Of the 4,029, only 2,318 seem to have gone to students in desegregated districts; Fairfax County, where schools were still separate, received 524 grants, third high in the state and not many less than

Charlottesville's 599.*

The 1960 legislature changed the method of paying scholarships, providing for payments up to $250 for elementary and $275 for high school students; the state share will be a flat $125 and $150 respectively.

The tuition grant system was the backbone of the new private schools in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Front Royal. It played no part in Prince Edward County in 1959-60, but will in the coming year. In the state's other desegregated areas--Alexandria, and Arlington and Floyd Counties--there was no serious experimentation with private schools.

Tidewater Academy, established in Norfolk when the public schools were closed in 1958, offered grades 7-12, but without much popular backing. As Norfolk and Little Rock are the only large Southern cities to desegregate, it is worth noting that in neither has the private school alternative been successful. Enrollment at Tidewater did not exceed 200. As more tuition grants--889--went to Norfolk than to any other place, it is evident that most recipients were not interested in hastily organized facilities and instruction.

The Charlottesville Educational Foundation had far greater success, which may be an indication that a private school system paralleling the public is feasible only in locations small and homogenous enough so that the private system can become a community project. Enrollment was 190 in the Foundation's elementary school and 325 in the high school; the two desegregated public institutions enrolled about 1,200.

All, or nearly all, at the private schools had tuition grants. The Foundation closed the year in the red, which was attributed to initial capital costs. The elementary buildings were new (and adaptable to conversion into residences), and the high school occupied an old estate. The curriculum was much the same as that of the public schools. Near the end of the year, the three chief adminis-

* Thirteen white children from Princess Anne County used the grants to attend Norfolk's desegregated public schools.

trators resigned or were fired after disagreement with the Foundation's board. A $250,000 fund drive was launched, and tuition for 1960-61 was raised to $305.*

During the first semester of 1958-59, when the high school at Front Royal was closed under state law, the Warren County Educational Foundation was organized to give instruction to white youth. When the public school was reopened in February, 1959, no white students returned. In 1959-60, the private school continued, and enrolled about 425 students; almost 400 white students, however, attended the public school, where there were also 19 Negroes. About 43% of the incoming high school class (8th grade) entered the public school; a school poll taken in the Spring, 1960, indicated that 60% of the unusually large incoming white class this September will enter the public, and 35% the private, school, with the others undecided.

Classes at the private school were held in space at the rear of a restaurant; four extra rooms were built on. A $250,000 bond issue has been offered, and a new building is under construction which may be ready by Fall.

Whereas in Charlottesville community opinion seemed approving of the existence of two school systems, feeling in Warren County has been divided between those who, while tolerant of "free choice", insist upon the necessity of public schools, and those who want the entire county to rally to the Foundation. Two of the church halls used for emergency classes in 1958-59 were denied in 1959-60. The newspapers took opposing positions. Some directors of the Foundation had children attending the desegregated public school and family splits were reported. The Chamber of Commerce was said to be divided. Although the

---

* For the high school; lower school tuition has not yet been finally set, though last year it was the same as the high school's. Considering the interest in Charlottesville's operation, the details are worth noting: in 1959-60, the tuition grant for Charlottesville children from state and local funds was $234.43; tuition was $250, and so each child had to pay $15.57; Albemarle County children had, fromthe state and county, a grant of $229.01, leaving $20.99 to be paid by the student. For 1960-61, a larger contribution from parents will evidently be necessary.

Richmond News-Leader reported in April that community animosities had lessened, Warren County (1956 population, 15,622) had raised the question of whether a community of its size could find room within its resources and loyalties to accommodate dual school systems.

The controversy of widest interest was not, however, within the county. During 1958-59, the Foundation's chief financial support came from employees of the Front Royal plant of the American Viscose Corporation. Although supervisory and office workers shared in the contribution, most of the aid was given by members of the Textile Workers Union of America, which had at the plant an integrated local of about 2,000 members, including 140-odd Negroes. Some aid was continued last year, although the company stopped making payroll deductions as it had in 1958-59. Over the years, Local 371 had endeavored studiously and with success both to obtain benefits for its members and to achieve community acceptance for itself. It was, therefore, frustrated and angered by the intervention in June, 1960, of its national organization which put the local under trusteeship and ordered an end to further contributions to the segregated private school. The local was given the privilege of submitting the issue to arbitration, and it has done so.

Little or no controversy, on the other hand, threatened the unanimity of white citizens of Prince Edward County, though there are those in the county who are restive and growing more so over the complete termination of public education. Prince Edward was one of the five districts involved in the original cases which resulted in the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. Its litigious string ran out in May, 1959, an event which has not yet happened to Clarendon County (S.C.), also one of the five. In 1955, Prince Edward residents had resolved to close the public schools rather than accept desegregation, and the Prince Edward School Foundation had been chartered. The Foundation was ready to act when, in 1959, the county government shut the public schools by ending appropriations and reducing the tax-rate by the proportion which had been levied for schools. Residents

were asked to donate their tax-savings to the Foundation (and did, in the amount of $266,000), and no tuition was charged.

Not only did the county abandon public education entirely, but it did so without using the state's tuition grant plan. The legal doubts which lay behind this reluctance were allayed by the legislature's revision of the plan in 1960, and tuition grants will be accepted in 1960-61. During 1959-60, the Foundation expended about $304,000; most of its classroom space was rent free, and a great deal of equipment, services, and labor were donated. Bus transportation was and is budgeted and provided separately by another organization. For 1960-61, the Foundation has budgeted $348,500. Tuition of $265 and $240 will be collected for high and elementary school respectively. The state grants of $150 for high and $125 for elementary school students will be matched by $100 each of county money, leaving $15.00 for each child to pay. To make possible the county supplement, the tax rate has been raised: in 1958-59 it had been $3.40 per $100 of property valuation; for 1959-60 it was reduced to $1.60; in 1960-61 it will be $4.00. Under 1960 legislation, a county may give a tax credit of up to 25% for a contribution to non-sectarian private schools. Prince Edward will do this, but only for gifts to private schools within the county, of which the Foundation is the only one; the expectation is that taxpayers, in effect, will pay taxes at a $3.00 rate, and give to the Foundation at a $1.00 rate. In June, a $300,000 fund drive was begun. The old School Board refused in February, 1960, to sell the now un-used school buildings, and the Foundation has formed construction plans; whether they are carried out may depend on whether the newly appointed School Board will reverse its predecessor and sell out. In the meantime, classes will continue to be held in various churches and other structures.

In the last year of public schools there had been 1,782 Negro and 1,562 white students. The Foundation served 1,446 white pupils in 1959-60. The Negroes got no education. Perhaps 200 went to schools outside the county,

including 50-odd at Kittrell College in North Carolina. Several hundred more were kept occupied at centers set up and conducted by Negro groups. A white corporation was formed with the purpose of organizing schools for Negroes, but so far its solicitations have been spurned.

The N.A.A.C.P. has now moved in federal court for an injunction to require the resumption of public education and prohibit the selling of vacant buildings to any private corporation. The ground for the first request is the contention that, education being a state responsibility, both the white and Negro residents of Prince Edward are being discriminated against in that public education is available in every other part of the state.

The private school experiment in Prince Edward has drawn sustained and widespread interest. Segregationists have even proposed to audiences in Atlanta, New Orleans, and elsewhere that what is being done in that rural setting can be imitated in a metropolis. Prince Edward is, nonetheless, an example which has to be reckoned with of the depth of emotion in a Blackbelt area. This will be the last of the South's regions to adjust to desegregation, and perhaps cannot be hurried ahead of the pace set by the cities and other less rigid sections. For one year, the county, the state, and the United States have allowed nearly 1,700 of their children to go unschooled; the government of neither county, state, nor nation has any intention of correcting the condition: it is a sorry tale, and has taken its sad, inevitable return to the courtroom.

At his annual picnic in one of his apple orchards, Senator Byrd in August, 1959, said, "I stand now as I stood when I first urged massive resistance. I have no apologies for what I've done." The Senator's home county borders on integrated West Virginia, and lies just north of Warren County. One hundred and three Negro children have finished the past year in classes with white children, and there will be a good many more next term in the Old Dominion. The Senator may have kept his mind unaffected, but the more typical boast out of Virginia

these days is one that claims for Jefferson's state the realization of a new liberty: freedom to choose one's associates. With this ideal all might agree, though many would want to add that one of democracy's fine hopes has been that a person could best locate through free circulation in his society those with whom he wanted to associate. The Virginia private schools are an escape from democracy. We have long had private schools in America, justified in order to provide added religious instruction, or more accelerated academic work, or more attention to individual difficulties. The Virginia schools so far provide none of these; their role is simple insulation of some children from others.

4. Other Areas of Interest, 1960-61

Alabama

Alabama's Pupil Placement law, which has served as a model for other states and localities, has for the second time been challenged in federal court; both attacks have been directed at Birmingham. The present suit, brought in June on behalf of seven Negro children, alleges that the placement law is "inadequate to provide relief," and asks that the Board of Education be enjoined from "operating a bi-racial school system." Alabama's placement law had previously been held to be "valid on its face" in a decision which the Supreme Court in November, 1958, declined to review. But Governor John Patterson only a few months ago said: "There's no use kidding ourselves. The first time it is used to preserve segregation, then I am sure the U. S. Supreme Court will declare it unconstitutional."

Negroes also initiated pressure-- but as yet have brought no suits--against segregation in Montgomery's public schools and at a state vocational training school in Mobile. Moreover, at least 13 Negroes recently applied for admission to the University of Alabama's Extension Service Center in Montgomery. Announcement by the Justice Department of plans to desegregate Huntsville's Madison Pike Elementary School, operated jointly by federal government and city and attended largely but not exclusively by children of Redstone Arsenal personnel, precipitated a threat from the state administration to close the school and call out the National Guard. Governor Patterson called the Justice Department announcement "the opening battle of an all-out war." No definite date for desegregation has been set.

Arkansas

In January, 1960, a committee of Negro leaders investigated conditions at Central and Hall High, Little Rock's two desegregated schools. The committee released a report, saying in part:

We are happy to report that the conditions at Hall High School are almost normal...

While conditions at Central High have greatly improved from the 1957 status, there still remains misconduct which needs much correction. It was found that there is name calling and periodic physical manifestations of misconduct such as pushing and kicking. Some of the physical intimidation is being carried on by children not in school.

It was also found that the parents still feel that carrying the children to and from school is necessary for the protection of the children. The parents seem somewhat reluctant to make continuous complaints as their child might become a central target. However most of the physical misconduct was reported to the principal or to the faculty...

The Negro children at Central High feel that the faculty is not sufficiently sympathetic toward their plight and tends to minimize the reported incidents. Thus the students are also reluctant to report incidents of misconduct.

The committee found that organized open defiance to complying with the famous Brown decision has been greatly retarded in Little Rock. For the most part this retardation resulted from the work of Chief of Police Eugene Smith and his staff, Prosecuting Atty. Frank Holt and his staff and the political efforts of the responsible citizens (white and Negro) of this community.

It had been a different sort of year for Little Rock. The city was firmly committed to open, and therefore desegregated, schools; the city was not, by a long way, free yet of the passionate controversy which has tormented it since August, 1957.

On August 12, 1959, nearly a month early, Little Rock's four high schools reopened: three Negro students were assigned to Central, and three to Hall. The School Board had received 60 transfer requests from Negro students; 54 were denied admission. Among these were two who had already spent a year at Central. Of the remaining seven of the original "Little Rock nine,"four have either finished high school or moved away, and three were again assigned to Central this year. One of these three found she had enough credits to graduate and went to Central only one day. After classes began, three others were admitted to Central.

On the first day, a mob of segregationists marched from a rally at the state capitol toward Central High. Little Rock police met and routed them a

block from the school. No further trouble was reported either inside or outside the school. At Hall, nothing happened.

One School Board member later said, on a national TV show, that the early opening date was a maneuver to foil any plans Governor Faubus might have had for a special legislative session.

On Labor Day, 1959, Little Rock was shocked by three dynamite explosions: one was beneath an automobile in the driveway of the Fire Chief's suburban home; the second smashed the front of a building in which the Mayor's private office was located; the third wrecked an office of the Little Rock school administration building. A fourth was planned but not carried out.

These events of the first days of the 1959-60 school term set a pattern for the year. Negroes have continued to apply for transfer in numbers far larger than the Board will approve. Bombings have recurred. Good law enforcement is still an essential factor in school reform. And, it should be added, litigation goes on, as Negro applicants appeal from the decisions of the School Board; the District court has announced that two complaints now before it will be decided after the Circuit court rules in the Dollarway case.

For 1960-61, the School Board has so far assigned, from approximately 80 applicants, eight Negroes to Central and five to Hall.

The Little Rock desegregation plan, as formulated in 1956 and approved by court, scheduled desegregation in three "phases," beginning at the high-school level. Junior highs would have been Phase II, which was to have been entered this September. The School Board announced in March that this would not be done. In spite of that, 39 Negroes applied for junior high admission; all were refused on August 6.

In December,1959 the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional the laws under which Governor Faubus had closed the schools in 1959. Now there is before the voters, at the November election, a proposed constitutional amendment (Amendment

52) which would eliminate a state constitutional requirement that a public school system be maintained and would allow a school district by vote of its residents to abandon its public schools when faced with a court order to admit Negroes to white schools. In the recent gubernatorial race, Governor Faubus declined to say whether or not he favored the amendment. The legislative history of the proposal makes very clear that he was, in fact, its sponsor.

Georgia

Georgia this last year went to the brink of battle between federal and state authority, and then was spared the final step. The year's reprieve may enable moderate opinion to spread farther; it may, on the other hand, permit unbending segregationists to regroup.

The court has ordered Atlanta to desegregate in September, 1961 and to begin processing Negro applications for transfer May 1, 1961. The court allowed another year of segregated schools in order to give the state legislature, which will convene in January, a chance--"just one chance," in the words of the court--to prevent the city's public schools from closing. If existing legislation is allowed to go unchanged, all state and local financial support must be withdrawn from any school integrated by court order. Georgia has two school closing laws, one enacted in 1956 and the other in 1959. The latter is broader, and authorizes the Governor, at his discretion, to close schools under several sets of circumstances. The older law requires him to close schools if they are ineligible for state funds; i.e. if non-segregated. Georgia has also provided for the payment of tuition grants.

The Atlanta desegregation plan, accepted by federal Judge Frank A. Hooper in December, 1959, has as its main features a system of grade-a-year desegregation beginning with the twelfth grade and descending each year, and pupil assignment criteria patterned after the Alabama state-wide placement plan. Attached to the plan was a proviso, which the court also accepted: that the state legisla-

ture clear away the state's legal barriers.

The reaction of the legislature in early 1960, under the guidance of Governor Vandiver, was to create a 19-member Committee on Schools, charged with holding public hearings in each of the state's 10 Congressional districts to obtain "expressions of opinion from the people," these to be followed by "positive recommendations."

The Sibley Commission, as it came to be called, heard testimony from more than 1,800 witnesses during a month-long series of hearings. An 11-man majority then recommended state constitutional changes which would permit "freedom of choice" by local school units, but would also guarantee that no child should be forced to attend a desegregated school. A minority of eight commission members recommended reinforcement of existing school closing laws.

Shortly after the recommendations of the committee were released, Judge Hooper ordered the Atlanta desegregation plan into effect as of May 1, 1961, a year later than had been generally anticipated, "whether or not the General Assembly of Georgia at its session in January 1961 passes legislation permitting defendants to put said plan into operation."

The Sibley Commission hearings were deeply impressive. For the first time, residents of a Deep South state publicly indicated that open schools meant more to them than did the preservation of segregation. Such expressions were not confined to Atlanta; in five of the Congressional districts, the majority of witnesses spoke out for public schools. The state as a whole is now involved in the open school question. Until the Sibley Commission hearings, desegregation and closed schools were widely considered to be "Atlanta's problem."

In Atlanta itself, community opinion in favor of open schools became stronger and more articulate. As a result, advocacy of at least limited desegregation has become a respectable stance.

But the deadlocks which remain are meaningful for the immediate future.

Governor Vandiver has held consistently to his campaign promise of "no integration in Georgia while I am governor." Chances that the Sibley Commission plan will be adopted by a newly elected 1961 General Assembly are slim, since 60% of the present House has already been assured of election in the September primary, and nearly half of the Senate seats already are determined. Those legislators already "in" have been partisans of massive resistance. Most of the few who have spoken up for open schools face opposition. The legislative majority is, however, closely identified with the political faction led by Senator Talmadge and Governor Vandiver, and there have been indications that the faction feels its position would be weakened by a school closure.

Atlanta's Mayor William B. Hartsfield has predicted the future in this manner:

> We're of the opinion the legislature will not change the law. We will have to go to the federal courts. I think the lower courts will make quick decisions. The appellate law has been written. It's very likely the Atlanta schools will remain open under federal decree.

But perhaps at this point only one prediction is really safe: 1960-61 is almost assuredly the last school year during which the Atlanta Public School system will be operated on a segregated basis.

Louisiana

There are other locations of Louisiana in addition to New Orleans under court order to desegregate. A summary judgment of April 29, 1960, directed, without setting a date, the parishes of East Baton Rouge and St. Helena to eliminate segregation. The former, which has appealed, embraces the state capital and has a large Negro population; the latter is a small, predominantly Negro, parish.

On the same day, again without setting a date, the court ordered the state Board of Education to desegregate trade schools in Crowley, Natchitoches, Greensburg, Lake Charles, Opelousas, and Shreveport.

Mississippi

A new governor, Ross R. Barnett, and a state legislature with 131 new members and only 58 incumbents have added five laws and a proposed constitutional amendment to the state's already formidable battery of school segregation measures. The most important of the statutes empowers local trustees to close schools; the governor was heretofore the only person so authorized. The proposed amendment to the state constitution, which will be submitted to voters in November, would remove the mandatory provision for state maintenance of a free public school system. Under its terms, the provision of such schools would be left to the discretion of the legislature.

Mississippi is the only state in which no desegregation suit has yet been brought.

North Carolina

Chapel Hill, disappointingly late, has decided to desegregate, assigning three Negro first graders to a white school this coming term; the transfer requests of nine junior-high students were rejected. One of these had already brought a court suit.

Written briefs were filed on August 10 in the Yancey County suit. A decision before September could mean that the schools of this mountainous county would be desegregated in 1960-61. The resistance of the county has been a partial refutation of the old and oft-repeated belief, that the Appalachian South, with its sparse Negro population, was but little wedded to the region's racial customs. After the 1957-58 school term, Yancey County closed its one room Negro school, and during the next year sent its 30-odd Negro pupils by bus to Asheville. The daily round trip through the mountains was about 80 miles. In September, 1959, the parents of 27 of the children refused to accept any longer this arrangement and asked for admission of their children to the public schools in Burnsville. This was not permitted. So last year, the elementary children were kept at home,

and, through private efforts, the few high schoolers attended a boarding school in Asheville. In November, 1959, the desegregation suit was brought. In March, 1960, the state approved Yancey's plan to build a three-room, two-teacher, school for Negroes in Burnsville. In the county, there are 24 Negro children of elementary school age, and eight of high school age.

Harnett County has three school systems: white, Negro, and Indian. The Indians are pressing for admission to the white high school.

In 1959, Durham received 225 applications for transfer. This was the largest number yet filed in the state. Only eight were approved; 161 of those rejected brought suit.

In addition to Chapel Hill, Yancey County, and Durham, the following locales are involved at some stage in desegregation suits: Caswell County; Greene County; and Mecklenburg County (Charlotte).

Granville County (segregated) received and rejected in Spring, 1960, 29 applications for transfer. A number of Negro parents of Northampton County schools are boycotting classes; they are protesting the customary start of Negro schools a month early in order to allow time off in September for harvest.

Winston-Salem, Greensboro, High Point and other already desegregated places are processing transfer applications, though not in large numbers.

South Carolina

A suit was filed on April 13 in federal District court in Charleston seeking, on behalf of 43 Negro children, an injunction against the operation of a dual school system in the Summerton schools of Clarendon County and against pupil assignment on the basis of race. This action is separate from Briggs v. Elliott, the famous Clarendon County suit which was one of the five prompting the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

Tennessee

There is an outside chance, but no more than that, of desegregation being

ordered in two other of Tennessee's cities: Chattanooga and Memphis. Suits were brought against each in March and April, 1960. The Chattanooga case seems to be moving more rapidly. That city's School Board, in July 1955, had announced its intention to comply with the Supreme Court decision; following a stormy public meeting in November, 1955, the effort was dropped.

Texas

There is still a real possibility that Dallas, as well as Houston, will have to desegregate in 1960. An appeal is now before the Fifth Circuit court, asking reversal of a plan, approved by the District court, which sets the effective date as September, 1961. This is the fifth time that the Dallas case, which was filed in 1955, has been to the appellate court. Only ten of the original 27 plaintiffs are still in school. Two District judges have presided over the Dallas case; each in his turn has made clear and emphatic his sympathies with the city's defense of its racial customs.

In May, 1960, Dallas submitted, under compulsion, a desegregation plan modelled on Nashville's grade-a-year procedure. District Judge T. Whitfield Davidson rejected it as a change too sweeping and coercive. He told the School Board what he wanted, and the Board dutifully presented it to him: the so-called "salt and pepper" plan, under which, in 1961, one elementary, one junior high, and one high school in the city would be designated as bi-racial, and children who chose could attend. The judge approved, on June 4, describing the plan as "the very essence of the freedom of man."

As the Board, in its submission, had said that its members "still believe the first plan [grade-a-year] was best," there is added reason to anticipate that the appellate court may overrule Judge Davidson; if so, it may or may not accept the N.A.A.C.P. request for immediate application.

Although Judge Davidson had warned Dallas that desegregation could not be delayed because of the law that cuts off state aid to districts that desegregate

without popular approval, the School Board went ahead with a referendum. On August 6, the city voted 30,300 against and 7,400 for integration.

School suits were filed in 1959 against Fort Worth and Galveston. Neither has been set for a hearing; one judge has said that he cannot get to the Galveston case before January, 1961. Galveston was ready in 1957 to desegregate, but cancelled its plans after the state legislature passed the referendum law.

Virginia

Fairfax County will desegregate, having assigned three children to two schools. Although there is a suit against the county it has not yet been decided, and this action comes under the head of voluntary, if meager, compliance.

At least 12 additional Negro students will be registered in Arlington. The historic importance of this is that for the first time the state Pupil Placement Board has, without judicial compulsion, concurred in the assignment of Negroes to classes with white children.

Richmond and Roanoke will be desegregated in September. The state Pupil Placement Board on August 15 assigned two Negroes in the capital city and nine in Roanoke to previously all-white schools.

There will be small increases of Negro children in other Virginia localities. Virginia had 103 in bi-racial classes in 1959-60; at least 140 should be enrolled in 1960-61.

* * *

"CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

by

Marion A. Wright

Linville Falls, North Carolina

Presented at the Annual Meeting of

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

NOVEMBER 15, 1960

Atlanta, Georgia

Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected.... but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

Our manners, then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?

Since February 1, 1960 -- of course long before, for that matter -- the manners of Southern whites have been an object of world interest. On that date a few Negro college boys entered a lunch room in Greensboro, North Carolina and ordered a cup of coffee.

Good manners, on which we pride ourselves, should have prompted us to say, "sit down, draw up a chair, have a cup of coffee" -- things we have been taught to say since childhood. But we didn't speak those warm and simple phrases. Because of our failure, we have undergone some months of turmoil and unrest. We have produced a sense of shock throughout the world.

There began on a regional scale a campaign of civil disobedience. The idea was not new of course. The principle of non-violent resistance to tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscratched through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. It, of course, does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt.

The consciences of Quakers do not permit them to engage in war. They are, therefore, excused from military service. Consciences of Jehovah's Witnesses do not permit them to salute the flag -- which they liken to a graven image. Non-violently, they refused to do so and their action was upheld by the courts. The right of Quakers to refuse to take oaths

in court, or elsewhere, is respected. School children of certain faiths are not required to attend religious chapel services. And so on.

These activities conflict with conscience. The proper way to raise the legal issue is to refuse non-violently to conform.

In the same way one raises the legal issue when he is denied rights and privileges enjoyed by others. To refuse to submit is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he submits there can be no test.

I think it is evident to all students of constitutional law that, once the legal issue is squarely presented, the right of Negro persons to eat at public eating places will be upheld.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any state action discriminating against a person on account of race. When a state issues a charter, or a city a license, to engage in the restaurant business, there is state action which makes the operation legal and permissible. If the operation is featured by racial discrimination, there is conflict with the Constitution.

Under modern conditions, public eating places are an essential feature of normal living. To deprive a person of a right to eat is to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience and hardship. A place of business, operating under state sanction, is forbidden by the Constitution from racial imposition of such inconvenience and hardship.

With every privilege there is a corresponding duty. When one secures the privilege of operating a public necessity, he accepts the privilege with express or implied limitations. Among these is the qualification that the business shall not be so operated as to needlessly inflict damage upon members of the public. To discriminate racially against possible customers is to inflict upon them the physical hardship and the mental anguish inseparable from denial of service.

A business avails itself of facilities and instrumentalities provided by the public. It could not exist without them. The road, the sidewalk, in front of his store, are provided by public funds. His police and fire protection and, water and electricity, are publicly supplied. There is inspection of sanitation, of premises, and health of personnel. Taxes pay for all of these services. A part of the Negro's tax dollar is included. Is it constitutional for the Negro to be required to pay for services in aid of a business serving only white people?

It was against injustices such as these that the sit-ins were directed. They are in the best tradition of this country from the Boston Tea Party to the Greensboro Coffee Party -- from Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to Martin Luther King.

Thomas Jefferson announced the principle that there are certain rights with which everyone is born. Since they were not conferred by government, government is powerless to take them away. Among them is the right to life, liberty and the

pursuit of happiness. No federal government, no state or city government, and no business authorized by anyone of them, may place road blocks in the way of such pursuit.

The sit-in movement is a test of the validity of that principle. It is based upon Jefferson's maxim.

We are concerned with the national image. That image acquired new luster from the conduct of college boys and girls, of both races, calm, poised and resolute, who demonstrated that moral power alone, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable and ultimate victor over oppression.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to reproduce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close

schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, -- that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS

mary ellen goodman

SRC: 19
February 8, 1961

WHY PRIVATE SCHOOLS?

Under Virginia's "massive resistance" laws of 1956 its governor was authorized to close any school ordered by the courts to desegregate. Governor J. Lindsay Almond first exercised this authority in September, 1958, when--by telegram to Warren County Superintendent of Schools Q. D. Gasque--he ordered Warren County High School to close its doors. This action triggered the Foundation school movement in Warren County, as subsequent school closings set off similar reactions in Norfolk and Charlottesville and in Prince Edward County.

Events at this stage vary only in detail from one community to another. In each case self-selected leaders drew large numbers of excited people together for meetings and discussions. In Warren County the high school PTA assumed responsibility. From its emergency meeting came a "fact-finding committee" to review the situation and recommend action. The fact-finding--and a consultation with the governor--led to establishment of the Front Royal Educational Foundation. A "Foundation" appeared in the other three communities too. As in Front Royal, these organizations were led by determined, articulate, and uncompromising segregationists with prominent local lawyers, editors, and businessmen in key roles.

First actually to open the doors of its school was the Foundation in Norfolk, followed in a few days by the Front Royal Academy in Warren County. The Foundations provided schooling for white children because there were no public schools for them in the Fall of 1958 in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Warren County.

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman, of Houston, Texas, is a widely recognized authority on racial relations and problems of youth. Her doctoral dissertation at Harvard was written on the topic, "Genesis of Race Awareness," and she is the author of Race Awareness in Young Children (Addison-Wesley Press, 1952). She has taught and directed research at Wellesley College and Tufts University, and has been a Fulbright Research Scholar in Japan. She was Coordinator of Conference Studies for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

But the public schools re-opened in these communities in the Spring of 1959. The no-school emergency had passed, yet the Foundation schools were continued, by and for people who "wouldn't send children to public schools which had been integrated."

Segregationists, in the communities other than Prince Edward, now accept the fact that public education, with at least token integration, is unavoidable. They therefore embrace the "freedom of choice" philosophy and concentrate on strengthening the Foundation schools.

"Freedom of choice" is made possible by a system of tuition grants enacted by the state. A parent in Virginia may elect for his children to attend the public school in his district, or any non-sectarian private school (anywhere in the country), or a public school not in his district. If the parent chooses a private or non-local public school, he can by right collect a grant for tuition up to $250 for elementary and $275 for high school students; the state and the local school district jointly pay the amount.

In the Foundation schools, supporters intend and expect to perpetuate both racial segregation and a mode of education focused on "fundamentals" and conservative in content. Few will admit, as does one erstwhile leader, that of these two goals the first is crucial, and the second a justification. And no doubt these goals are differently weighted in different communities. One headmaster reports that in his opinion "segregation is less important to most of these parents than is conservative--what they call 'traditional' --education." A Foundation president in another community says that "the integration issue is still strong, but less so than it was. Now the real issue is the right to have for your children the kind of education you want."

Other views popular among Foundation school enthusiasts have to do with the over-all educational welfare of the community and with the traditional "Virginia gentleman's" preference for private schooling. It is argued that the whole community has benefited and will benefit enormously by the "dual" school system; many leading citizens, some moderates included, are convinced that

creating Foundation schools has reduced community tensions (the "safety valve" principle) and probably averted open violence. A number, including middle-ground leaders and even some liberals, believe that "competition" in education is a good thing, that the existence of the private schools will serve--as it has already--to keep public school people "on their toes" and lead to improvements in the public schools. Crowding in the public schools is said to be relieved (in Charlottesville and Front Royal). Moreover, it is argued, public education in most Virginia localities has always fallen short of national standards and the "best people" have always sent their children to private schools.

The people who are now sending their children to the Foundation private schools see themselves simultaneously as community benefactors and as citizens alert to the hazards of "progressive education" and "subversive ideas." In addition they are, as they see it, supporting and "fighting for" such sacred principles as "freedom of association," "individual liberty," and the "rights" of the individual, community, and state; also, and--underlying all others--the "purity" of their race.

The Foundation people, having worked out a solution which keeps community peace and serves their own causes, quite naturally enjoy a sense of triumph. This goes far to reduce their bitterness about the Supreme Court, the collapse of "massive resistance," and the existence of token integration in their own communities. "We're not too bitter now," says one ardent segregationist leader. "We once were--you can be sure; we felt our rights had been infringed and that we were imposed upon. This was true too. But we've done what people--the defeatists--said couldn't be done. We're very proud of our school--so are the children--and of our product."

These are, then, the opinions of the private school supporters. They are proud of what they have achieved. Later pages of this report may help to determine whether this pride is justified.

In Prince Edward County, bitterness is not a thing of the past. Foundation leaders there remain adamant, uncompromising, and militant. With the passage of time their position becomes

more difficult, however, because (1) they remain conspicuously isolated, no other Virginia community having followed their lead; (2) the County's people are becoming uncomfortable and less sure; and yet (3) to shift from a position so long, vehemently, and publicly defended is to risk some loss of "face."

Foundation leaders and supporters in Prince Edward admit to none of these--or any other--difficulties. Elsewhere some uneasiness is at least implicit, even as past achievements are recited. This is particularly true in Norfolk, where the Foundation school serves only a small proportion (about 1%) of the city's children in grades seven through twelve. With present facilities the Tidewater Academy could accommodate no greatly enlarged enrollment; nevertheless, school officials would welcome greater evidence of public interest. The relatively large and cosmopolitan population of Norfolk offers the least advantageous context for Foundation schools (as among the four communities) and the most competition from established independent schools.

As the remainder of this report is read, certain controlling facts should be remembered:

a. There is a suit now pending in federal court, which seeks to require the re-opening of Prince Edward's public schools and the ending of all direct or indirect public aid to the private schools.

b. Virginia during 1958-59 and 1959-60 spent $1,535,500 on 11,700 tuition grants. By February, 5,057 grants had been made for 1960-61 at a cost to the state of $690,175, with probably about the same amount paid by localities.

c. According to the latest survey (Richmond News Leader, November 30, 1960) tuition grants in the following numbers have been approved in the four localities treated in this report:

	Grants Approved		1960-61 Grants for	
	1959-60	1960-61	Public Schools	Private
Charlottesville	628	557	2	555
Albermarle County*	237	315	29	286
Warren County	509	494	21	473
Prince Edward County	0	1,324	0	1,324
Norfolk	1,203	1,550	n.a.	n.a.

*Surrounds Charlottesville

THE COMMUNITY AND THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Impact of a School Crisis

The closing of public schools, the setting up of segregated private schools, the re-opening of public schools and the choosing between public and private--each of these steps is accompanied by upheavals, stress, and pain. Says the mayor of one community which has been afflicted:

> I would hate for any community to go through what we did. I would do anything to avoid it again.
>
> Too many scars are left ---. They're still with us ---.I don't know how much we'll have to go through--or how many years it will take--before this feeling is gone.
>
> After all the trouble over schools, and all the bitterness, people are edgy. Friendships of years have been smashed, parents and their children have come to swords points. It's gotten into <u>every</u> aspect of community life--social life, business and banking, politics, even the churches.
>
> It's the biggest thing that's ever come in my lifetime.

Politics and the School Crisis

While the crisis is on, the career of every public office holder and every candidate for public office is affected. Says a highly informed observer: "We have had sharp political division, and this school situation has fed into it. Also I suppose the school problem has been exploited to some extent for political advantage."

While segregationist sentiment is at its height, politicians court disaster if it becomes known--or even rumored--that they are less than extreme in their segregationist views. But the temperature drops with remarkable speed. The "die-hard segregationist" is now unpopular with the electorate, at least in the communities whose public schools are open and whose worst school crisis is over.

Political implications extend beyond the local level. Throughout the controversy concerning schools, Senator Harry Byrd has once again proved his absolute adherence to an absolutely conservative position. His status as the hero of the ultra-conservatives has been enhanced. For people of this persuasion Governor J. Lindsay Almond, by his retreat from the "massive

resistance" position, has become "Benedict Almond," the unforgiveable defector and prime target for the bitterness engendered by accumulated disappointments and frustrations. But to the many who saw the futility of massive resistance, Almond may not be a hero but he is a hope.

Economics and the School Crisis

No one claims that the school situation was economically good for the community, and even some segregationists will admit that it "didn't do the community any good."

The economic effects when people move from the community, or decide not to move into it, are obvious and direct; every resident is a buyer of many goods and services. But it is not easy to prove that the school crisis was, in any given move, the reason or even the most important reason. It no doubt was, for some considerable numbers of families, at least one of the important reasons for moving out or not moving in. Such is the conviction of numerous informed observers , and some cases are provable.

For example: several faculty members have left the colleges in Prince Edward County primarily because of dissatisfaction with living conditions, and especially with the school problem. Moreover, it has been difficult to replace these people, and the colleges as well as the community are adversely affected. Other faculty members--those who have young children--admit that they are staying "on a year-to-year basis." They are unlikely to stay much longer unless the school crisis dissolves.

Prince Edward County has undoubtedly suffered economic losses, though segregationist leaders will not admit it. It is, however, unarguable that closed Negro schools have cost the county the buying power of its Negro teachers. In addition, an undetermined number of Negroes now quietly go out of the county to buy whenever they can. There is no organized boycott, but simply a natural reluctance to spend in a community which does not provide schools. Since more than half the population is Negro, this shifting of patronage has no doubt been felt, just as any significant emigration of Negroes would be. However, since many of the rural Negro

families own the farms on which they live, migration is neither easy nor likely.

One prominent citizen in Prince Edward says that "the dollar volume of business is up here, notwithstanding adverse weather and general business conditions." Another argues that tobacco farming is the central economic activity of the county, and this activity isn't much affected--"It doesn't much matter whether schools are open or shut." Other local businessmen privately disagree with these views.

It is said too that if new industry has not come into the county this has nothing to do with lack of public schools. Segregationist leaders claim, "the white children are now getting a better education than before," so lack of public schools can be no real deterrent. But it is noteworthy that, in replying to a charge that closed public schools had discouraged new industry, the Farmville mayor on December 23, 1960 could only say: "An egg grading plant was established in this community and was successfully operated until the economic condition of the country caused its closing." (Richmond News-Leader, 12/24/60)

In the other three communities, effects of the crisis are diminishing economically as well as in other ways, and there is optimism--or hope, perhaps--that "we may have people moving into the community /Front Royal/ because they know there's freedom of choice here, and a fine /Foundation/ school, fully accredited, with a fine faculty. Several families have moved in to send their children to the Academy. This might mean something to the community."

There is, however, another and more immediate side to the story. A businessman and community leader (who is by no means opposed to the new private schools) reports:

> The support of the private school has affected the community. economically. When the drive started for school funds, we had a falling off in collections on our charge accounts. And we weren't the only ones ---. A doctor told me he had noticed it too. It even showed up in churches--a falling off in the collections. It shows in country club memberships ---. Probably it will affect the United Fund Drive. All this is

because people are putting money into the private school. These effects aren't great, but they add noticeably to what is an economically slow period anyway.

This comment was made about Front Royal. Norfolk--and probably Charlottesville--have not been so conspicuously affected. The Foundation movement in these two communities is small relative to their size and resources.

Front Royal differs too in that "it is a labor town; labor is strong here. It was union people--mostly salaried workers--who were most concerned about integration and who most wanted the private school." Union funds to the extent of nearly $50,000 went into the support of the private school movement in the 1959-60 school year. This money was collected through a payroll deduction system authorized by management of the American Viscose Corporation, Front Royal's one big industry; the deduction system has now been discontinued. Ironically, some 150 of the union's then approximately 1,800 members were Negroes. The whole operation was challenged by the national union, and the local has been prevented from investing its funds in bonds of the Foundation.

Religion and the School Crisis

Clergymen and their congregations have espoused every shade of opinion on the school question. In each of the four communities a minority of religious leaders stood firmly and openly for public schools, with integration, in conformity with law. Fewer still were supported in this stand by even a majority of their congregations, and several left or were withdrawn from their pastorates as a result of the dissension. Says one observer: "The ministers who are still around didn't publicly play much of a role" in the controversy. There are two striking exceptions in Norfolk, one in Charlottesville, and another (non-white) in Prince Edward. With these exceptions the generalization holds.

Many segregationists probably agree with one of their number who deplores "Ministerial Association people getting into the [school] fight. --- It is," he argues, "none of their business. They shouldn't be in politics at all ---. Besides, you'll notice

that they wind up sending their own children elsewhere than to the integrated public school."

A leading and highly respected elder statesman among ministers states a view not greatly different. "I am not a crusader," he declares. "I must leave this moral issue alone and concern myself with the many others. This one is a long-range spiritual thing."

Apparently a majority of religious leaders have taken some such view of the school crisis. A critic charges that "they have failed to present it as a moral issue" to their congregations and to the community.

There are some who clearly do not view it as a moral issue. One minister now teaches in a Foundation school, is a member of the Foundation Board, and gives religious sanction to the segregationists' position. Another candidly conforms to prevailing public opinion and to tradition. He as candidly admits that he found it "a very difficult question, even for a Christian minister," when a white child came asking for his counsel; this child had been meanly treated by white friends after they observed her in friendly conversation with a Negro classmate.

Few churches have refused their facilities as temporary havens for Foundation schools. The Unitarians of Norfolk, holding firm on this issue behind the conspicuous courage of their young pastor, refused the use of their property by a private school on the ground that they could not be party to the circumventing of Federal law. The more usual response has been that of an upper-middle class Presbyterian church in Prince Edward County. Here the deacons "voted overwhelmingly to let the Foundation come into the church, arguing that if the churches refused there would be no schools."

In Prince Edward there are, of course, no schools for the Negro children, who represent more than half the children of the county. "All church people are disturbed about the Negro schools being closed," a prominent minister explains. "But they see the Negroes as caught in this situation, and feel that the blame falls on the NAACP. --- They [church people] are very sincere and not at all consciously superior in their attitudes. They have convinced

themselves that they're fighting for the integrity of the race."

For this minister and the majority of his congregation the "issue" behind the school crisis is neither law nor morality but rather the "integrity of the race." And on some such grounds religion generally has made common cause with the mores to support and preserve segregation.

FOUNDATION SCHOOLS OPERATING OCTOBER, 1960

LOCATION & NAME	GRADES	ENROLLMENT	PERSONNEL	FACILITIES
PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY*				
Pisgah (Rice)	1 - 7		Headmistress, plus four teachers	Rooms in Pisgah Baptist Church.
Liberty (Green Bay)	1 - 7		Headmistress, plus three teachers	Rooms in cement block addition behind Liberty Christian Church.
Spring Creek (Darlington Hts.)	1 - 7	374	Headmistress, plus two teachers	Rooms in Spring Creek Baptist Church.
Worsham Academy (Worsham)	1 - 7		Headmaster, plus four teachers	Rooms in cement block addition behind Worsham Baptist Church and in basement rooms of Church.
Patrick Henry (Prospect)	1 - 7		Headmistress, plus three teachers	Rooms in Prospect Methodist Church.
Prince Edward Academy Lower School (Farmville)	Kindergarten - 7 (31 in Kindergarten)	527	Headmistress, plus 18 teachers	Scattered through several buildings (e.g., two 4th grades in the Women's Club building; three 1st grades in Methodist church).
Prince Edward Academy Upper School (Farmville)	8 - 12	474	Headmaster (and coach); plus 26 teachers	As above; scattered through several buildings (especially churches, but also former stores and an old residence) and said to be only two or three minutes walk apart. Prince Edward Foundation schools use a total of 10 buildings in the town of Farmville.
TOTAL ENROLLMENT		1,375		
CHARLOTTESVILLE				
Robt. E. Lee School	1 - 7	225	Principal, plus 12 teachers	New, modern, well furnished and equipped (cinder block construction, said to be convertible to residences).
Rock Hill Academy	8 - 12	420	Headmaster, Dean of Studies, plus 15 teachers	Offices, library, and some classrooms in an old mansion. Most classrooms in four new brick buildings. Separate cafeteria building.
NORFOLK				
Tidewater Academy	7 - 12	192	Principal, plus 12 teachers full-time and two part-time (music)	Entirely housed in a 26-room mansion.
FRONT ROYAL				
Mosby Academy	8 - 12 (elementary school planned)	483	Principal, plus 21 teachers	Housed in substantial new cinder block building; 22 rooms and a cafeteria in use. Further classrooms may be added soon.

* Note that all facilities are temporary in Prince Edward County. Elsewhere all are permanent.

THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS NOW

All Foundation school enthusiasts stress one central belief; to have a good school you don't need a "fancy building" or "fancy equipment"; what you do need--and little beside--is excellent teachers and eager, interested students.

Foundation leaders and supporters are emphatic and unanimous in their public statements about the excellence of Foundation teachers and the interest and willingness-to-work shown by the school children (and their parents). It is not difficult to find parents and children who agree, nor is it difficult to appreciate the unusual efforts exerted since the Autumn of 1958 to bring about the functioning Foundation schools of today.

Accreditation. All are accredited by the state, and most achieved this status "right away." But in Front Royal, for example, this meant that emergency schools newly opened in temporary quarters were judged satisfactory for such facilities as a library--because "the town library was made available"; and a laboratory--because the Randolph-Macon Academy "made its laboratory facilities available." Moreover, "the fire marshals worked with us."

The Foundation schools do not accord with "the letter of the law" in all respects. However, they are accredited, so presumably they accord with the "spirit of the law" as interpreted by its agents. Accreditation standards in Virginia are evidently flexible, and define minimum requirements.

None of the schools has, at this date, been accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Buildings and Equipment. Discrepancies between the "letter" and the "spirit" of the state standards are most conspicuous in physical equipment and facilities. In Prince Edward County, schools are still operating in such temporary quarters as church buildings, erstwhile stores, and clubrooms. A new high school building is now being constructed. Libraries, science laboratories, and physical education facilities of Foundation schools tend to be makeshift, minimal, or entirely lacking. There are exceptions to this generalization. Rock Hill Academy in Charlottesville has fine science laboratory facilities, and even a language laboratory. Physically, this school and its partner elementary school (Robert E. Lee) represent the best in Foundation schools to date. Both schools give evidence of more adequate financial support than has apparently been available to Foundations elsewhere. However, the new Mosby Academy in Front Royal is substantial and in process of becoming better equipped; and the "old mansion" converted for use by the Tidewater Academy in Norfolk provides a physical setting adequate for the school at its present enrollment.

Personnel. Quality of school personnel is less easily evaluated. Foundation school administrators tend to differ markedly in background and experience from their public school counterparts, but this fact does not in itself provide a reliable basis for evaluation. It does, however, provide an important clue to "philosophic" differences between Foundation and public schools.

Foundation enthusiasts tend to be highly critical of teachers' colleges, and of conventional teacher training requirements (as Foundation people understand both). They maintain that teachers' colleges stress theory and method too much and subject matter too little, that their graduates tend to be weak in inclination or ability to discipline students as well as to drive home the "fundamentals" (an opinion strongly held by some Foundation leaders), that they tend toward "dangerous" ideas. On the other hand, some of the nicely printed bulletins and brochures of the Foundations are replete with grammatical slips and awkward syntax. This would seem to indicate that the private school people are not themselves thoroughly grounded in the "fundamentals."

Most Foundation schools are headed by people whose background is not that of the usual professional educator. Business, the armed services, and athletics loom large in the experience of Foundation school heads. The Principal of Mosby Academy is a notable exception; in this case a public school man of many years experience has joined the Foundation school. However, since he is now in his seventies, the exception may prove temporary.

Beginning July 1, 1961 another professional school administrator will direct one of the operations. The Charlottesville Educational Foundation has created a new post, that of superintendent of all its schools, and appointed to it the present superintendent of public schools in South Norfolk. The choice has added interest because the appointee is, of all the professional school men of Virginia, the one most prominently identified with belief in segregation. He is at present also a member of the State Board of Education and of the Board of Rock Hill Academy.

Teachers seem to differ little in training and experience as between public and Foundation schools. Critics of the latter report that the majority of teachers willing to go to Foundation schools are near or even past retirement age, that they are former teachers who have come out of a retirement into which they went as housewives and mothers, or that they are people who do not hold valid teaching credentials. The facts partially support the criticism, but they do not conclusively prove that Foundation teachers are on the average less competent.

But these facts do provide another illustration of practices which are in accord with Foundation philosophy. From the Foundation point of view classroom performance far outweighs any other basis for evaluating teachers, and such formal criteria as age or professional training and experience are of secondary importance. Moreover, attitudes and opinions about integration, states' rights, and related issues inevitably play a part in determining who shall

teach in Foundation schools. An advocate of integration, or even a person skeptical of the purpose or future of the Foundation school movement, would be unlikely to seek such employment or to be regarded as a congenial potential colleague if he did.

Public school people have shown considerable reluctance to cast their lot with the Foundations. In view of this, and of the teacher shortage general in the country, it must be supposed that Foundation schools have not had unlimited choice of teachers. Prince Edward is of course an exception, since there are no public schools and the white teachers have had no choice, if they wished to remain in their profession and in the county.

Salary scales (though not divulged) and fringe benefits are represented as being the same as or better than the public schools'.

Guidance counseling is provided in Foundation secondary schools, in accord with state recommendations. Training and experience of persons carrying these responsibilities are said to meet state standards, as is the time allowed for guidance and counseling.

Curriculum. Curriculum meets at least minimal state standards and is much like that of the public schools (though with fewer electives). Admittedly, however, physical education, the arts, and (in all but Rock Hill Academy) the sciences must be offered on a basis adjusted to minimal physical facilities or to none at all. "Calisthenics" must suffice where there is no gymnasium; "history of the arts" must take the place of the practical arts when there are no rooms equipped for drawing, painting, modeling, band, etc.; discussions (and perhaps some demonstration) must substitute where there is no "science laboratory ---installed in a suitable room," including "tables in sufficient number to permit effective individual work"--as specified by the State Board of Education.

The schools do not advocate or intend to offer physical education as offered in public schools, but football teams are already thriving and enthusiastically supported at the secondary schools, and other team sports are or soon will be available. Science laboratories are being supplied as rapidly as possible, but there is little concern with provision for the arts or for such "crafts" as shop and home economics. At Mosby, however, home economics is being taught (adjusted to limited facilities) and shop is planned when the Academy building has been completed. Prince Edward teaches shop and agriculture. Rock Hill, on the contrary, has no intention of teaching shop; its ambition is to have a "good" independent school type of curriculum, whereas Mosby (particularly) aspires to a "good" public school curriculum.

It is believed that music, drama, sports, journalism, etc., should be handled on an extra-curricular basis and on this basis alone. At Tidewater Academy the policy is: no extra-curricular activities except those which are wanted by a number of students, and wanted enough so that the interested students themselves will--

with some help from faculty and parents--organize and carry through to get what they want.

It is an explicit and widely held tenet of Foundation education that curriculum should be centered on the "fundamentals"--the "tool subjects" plus science and languages--to the near exclusion of all else. Rock Hill Academy gives "a five-year math program, with algebra in ninth grade, ---a five-year science program, a four-year language program--which may include Russian by next year and now includes Latin, French and Spanish." In Rock Hill's partner elementary school, "French is started in second or third grade for those who can also keep up with the fundamental work."

All Foundation secondary schools stress college preparation, with "business education" and "distributive education" as secondary interests. One school hopes in time to move away from even the vocationalism implied in "business education," but another (Tidewater) is expanding curriculum in this area. All report that their graduates seem to have met no unusual difficulties in qualifying for admission to college. Percentage of graduates going on to some type of higher education is said to be "more than half" from Tidewater, and the same proportion from Rock Hill and from Prince Edward. The latter boasts that "one or two" of its graduates "received competitive scholarships on a national basis." It must be remembered that these schools have operated too short a time to be either credited or blamed for most of the academic preparation of their students.

Do the Foundation schools deliberately teach the conservative social-economic-political views characteristic of Foundation members generally? Considerable differences appear. For Tidewater Academy and Prince Edward the answer seems to be at least a qualified affirmative. At Mosby the answer seems to be an almost unqualified negative, and the Rock Hill policy is similar. The following statements bearing on this question were made by Foundation or school officials:

> The Academy offers emphasis on the American heritage through study of our history and of the Constitution and through observance of important historical holidays. We seek no sectarianism but can put emphasis on Bible teachings. We do not approve of the "gradualism" through which, by one legal move and then another, religion is being put out of American schools. --Norfolk Foundation officer.

> We've stopped arguing integration-segregation. Our emphasis is on education--especially the fundamentals--the three R's, and on Americanism and the Constitution. We hope that these things /religion, regional history, traditions, etc./ are explored to the fullest by our excellent teachers. Opening the day with prayers or Bible reading is optional with them. --Prince Edward Foundation officers.

We want our school to emphasize expression, ---foreign languages, ---government---. I don't know how the teachers feel /i.e., on social and political issues/, but they haven't been instructed to teach any particular point of view. ---And as long as I'm associated with the Foundation, the children will be taught all sides /of an issue/. Their conclusions will be their own.

We have no Bible readings or prayers, and our point of view toward race relations is not discussed in school, and I'd prefer that it not be. Other controversial subjects--political for instance--can and should be discussed.

--Front Royal Foundation officers.

Our teachers are anti-integration. This we make sure, both because we ourselves don't believe in integration and--more important--because we can't have teachers here who'll be making speeches and flag waving. However, we're not teaching prejudice.

We do not teach religion nor is there any unusual emphasis on Virginia tradition.

--Charlottesville Foundation educator and officer.

Critics of the Foundation schools hold that their students are inevitably being taught conservative, anti-democratic, and prejudiced points of view. They argue that even if these views are not taught explicitly they are certainly taught implicitly. Since such views are the premises on which the Foundation movement is built, since they are shared by all adults connected with Foundation schools, the "atmosphere" of these schools cannot fail to convey such ideas to the children.

One of the critics has stated his objections publicly; he is a person whose opinions command respect, both because of his professional position and his close familiarity with the situation. Dr. Gordon Moss, Dean of Longwood Teachers College in Farmville has said (as quoted in Newsday, December 23, 1960):

I wouldn't let my son go to it /Prince Edward Academy/ for anything in the world. Maybe the kids are doing all right in French and math and English--after all, they have the same teachers they had in the public schools--but they are learning principles that are far from what I would call proper education. How, in a government class, can they teach democracy in such an undemocratic school?

Schedule. Foundation schools meet or slightly exceed the State requirement for a school year of 180 days of at least five 45-minute periods. The school year follows the same pattern as--or one similar to--that of the public schools. To achieve the prescribed daily schedules presents a problem only in Prince Edward where lunching facilities are entirely lacking. There

students may have a drink and sandwich or other snack begun between classes and finished during a class. A real lunch must be postponed until the school day ends at 1:30 p.m.

Individual Attention. Teacher-pupil ratios of 1 to 22 or thereabouts are usual, though Tidewater boasts a 1 to 14 ratio. However, not all classes are small. At Mosby, for example, they range from eight students (in Spanish, French, physics, and geometry) to 35 (the upper limit set by state law) in some other subjects. Other schools report much the same range.

The Students. The abilities of students and of their achievements in Foundation schools are even more difficult to assess than the quality of teachers. Objective tests are either lacking or results not divulged, or it is plausibly argued that, since all but a fraction of the students' education had been accomplished before the Foundation schools existed, tests must reflect largely that earlier training. Headmasters and principals are unanimous in voicing the impression that their students "run the gamut" and are, on the average, in no way notably different--in capacity to learn--from public school students. Public school administrators will not comment on the quality of students who have withdrawn except to note that, while superior students often withdraw to conventional private schools, this selective factor does not appear to operate with the new private schools.

Though it might be easier to raise academic standards if students were carefully selected, a selective admissions policy is not anticipated at most of the schools. They anticipate that, should applications rise, the schools would expand. At but one school is there talk of a possible selective policy in the future, and even here such policy has by no means been set; a move toward making the school "exclusive" is likely to meet stiff opposition and be insupportable for financial as well as other reasons.

Foundation spokesmen are unanimous in the view that their students are more highly motivated and that disciplinary problems are fewer. Parents of students now in these schools seem to agree, and students are said to "just love the school," and to be deeply "interested in making the school a success. The students are more interested in school, and the parents more interested in them."

Most Foundation leaders and educators say that their students represent all socio-economic backgrounds. "Some are wealthy--some are poor--it's about the same as in the /public/ high school," says a Front Royal leader. His counterpart in Charlottesville also asserts that a "cross-section" of community families are represented. But he adds that these are, after all, families who "don't believe in integrated schools," and "the working people feel stronger than do the prosperous about this."

That this may be true seems likely in view of certain observations. Among Foundation officers the "FFV" types seem to be less

well represented than in the first year of Foundation activity. Differences of opinion have inevitably appeared (e.g., on questions of fund raising, policies affecting the future of the schools, etc.), and in two of the communities erstwhile top leadership--"aristocratic" in lineage and following the law by profession--has quietly eased out, to be supplanted by businessmen and others of less distinguished antecedents.

In one community marked by this trend there is emphasis (by a present officer) upon the democratic character of the Foundation school student body, and upon its lack of a "caste system" with an "elite" such as is said to dominate the student body in the public high school. In the Foundation school, says this officer, the children have formed new friendships and there have been opportunities for "the rural child"--and others not of the high school "elite"--to "come forward as never before."

In the other community which has experienced a change in Foundation officers a parent makes much the same point, speaking of the leadership opportunities her children enjoy in the Foundation school. Her emphasis, however, is on the advantages of a small school, where children who would otherwise have been "lost in the crowd" can be important in student activities (football, cheerleading, yearbook staff, etc.), and their parents too feel "needed and wanted." While the size factor is undoubtedly important, it is also noteworthy that as the "elite" have left Foundation leadership their children have left the Foundation schools.

Apparently most white children who might have objected to integrated classes have withdrawn to private schools (a fact which leads some public school people to feel grateful that the private schools exist). However, some students unenthusiastic about integration have stayed with public schools, because of attachment to friends, athletics, extra-curricular activities, teachers and administrators, or other features of the public schools.

Community Support. The four communities differ markedly with respect to attitudes toward the Foundations and their schools. Community awareness and interest vary from low in Norfolk to high in Prince Edward County, and an observer is tempted to the oversimple conclusion that size of community is the one crucial factor.

While there are other important factors, these do tend to be associated with size. Norfolk, for example, has grown not only large, but also heterogeneous; its native Virginians do not alone determine now what happens in Norfolk, and the non-native and semi-transient part of the population weakens the solid front required to hold the line when there are pressures toward change. The newcomers lack "bred in the bone" adherence to Virginia traditions. What is equally important, they lack those multiple and years-long interpersonal ties in the community which so reinforce adherence to its traditions.

Prince Edward is the other face of the Norfolk coin. Its population is small and relatively homogeneous. Its natives do emphatically determine what happens--or so they have in the school crisis at any rate. And it is extremely difficult or hazardous, psychologically and even socially and economically, for natives to break with or even question native leadership. Breaking with tradition is not a comfortable business at best, and it can become extremely painful when "everybody" who means something to you, "always" has and presumably always will, turns his back--or does worse--the moment your dedication to tradition is observed to waver. And observation is constant and keen in the small community; freedom from surveillance is as rare as freedom to differ, as some few who have met privately to discuss ways of reopening the public schools have discovered.

The Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties are strong in the county. This is the Virginia organization which shares the same general opinions and purposes as the Citizens Councils of the lower South. Farmville, in fact, was the place of origin for the Defenders in 1954, and the state president resides in the town. There is, reportedly, much overlapping of membership between the Defenders and the Foundation; the former group has undoubtedly used its influence to enforce solid support for the private school, and to discourage any public disagreements.

With these facts in mind it is not difficult to understand why Norfolk's Tidewater Academy, though operating in the largest of the four communities, is the smallest of the four Foundation secondary schools. But those responsible for Tidewater quite naturally fail to see their community in perspective or indeed to see that their own devotion to tradition leaves them on a shrinking island eroding in the rapid tides of change around them. They observe--correctly--a widespread indifference or even resistance to what they conceive as their heroic stand against a disaster. They expected both appreciation of their efforts and a rallying round in support. Instead they discover a "lack of cooperation with our school--a lack of support--a lack of gratitude," and they say: "We don't understand---."

In Prince Edward County, a crisis atmosphere still prevails because the public schools remain closed. Since the fight on this level is not yet lost, public emotion can be sustained via the press and a tight network of personal relations, and with it the belief that it can be won.

The wall of resistance to change shows no breaks, but cracks are apparent. A heavy legal blow will open these fractures which are now kept carefully covered. "The people of the county are still behind us," says the Foundation's president, and "we have full cooperation--without it our program could never have worked. --- There is the barest minimum of opposition. It centers in Longwood /the state teachers' college in Farmville/, aided by a handful of people in the county." The opposition is, however, considerably more than "minimum," and if community pressures have so far kept it

largely underground it is all the more notable that it has taken root.

However, active "opposition" may in the long run prove to be one of the weakest of the several hidden forces slowly eroding that "full cooperation." Emotions will cool, the "cause" lose its glamour, and peace, prosperity, and public schools begin to look like an attractive package deal. Out in the county even now the question, "How do folks around here like the new schools?" gets answers notably low in enthusiasm or militancy. A general store clerk replies tersely: "Better'n none." The owner of a crossroads filling station observes thoughtfully that private schools are for people with money, "the rest of us got to have public schools. Besides, not educating the colored folks is bad business; we got to get along, and it's hard to get along with a man has no education."

Financing. Foundation schools have many problems to meet but none comparable in importance, from an immediate point of view at least, to those of financing. The system of tuition grants, enacted by the state in March, 1959, represents their financial life blood, but all capital needs must still be supplied through gifts and contributions and through fund-raising projects; thus, for example, Mosby Academy in Front Royal has launched in February, 1961 a fund drive to add an elementary school to its plant, in the expectation that a pending court suit will result in desegregation of the public elementary school next year.

The tuition grant measure (as it now operates after revisions) provides that elementary pupils may receive up to $250 and high school students (grades 8 through 12) up to $275 annually; the grant may not exceed the per pupil cost of operating public schools in the locality. State funds are invested to the extent of $125 annually for an elementary and $150 for a high school pupil, and the remainder is paid from local school funds. There is also in the law an authorization for a local government to supplement the grants with non-school funds; only Charlottesville has chosen to do this, and the tuition grant for its students is therefore the largest in the state.

Though grants are paid to parents, rather than to the schools, the practice still amounts to public subsidy of private education and may be judged an intent to thwart the law. With the GI Bill of Rights as a precedent, some lawyers seem optimistic about the survival of the program. Most, however, agree that, until completion of the legal tests, no one can be certain that the grant system has a long future.

Most Foundation officers, members and enthusiasts speak optimistically about the future in spite of this uncertainty. It is said that the schools would survive, though tuition grants were stopped, because most of the parents could afford to pay an equivalent amount. A few Foundation leaders frankly say that the schools

would lose their less affluent families, and hence become--with respect to socio-economic level of the families served--more like conventional private schools.

This possibility is vigorously rejected by a "faith can move mountains" segment among Foundation school leaders. These people argue that a system of scholarships could and would be set up so that "no child who wanted it would be denied an education" of the Foundation school type. It is believed that local fund drives, and possibly the jettisoning of all other fund drives in the community, along with solicitation of gifts from "freedom of choice" enthusiasts elsewhere, could be counted upon to supply needs for "scholarship" money.

There are many observers, however, who predict that the schools will not survive without tuition grants. These predictions are based on the assumption that interest will gradually decline as communities become accustomed to desegregation; that parents will find that public schools are better schools; and that parents will not make sacrifices to keep their children in private schools unless these are clearly superior.

It is true that money in surprising amounts has already been given for Foundation schools. The Prince Edward School Foundation reported nearly $250,000 of a $300,000 goal raised between July 1 and late September, 1960; only $21,000 is reported to have come from sources outside the county, and some 1,610 individual donors are said to be represented. Both facts are notable in view of the county's limited population (about 14,000) and its predominantly agricultural economy. Nearly 4/5 of this amount was "pledges" rather than cash, however, and all of it was earmarked as capital funds, for buildings and facilities.

The Prince Edward Foundation reports that during the 1959-60 school year, when tuition grants were not accepted (due to fear of legal complications), and capital outlays were small, over $300,000 in contributions was collected and the operation is said to have closed the year "in the black." But contributions during that year were relatively painless because county taxes were reduced due to "savings" in costs of public education (since no public schools were operating). Taxes now are higher than before, and returns on fund campaigns may slow for this and other reasons, despite a generous tax offset allowed for contributions to the Foundation.

Elsewhere the story is similar, though tuition grants were utilized in 1959-60 and hence operating costs were covered. In Charlottesville some $350,000 (about $200,000 in cash and pledges, the rest in loans) has gone into capital outlay. The Foundation there went in the red for 1959-60. For its new permanent building and equipment, the Front Royal school used $110,000 raised from the sale of unsecured debenture bonds, and erected the building on a $20,000 tract given by 20 men. Gifts amounting to another $75,000, needed to complete its building and equipment, are being sought. The Tidewater Academy in Norfolk operates in a 26-room

"mansion" said to have cost the Foundation $75,000. Yields from its fund-raising efforts have been disappointing. New and continuing solicitations are being made, but meanwhile resources are meager.

In December, 1960 the Foundations in Charlottesville and Front Royal received from an anonymous donor or donors gifts of $20,000 and $30,000 respectively; the Front Royal group stated that it did not know the source.

Almost all families with children in Foundation schools--and a good many whose children are in other private schools or even out-of-county public schools--apply for tuition grants (whether or not they need the money). Most Foundations levy small additional charges (for example, at Tidewater: membership and registration fees of $26.00 per family per year, plus $6. 00 per month; at Prince Edward: $15.00 per year; at Front Royal: small fees for materials; at Rock Hill: about $15.00 per year).

Foundation people argue that their schools cost the average taxpayer nothing and at the same time relieve him of the costs of educating part of the community's children. But others contend that public school expenditures do not go down when only a fraction of the children are drawn out of public schools. Therefore, the community as a whole is paying twice, or approximately so, for the education of that fraction of its children. During 1959-60, over 1,200 tuition grants were made to Norfolk residents at a total cost of $275,000. Fifty-eight per cent of this amount came from city funds, but the city's school load was not reduced by 1,200 children. Many of these would ordinarily have been in private schools and paying their own way. Tidewater Academy enrollment accounted for fewer than 200.

It can be argued too that those who make gifts for Foundation schools are paying again after taxes. Certainly it is not only the enthusiasts who contribute to the Foundations; businessmen with their own children in public schools, like others concerned to safeguard their relations with Foundation leaders, make contributions. Moreover, purchase of Foundation bonds may be in effect a contribution, since even friends of the Foundations admit there is no assurance that they will ever be paid off.

Transportation. Foundation school students, other than those in walking or biking distance of their schools, use public transportation, school buses, or private conveyances. In Norfolk, the Virginia Transit Company has instituted special service to the Academy from several areas, and a similar arrangement has been worked out in Front Royal and in Charlottesville.

Prince Edward alone has developed a school bus service. Patrons, Inc., a parents' organization, owns and operates 15 regulation school buses (with a 16th in reserve for emergencies). A "contribution" of $1.00 a week is asked for this service, and parents are expected to pay (since the fixed costs to Patrons, Inc.

go on in any case) whether or not they use it. Some dissatisfaction with this principle arises among parents. In November, 1960 the county Board of Supervisors voted $35.00 reimbursement for each child for transportation charges to parents living one-half mile or more from school.

Organizational Structure. Behind the Foundation schools stands an organizational pattern which is complicated, and deliberately so; it obviously "has a purpose." Should legal assaults be made, it would be more difficult to strike down three or four organizations than one. Hence in Warren County the structure has four distinct though interlocking parts: (1) the Front Royal Academy, which owns the land on which the school stands and the building in which it is housed; (2) the Front Royal Foundation, which operates the school and pays rent to the Academy for the building; (3) the Mosby Service Organization, which is equivalent to a PTA; and (4) the Mosby Academy, which is the people--administrators and faculty--who make up the school.

In Charlottesville the Foundation effort works through three corporations and a parents' "Auxiliary." The corporations are: (1) the Charlottesville Educational Foundation, which owns the school properties; (2) the Rock Hill Academy, which operates the secondary school; and (3) the Robert E. Lee School, which operates the elementary unit.

In Prince Edward and Norfolk the structures have three parts: (1) the Foundation organization; (2) the school organization; and (3) the parents' (PTA or, in Norfolk, PTSA) organization. Also in Prince Edward there is Patrons, Inc., the transportation organization.

FUTURE OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

"The uproar is quieting and they're settling down to run a good school---." This capsule observation on the present and hopeful prediction for the future seems as appropriate to Front Royal and Norfolk as to Charlottesville (about which it was made). For Prince Edward the story is of course different; the "uproar" will not be over until after keys are turned, and doors thrown open in those public school buildings which now stand forsaken, with blinds drawn, in their weed-choked yards.

The Future in Prince Edward

"The Prince Edward Story---" (told in pamphlet form by the Farmville Herald in late 1959) has not yet reached its crucial chapter. An uncertain equilibrium prevails in the County, while people wait for something to happen, something to upset the precarious balance.

Foundation leaders declare that "private education is here to stay whether the public schools open on an integrated basis or not." And, they add, "there will always be private /segregated/ schools available to all--regardless of economic status." The Foundation's legal counsel admits that there is now "no other way segregated schools can be maintained except by operating private schools for whites." He predicts, however, that though public schools might become legally integrated, "you are not going to have an integrated system here factually. You might have a legally integrated system attended only by Negroes."

Complaints concerning non-operation of public schools are now pending before a U. S. District Court. Should the resulting judgments require re-opening, this already over-due event might still be delayed until the Fall of 1961. When public schools do re-open, a sizeable proportion of the white children may stay in Foundation schools.

The crucial question is: how large will that proportion be? In view of past events, it is to be expected that every effort will be made by Foundation leaders to maintain absolute solidarity among

whites, and to discourage return to public schools by so much as a single white child. While it seems unlikely that such complete conformity can be achieved, an episode of intense--even if largely covert--struggle may be building up.

By Autumn, 1961 or earlier, the Foundation may be operating its high school in permanent quarters. Permanent quarters for an elementary school in Farmville, and several more in the county, are also planned. It had been hoped that public school buildings and facilities could be purchased. That hope was frustrated by the former school board. The present board is unlikely to move now that federal court action on the property disposal question is pending.

The old school board resigned in April, 1960. When it did, it released a 14-page statement. The excerpt from it which follows is long, but it states well and authoritatively some of the causes for concern about a Prince Edward type operation:

> In its decisions the School Board has been guided by the fundamental belief that education must be provided for <u>all</u> the school age children of the entire County. Anything short of this we regard as contrary to the best interests of all of us in the long run. We know that educated citizens are absolutely essential to the very existence of democracy in local affairs as well as in state and national ones. If a community leaves uneducated any large portion of its citizens, because they cannot afford its cost, or for any other reason, it inevitably creates for itself enormous problems in welfare, delinquency, crime and unemployment. It means numbers of illiterate laborers who are difficult to absorb in the labor force. Today business and industry are demanding a higher level of training of its employees than ever before.
>
> We are aware that the Prince Edward Foundation has obtained contributions from those who have school age children and those who do not. No white child was denied admission to the Foundation's schools for the session 1959-60 because his parents could not make a contribution or because they could afford only a small gift. For this we stand grateful. Yet the people of Prince Edward County must face the question whether this method of voluntary support of schools can be depended upon--year in and year out--through good times and bad to pay the cost of education for all. Education must meet standards of quality over a period of many years and be conducted by teachers and administrators of dedicated purpose and training if it is to continue to be effective to meet the needs of our people.

> Unless some new system of education for all can take over the whole job of the public schools and have its cost guaranteed in a reasonable manner, we fear the economic consequences to the County. This year, for example, when the people of the County have paid all of the cost of education in the County, we have seen at least a half million dollars not come into the economic life of the County which did come in earlier years. We refer specifically here to two items. In the past we have received approximately $400,000 from the State for operation of public schools. Also in the past the large taxpaying corporations in the County have paid approximately $100,000 in local taxes. This year, this money did not come to the County in any form.

If by Fall of 1961 the malady of Prince Edward is past its crisis and the "uproar is quieting---," then perhaps both county and Foundation will "settle down to run good schools." It will be high time, after two long years of one of the strangest aberrations in the history of American public education, and two years of almost non-existent education for one-half of the County's children.

Social Differences and the Future of the Private Schools

A Prince Edward segregationist observes that "the poor whites might send their children to the public schools." And, he adds, this would be a return to the kind of class differentiation familiar in pre-public school days, when "poor whites" did not send their children to school at all.

If only the "poor whites" and the Negroes attended public schools, and if school taxes and appropriations were controlled (as in Prince Edward in the past) by a white elite become indifferent or hostile to public education, then low-quality public schools might be expected. This is a possibility in the future of Prince Edward County; it is not a likely development in the other three communities.

Just discernible trends in these other communities suggest a quite different course. The "elite" shows a tendency to gravitate back to the public schools or to conventional private schools. Just as they abandoned the massive resistance posture without much creaking and groaning so they seem now in process of abandoning--in act if not in word--the movement associated with "freedom of choice." They show a flexibility markedly more developed than is

common among the "best people" of Prince Edward or, indeed, among many people in their own communities.

Realism and the Growing Middle Ground

"It is a matter of realism," says one community leader, explaining how his own course differs from that of a friend prominent in the Foundation movement. "I suppose I'm just as much a segregationist as he is, but I'm a realist. Things have changed--we have integration now. Several more counties have been integrated even this Fall, and one of these days only Southside Virginia will be left. Once you have integration, you can't go back. It's too late to go back."

Except in Prince Edward the "realists" have swung the balance of power. In the other communities it has perhaps been easier for them to speak out.

The future of the Foundation school movement will be seriously affected by the extent to which "realism" develops in a community. It is not the "realists" who give to the Foundation movement a passionate "all or nothing" devotion and support. And such support it must have in order to meet the extraordinary tasks of organization and financing involved in creating new private schools, operating them, and building them into sound educational institutions. The schools are in fact, as their ardent supporters point out, the results of intense effort, dedication, and even sacrifice. No large proportion of the citizens in any of the four communities has participated whole-heartedly in this effort, and the proportion willing and able to carry on the struggle indefinitely is even smaller.

Time quenches the fires of indignation while the achievement of integration without catastrophe teaches its own lesson. Intransigence melts away and increasing numbers of people find themselves on a middle ground--perhaps still opposed to integration in principle, but no longer caring enough to fling themselves and their children on the altar of a lost cause.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE FREEDOM RIDE
MAY 1961

37

THE FREEDOM RIDE

MAY 1961

SRC: 20
May 30, 1961

CONTENTS PAGE

The Freedom Ride 1

The Legal Background 3

Relation to the Sit-ins 3

Press Reaction 6

Conclusion 10

Chronology i

Violence in Alabama, from May 14 - 25, revealed the truth about "massive resistance." The defiant words hurled by state and community leaders at the law of the land after 1954 received their final definition in the terror of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery. Alabama in May, 1961 reproduced in a few long days a lot of southern history, let loose again a history which most of the South is successfully overcoming. But there it was: the mob and its sadism. The silent, acquiescent "good people"; the inflammatory public spokesmen; the disdain for law and, the inevitable defeat. As the Charlotte Observer said (May 23):

> ...the people of the South will continue to live under tension and suffer anguish and tragedy until they support a different and a better kind of public official. Our region has been led by false prophets since the Civil War and especially since the 1954 Supreme Court decision. By their policies, by their own angry, emotional statements on race, they have contributed substantially to building the kind of climate favorable to raw and ugly violence.
>
> ...it has become painfully apparent that some states simply must experience the terror of mob violence and the chaos of closing schools to realize how bad both really are. Arkansas had to have its Little Rock, Tennessee its Nashville and Clinton, Virginia its Norfolk and Prince Edward County, Louisiana its New Orleans, and now Alabama its Birmingham and Montgomery.

THE FREEDOM RIDE

In mid-March, the Congress of Racial Equality, from its New York headquarters, announced that it would recruit a small, bi-racial group to ride Greyhound and Trailways

buses from Washington to New Orleans, with the purpose of challenging any segregation of interstate travellers encountered. On May 4, the Freedom Ride began, with 13 participants: six white, seven Negro, ranging in age from 18 to 61. The number fluctuated during the course of the Ride. Through Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia there were few obstacles.

On May 14 came the events of Anniston and Birmingham. Mobs gathered, passengers were intimidated, a bus was burned and people were savagely beaten while police were either inactive, not present, or strangely late in arrival. The response of Governor Patterson was to issue the following statement:

> In view of the tenseness of the situation, it is impossible to guarantee the safety of the agitators. Our advice to them is to get out of Alabama as quickly as possible.
>
> We will escort them to the nearest state line; however, we will not escort them to any other cities in Alabama to continue their rabble-rousing.

The mobs and official hostility broke the back of the first Freedom Ride. The participants flew on to New Orleans and there disbanded. But this was not to be the end. Angered and inspired by the example of these first Riders, a second group was organized in Nashville, and took bus for Montgomery, via Birmingham. They were incarcerated on arrival in the latter city. Released on May 19, they managed the next day to travel on to Montgomery. That city received them with riots which will forever disgrace the state, and which caused the intervention of federal marshals to establish order and protect constitutional rights, and finally a declaration by the Governor of martial law.

On May 24, with fantastic precautions, the National Guardsmen of Alabama and the state police of Mississippi escorted them to Jackson, where they were quietly arrested and, for the most part, remain today.

Other Riders continue to come into Montgomery and Jackson.

On May 29, the Attorney-General -- who more than any other person or agency has defended public order and common sense during these travails -- requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue regulations at once requiring the full desegregation of terminals of buses engaged in interstate traffic. On the same day, martial law was ended in Montgomery.

THE LEGAL BACKGROUND

There is a long line of cases relating to the rights of travellers to be free of racial discrimination. The Supreme Court's decision of last December in the Boynton case is the only one which needs to be cited in reference to the particular aim of the Freedom Ride.

In 1958 Bruce Boynton, en route from Washington to Selma (Ala.), was refused service in the white section of the Trailways Bus terminal in Richmond; when he declined to leave he was arrested for trespass. Trailways did not own or control either the restaurant or the terminal. On Constitutional grounds, Mr. Boynton and his NAACP attorneys argued that the arrest was illegal. The Court entirely disregarded the Constitutional arguments, and ruled instead that under the Interstate Commerce Act segregation in terminals -- whether or not owned by the carrier -- violates a clause of the statute which forbids buses to "subject any particular person to any unjust discrimination or any unjust or unreasonable prejudice."

RELATION TO THE SIT-INS

The Freedom Ride occurs against the background of the student protest movement, which, from its beginning in

February 1960, has already led to the desegregation of lunch counters and other facilities in well over 100 southern cities and towns, outside of the Deep South. Few if any episodes in American history have so typified and enlarged the national ideals of justice and individual worth.

The Freedom Ride is an extension of the sit-ins, and is sustained by the same enthusiasm and many of the same persons. There are, nevertheless, pertinent distinctions.

Characteristically, the sit-ins were demands by local residents that they share in the privileges of their communities. The persons who were asking for service did themselves want to use it. With only a few exceptions, the demonstrations were locally planned.

The Freedom Ride, on the other hand, has started from the premise that all Americans have a right to demonstrate against discrimination in the South.* Many of the participants do not themselves apparently need or intend to use the services demanded. They have been recruited by national and regional organizations whose plans they follow.

One of the finest of the features of the sit-ins has been an evident invigoration of the bonds of community in the South. The sit-ins succeeded where other means had not in opening the eyes of whites to what Negroes were thinking and what they wanted. There has been an awakened respect among white southerners, especially those in urban

---

*It is moderately interesting that professors from a great university which has not a single Negro on its faculty felt a call to crusade in the South.

centers, for their Negro neighbors. The sit-ins have not engendered lingering animosities, but on the contrary have frequently produced a readiness on the part of whites to move on to further steps of desegregation. Without exception, settlements of the lunch counter and other issues have been without compulsion of court order: by the act of bringing the white South into agreement that old customs were unfair, the student protest movement helped the South find its footing more than had any other influence.

Although sit-ins in too many places were initially met with violence and repression, violence was never essential to success. There was little or none in the majority of towns which desegregated.

The sit-ins cleared the air of the South, and they succeeded without violence. That these two things would be so was not, however, apparent during the first month of the 1960 movement.

This is still the first month of the Freedom Ride, and no man's judgment can be more than tentative. The question is whether, with its differences of technique, the Freedom Ride can bring to the South the same values which the sit-ins did. There did seem to be cause for concern as to how well the statement of one of the leading Riders represented the mood of the others. On the bus from Montgomery to Jackson he asserted that, "it is only when the hostility comes to the surface that the people will see the true character of our nation. Only through non-violent demonstration in the acceptance of violence without returning it in kind can we accomplish our purpose."

PRESS REACTION

Two questions dominated discussion in the press. The first was the revelation of how much cooperation there is in Alabama and some of its cities between elected officers and the mob. The second was the wisdom of the Freedom Ride.

Only a few newspapers, such as the Alabama Journal, defended or did not criticize Governor Patterson and the Birmingham and Montgomery police. There were others too enraged by the Ride to be able to put much heart into criticism of Alabama's law enforcement. A true southern conservatism, however, was expressed by Eugene Patterson in the Atlanta Constitution (May 22):

> The point is not to judge the beaten, but to take a look at the beaters, ...
>
> Either a community is going to believe in civilization or it is going to revert to the jungle. And when the jungle reversion occurs, erasing heed for restraint and placing its premium on the teeth most ruthless at the jugular, then no man is safe from a predatory pack.
>
> ... The craven police reactions in Birmingham and Montgomery do not represent what the people of Alabama expect. They represent what frightened politicians have trapped themselves into promising.
>
> To blame the violence on the demonstrators is sophistry of the most hurtful order. These people who have gone barnstorming across the South in buses are curious. If their aim had been to change segregation practices, orderly

systems were at their disposal. If their aim had been to demonstrate, braver people resided in each precinct they touched and were prepared to make more meaningful tests. If their aim had been to create a scene deliberately for destructive rather than constructive purposes, then it is time somebody told them, in this Southland where both races are having to work at change, that their theatrical approach violates the valid precept that all change requires a little dab of sense.

But that is not the point of what happened in Alabama. Any man in this free country has the right to demonstrate and assemble and make a fool of himself if he pleases without getting hurt. If the police, representing the people, refuse to intervene when a man--any man--is being beaten to the pavement of an American city, then this is not a noble land at all. It is a jungle. But this is a noble land. And it is time for the decent people in it to muzzle the jackals.

It was noteworthy how much of the press comment in the South sounded the theme: "Our politicians have led us to this!" Thus the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News said: "Failure of public officials to provide intelligent, courageous leadership is the principal reason for the current crisis in our state." It is, of course, an old and not very appealing trait for people to blame their politicians for their own weaknesses. But in the South, where representation is so grossly undemocratic, there is justification. At any rate, there are already evident more than the first signs of revolt from the kind of political leadership the South has so long endured.

On the whole, however, the young editor of the Auburn (University) Plainsman (May 24) probably was closer to the unpleasant fact:

> ...the horrifying; revolting thing about it is that the vast majority of the people of this state let them [the rioters] have their way. If they have not supported the hatred and bigotry and violence directly, they have winked at it and covertly supported it by their silence and refusal to act....

Certainly the best line of the month was got off also by Auburn students, in a letter signed by 26 of them to the Montgomery Advertiser (May 24):

> Gov. Patterson referred to the freedom riders as "rabble rousers." He is entitled to his opinion, but is Alabama to glory in the fact that it furnished sufficient rabble to be roused?

Both North and South, the press mostly endorsed Attorney-General Kennedy's request that the Freedom Ride take a "cooling off" period. The New York Times (May 26) held that "non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction." The Washington Post and Times-Herald (May 27) said that the sponsors of the Ride "ought to take it easy." The Charlotte Observer (May 27) noted that,

> The Attorney-General does not expect the American Negro to renounce his natural rights or even to relax the pressure for them. He does not expect anyone to accept the kind of system that has lately been on display in Birmingham,

> Montgomery and Jackson. No enlightened person could.
>
> But he does ask that the Negro take note of the bonfires that are crackling across the lower South. Nothing can be gained from throwing more sticks upon them at the moment....

The Norfolk Journal and Guide (May 27) stated, "We do not feel very optimistic about ...exposing fine young men -- white and colored -- to brutal mob violence." But the paper went on to note with approval that the Ride "focuses world opinion upon the failures of democracy in some parts of the United States."

As in all of the South's laborious swing toward juster race relations, there arises the question about speed and methods. Instinctively the South says "go slow," "not yet." Expressions of concern about the Freedom Ride are almost wholly directed at methods, and not at their objective, which is widely conceded even throughout the South. The concern is, nevertheless, in part the old, instinctive, and usually exaggerated, caution.

White and Negro Americans ought to consider well what Walter Lippmann has said, in his column of May 25:

> What has been a movement of gradual reform is showing unmistakable signs of turning into a movement of physical confrontation....
>
> We are witnessing a non-violent rebellion, ... non-violent in that the agitators are unarmed and passive. This rebellion marks a lessening of hope and faith in the processes of the courts, of

> elections, of Congress, and of education.... It would be vain for anyone to expect that there can be a quick and easy end to the kind of courage and determination which has been shown in the bus rides and in the lunch counter sit-ins. No one should expect this kind of thing to disappear....

CONCLUSION

Is Walter Lippman right, that there is a decline among Negroes of faith in the regular processes of government and education? If so, the fault lies with white Americans, particularly those of the South.

There would be no Freedom Ride, if there were compliance with law and decency in the South. This is the fact that is basic to any thinking about this latest demonstration of the courage and vitality of the Negro youth movement.

For generations, white people determined what would be the racial relations of the South. No longer is this true.

Yet it is true that only if white people will resume leadership -- but this time as co-leaders -- can the South escape other May 20's, such as this year's in Montgomery. The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded. If to say this is wishful thinking, it is also a statement of fact.

There are those who regard the Freedom Riders as "extremists." It would be more intelligent to realize that they are pointing out to the South what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real, genuine extremists.

The white South rejected the sane, responsible NAACP, deprived itself of its useful counsel, and instead forced the NAACP to fight for its life. The NAACP remains strong and those who have combatted it most viciously are the losers for it. And now they have to adjust also to new types of organizations, less ready to be patient. The Freedom Ride this year. If white southerners have any good sense, it will not have to be a truly "extremist" group next year -- and there are such lurking in the wings.

The Freedom Ride will continue. If not in its present form, in some other similar style, and soon. There is momentum within it too great to be held back. The South and the nation are now critically dependent on the quality of Negro leadership, and its ability to direct that momentum and not to be overrun by it.

The South is now receiving assistance that it keenly needs. A national administration devoted to civil rights is energetically stripping away some of our racial inequities, and removing some of the frustrations that face our Negro population.

The big problems, however, can be tackled only by the South itself: by white southerners coming to deserve the trust of Negro southerners; by Negroes maintaining their most valuable outside asset, the confidence which the country as a whole has had in their cause and their methods of pursuing it.

The Freedom Ride is another indication that whites in some states are not trusted by Negroes, and do not deserve to be. It has furnished proof also that much of the South is now disgusted by the sort of lawlessness deputized by

the authorities in Alabama. The Freedom Ride has emphasized as well that the struggle for civil rights in the South can quickly degenerate into violence, and that it is everybody's responsibility -- whites and Negroes -- to avoid that whenever they can.

CHRONOLOGY

March 13 - Announcement by C.O.R.E. of Freedom Ride.

April 28 - C.O.R.E. wrote to President Kennedy, informing him of plans.

May 4 - Ride began from Washington; arrived in Richmond.

May 7 - Arrival in Danville (Va.); dispute over restaurant service settled quietly at Trailways terminal.

May 8 - Arrival in Charlotte; arrest of one Rider for trespass while demanding shoe shine at Union Bus Terminal.

May 9 - Arrival in Rock Hill (S.C.) and attack in Greyhound terminal; white waiting room at Trailways terminal was closed when bus pulled in.

May 10 - Defendant in Charlotte trespass case acquitted. Two Riders arrested in Winnsboro (S.C.) and released after several hours; charges dropped.

May 12 - Arrived in August (Ga.); used all facilities.

May 13 - Travelled through Athens (Ga.) where all facilities were used, and arrived in Atlanta; restaurant closed at Greyhound station.
The Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit directed a lower court to "obliterate" the distinction between interstate and intrastate passengers at the train terminal in Birmingham. This is one of the many stations in the South with one waiting room for whites and Negro interstate passengers, and a second for Negro intrastate passengers.

May 14 - Some Riders were served at Trailways terminal in Atlanta. Entire group left for Birmingham, riding in Trailways and Greyhound buses.
Department of Justice advised Birmingham police it had received warnings of planned violence when buses reached their city. Greyhound bus met by mob in Anniston; passengers prevented from getting off. Tires slit and went flat six miles out of Anniston. Men following in automobiles attempted to board but were prevented by a state law enforcement officer who had been riding bus. An incendiary device thrown through a window set fire to the bus which was completely destroyed. All passengers were removed, and 12 admitted to hospital, mostly for smoke inhalation; they later resumed their ride to Birmingham. The Trailway bus also encountered the mob in Anniston, and faced by it the driver ordered Negroes to the rear. One Negro and two white Riders beaten. Bus continued on to Birmingham, where Riders attacked when they got off; one of them required over 50 head stitches.

At neither Anniston nor Birmingham was anyone arrested. Despite warnings of probable trouble, no police were on hand at Birmingham, and none arrived until ten minutes after fighting began.

May 15 - Greyhound bus drivers refused to drive group on to Montgomery. Riders took plane for New Orleans, arriving there late at night. Governor Patterson issued his first statement, advising Riders to "get out of Alabama as quickly as possible." Attorney-General Kennedy asked the state to provide police protection; the governor first agreed and then changed his position.

May 16 - Riders stayed in seclusion in New Orleans. In Birmingham, three men were arrested for taking part in the attack of the 15th.

May 17 - Riders met at church in New Orleans and then disbanded. This ended original, C.O.R.E. planned Ride.
Bus arrived in Birmingham from Nashville, carrying new contingent of Freedom Riders. This was a group of college students affiliated with Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Two white students were in the group. Police met bus on outskirts of city, arrested two Riders who refused to change seats. Two policemen rode bus into Birmingham, where a crowd was waiting at the terminal. Drivers refused to carry group on to Montgomery, and ten Riders (8Negro and 2 white) plus five sympathizers taken into protective custody.

May 18 - Riders stayed in jail; one of the white students released in custody of her father. The five Birmingham Negroes released. Attorney-General Kennedy tried unsuccessfully to reach Governor Patterson by telephone.

May 19 - Two of the jailed students (1 white, 1 Negro) received suspended fines and were released. The remaining seven were carried by Police Commissioner Connor in the early morning 120 miles to the Tennessee line and were put out of the car. They were back in Birmingham in the afternoon, where joined by 10 or so others, including three whites, they unsuccessfully sought bus service to Montgomery. Spent the night in waiting room.
An Alabama court enjoined C.O.R.E. and its followers from further "freedom rides." Patrolmen read order on incoming buses. Both President Kennedy and the Attorney-General tried unsuccessfully to reach the Governor by telephone; the President talked with the Lieutenant-Governor.

May 19 - (continued)

John Siegenthaler, administrative assistant to the Attorney-General, conferred in Montgomery with the Governor.

May 20 - The Governor said: "We are going to do all we can to enforce the laws of the state on the highways and everywhere else, but we are not going to escort these agitators. We stand firm on that position."

At 8:30 a.m., after 18 hours of waiting, the Riders were taken on a Greyhound bus for Montgomery. The F.B.I. advised local police in Montgomery of probability of violence; were assured that local authority sufficient. On arrival, a "race riot involving hundreds broke out." At least six Riders were beaten, three severely. The mob attacked Negroes who had no connection with the Riders, and whites who appeared sympathetic. News photographers were attacked. John Siegenthaler was knocked unconscious and left on a sidewalk for more than 20 minutes. Police arrived about ten minutes after fighting began, and did not for some time succeed in dispersing the mob, which continued its attacks. The police arrested at least eight "integrationists."

After again trying to reach the Governor, the Attorney-General ordered federal marshals to Montgomery, and also obtained in federal district court an injunction against the Ku Klux Klan, the National States Rights party, and other individuals interfering with "peaceful interstate travel by bus." President Kennedy appealed to state and local officials of Alabama for order.

May 21 - Federal marshals continued to pour in.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, cut short a speaking tour and flew to Montgomery from Chicago, to address a Negro mass meeting at a church. A mob, composed largely of white youths, formed outside. It was dispersed after bitter rioting by the federal marshals and state patrolmen, with some aid from the local police. The Negroes were penned in the church until early the next morning. Governor Patterson proclaimed martial law in Montgomery, and National Guardsmen appeared. Deputy Attorney-General White came to Montgomery to take charge of federal activities; the Governor angrily denounced federal intervention during a conference with Mr. White. The American Nazi Party announced plans to send a "hate bus" from Washington to New Orleans.

Alabama Associated Press Association condemned "the breakdown of civilized rule" in Alabama. It singled out Alabama Public Safety Director Floyd Mann as "the one notable example" of an officer carrying out his duties. Negro leaders at the mass meeting also praised Mr. Mann. Governor Barnett of Mississippi wired an offer of support to Governor Patterson.

May 22 - 800 National Guardsmen on duty. More federal marshals ordered in. The Attorney-General said that they would stay until the situation is brought under control by the state. He said further that the Public Safety Director Mann was acting with vigor and skill, but that the Governor was not cooperating.
The Montgomery Ministerial Association called for all "necessary steps" to prevent further mob action and violence.
The "hate bus" left Washington
Federal agents arrested four men on charge of firing the bus at Anniston.
Additional students began arriving in Montgomery, from Nashville, New Orleans, and New York.
Deputy Attorney-General White said that arrest of Freedom Riders for violating the state injunction against them would not cause federal intervention.
1800 pupils evacuated from two white junior high schools after phoned bombing threats.

May 23 - "Hate bus" passed through Montgomery; was escorted through the town by federal officers. Reached New Orleans, where occupants had difficult time finding lodging.
Montgomery was quiet; National Guardsmen patrolled city. One person arrested in connection with riots.
In reply to a protest from Alabama Congressmen, the Attorney-General called for action on the part of the Governor and local police, "not merely words of intention."
The Governor at a press conference blamed the Sunday night riot on the federal marshals.
Justice Department officials were in continuing telephone discussions with Mississippi officials.
A press conference was held by M. L. King, Jr., C.O.R.E. director James Farmer, Montgomery minister Ralph Abernathy, and students Diane Nash and John Lewis. They announced that the Ride would continue at no matter what cost. A few more students arrived in Montgomery.
The Rotary Club of Montgomery demanded withdrawal of federal marshals. The Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce called on local law enforcement

agencies to "maintain and preserve" law and order. The Junior Chamber of Commerce condemned agitators and regretted failures of local police.
The Alabama legislature convened in Montgomery; unanimously commended the Governor for proclaiming martial law, denounced the Freedom Riders and federal intervention.
The Louisiana legislature commended Governor Patterson.
Governor Barnett had Mississippi National Guard on stand-by alert.

May 24 - Heavily protected and escorted by National Guardsmen, some of the Riders left Montgomery on a Trailways bus about 7:00 a.m. Before leaving they ate at the bus terminal, thus achieving an objective. Later in the morning a second bus carried the rest. The escorts convoyed the buses to the Mississippi line, where patrol cars of that state took over.
On arrival in Jackson, 27 Riders were arrested when they sought service at the white lunch counters and use of the white rest rooms of the terminal; charges were breach of peace and refusal to obey an officer. There were no disturbances otherwise.
In Montgomery, additional Riders showed up, the small group including professors and students from the North.
The Department of Justice asked in federal district court for an injunction to prohibit the heads of the Birmingham and Montgomery police departments from interfering with interstate travel. The complaint asserted that all had been derelict in performing their duties.
The Attorney-General also issued a statement appealing for a "cooling off period;" i.e., an end to the Freedom Ride. Southern Christian Leadership Conference executive promptly said "no."
The Greyhound Corporation ordered disciplinary action against its employes in Montgomery who had refused food service to Negroes.
In New Orleans, the "hate bus" passengers were jailed for "unreasonably" alarming the public.
In LaGrange (Ga.), five men attempting to organize an obstruction to the bus carrying the latest group of Riders to Montgomery were arrested.

May 25 - The Rev. S. S. Seay, Sr., Negro leader, was shot in the wrist in Montgomery by a bullet from a passing car.
The latest group of Riders was arrested while eating at the Trailways terminal in Montgomery, along with W. T. Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and two Negro ministers: the Reverends Abernathy and Shuttlesworth. Charge: breach of peace.
The Rev. Abernathy and six Riders filed suit

in federal district court asking invalidation of Alabama's bus terminal segregation laws. The Department of Justice promptly agreed to the judge's request that it enter the case as a friend of the court; the Department also asked for a speedy hearing. The New Orleans city council urged police to escort Riders, if they came, through city non-stop.

May 26 - Meeting in Atlanta with a few others, M. L. King, Jr. announced that there would be a "temporary lull but no cooling off" in the Rides.
Police heads in Birmingham and Montgomery were under subpoena to produce records of their activities.
The Northern professors and students posted bail and were released from Montgomery jail.
In Jackson the 27 were convicted, fined $200 each, and given 60 days suspended jail sentence. Stringent measures were enforced during the trial, including use of police dogs to drive persons away from the front of the courthouse.
Alabama and Georgia authorities arrested a man in Rome (Ga.) for attack on Birmingham TV reporter during riots there.
The Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. dissented from the plea for a "cooling off."

May 27 - Six white teen-agers arrested in Montgomery for wounding of the Rev. S. S. Seay, Sr.; released in parents' custody. The vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action urged Freedom Riders to disregard the Attorney-General's plea for a "cooling off."
A Freedom Riders Coordinating Committee was formed in Atlanta, composed of representatives of S.C.L.C., C.O.R.E., the Nashville Student Movement, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; M. L. King, Jr. explained the non-representation of the N.A.A.C.P. on the grounds that it was primarily a "legalistic body."
Both the Negroes in jail in Montgomery and the Nazis in jail in New Orleans were fasting.
Five of the 27 in Jackson were released on bond: four accepted bail so that they could stand trial in New Orleans on earlier charges growing out of the picketing of downtown stores.

May 28 - 17 Riders, coming from Montgomery and Memphis, were arrested in Jackson when they attempted to desegregate the waiting room. The contingent coming from Montgomery had been escorted to the bus terminal by Guardsmen, where they found facilities closed.

May 29 - Trial began in federal court in Montgomery on the government's complaint against Montgomery and Birmingham police heads; C. V. Henley, a former Montgomery reserve policeman, had been brought into the suit. At issue also was the continuation of the restraining order against the Klan leaders.

Martial law was ended in Montgomery.

In Jackson, 19 of the first group of Riders were put to work at a prison farm; three others were released on appeal bond. The 17 who arrived May 28 were convicted on breach of peace charges, and sentenced to 60 days or $200; they chose jail. In LaGrange (Ga.), three of those arrested on May 24 were convicted and two bound over to a higher court.

Attorney-General Kennedy requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to ban by regulations segregation in interstate bus terminals.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT:
A RECAPITULATION
September, 1961

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT:
A RECAPITULATION
September, 1961

SRC: 21
September 29, 1961

CONTENTS PAGE

Overview	1
Some Specifics	3
State-by-State Summaries	4
List of Cities	14
Nationwide Support	15
For the Future	16

OVERVIEW

It is now little more than a year and a half since four Negro college students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro and asked for service. A solitary instance of spontaneous rebellion has now become a movement of truly massive proportions which has stirred the conscience of the South and of the nation.

At the start of a new school year there is value in reviewing the phenomenon known as the sit-in movement*, where it occurred, who participated, and what it accomplished. A few generalizations first:

The movement, first begun as a protest against segregated lunch counter facilities, has, in the year and a half, embraced parks, swimming pools, theaters, restaurants, churches, interstate transportation, voting registration, libraries, museums, art galleries, laundromats, employment, beaches, and courtrooms.

The economic boycott, a natural by-product of reluctance to buy where not served, soon emerged as a powerful--and successful--means of achieving equal facilities and equal treatment.

More often than not, students began their protest without the knowledge of the established Negro leadership. They soon sought, and usually received, the cooperation of this leadership. In some places there were and are differences of opinion regarding pace and method, reflecting both disagreement and divergence of interest.

---

* Note: This summary covers sit-in activity between February, 1960 and September, 1961. The Freedom Ride to Jackson (Miss.), which began in May, 1961, has not been included.

Organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (and its Youth Councils), and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (and its affiliates) have aided the students in numerous places. In a few locations, initiative has also come from these groups, e.g., the NAACP Youth Council in Jacksonville, CORE in Rock Hill (S.C.), and SCLC in Petersburg (Va.). The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, founded April, 1960, has linked together students throughout the South and provided also a channel for student support throughout the nation.

The greatest achievement took place where there was the greatest, and most enduring, unity among all elements of the Negro community: professional men and women students, working people, clergy, and businessmen.

Some white southern students participated from the outset.

At first spontaneous, the sit-in movement has gradually become directed through the students' own organizations and adult direct action groups.

In many cities and states, the sit-in movement elicited favorable responses from segments of the white population which had hitherto been silent.

Non-violence and direct action remain the philosophies upon which the sit-in movement is based. Among many students there is, understandably, an undercurrent of desire to defend themselves against physical attack; but, nevertheless, the willingness to suffer and endure provocation is prevalent.

The student movement touched a chord in American colleges, and support for southern students came from virtually every corner of the United States. It is probable that not since the late thirties and early forties, when campuses were swept by concern for the New Deal and world

peace, has any issue or idea so aroused American students. The methods and principles of the Negro protest movement have been adopted in other student protests, such as the demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee and nuclear armament. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. is correct when he points out that Negroes are the pacesetters of this college generation.

The year-and-a-half sit-in activity has penetrated racial barriers in public accommodations with unprecedented speed.

SOME SPECIFICS

Since February 1, 1960, each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Chio--20 in all--has been affected by protest demonstrations.

Over 100 cities in the South and in the border states have had sit-ins or other forms of direct action.

An estimated 3,600 students and supporters--in southern and border states--have been arrested.

At least 70,000 Negroes and whites in these states actively participated in some way; this figure counts persons who sat-in, picketed, marched, and attended mass meetings (sometimes in the face of intimidation). It does not account for thousands of others who supported the movement by letters to the editor, financial contributions, and expressions of moral support.

Numbers of students and faculty were dismissed, allegedly for sit-in activities. College administrations, however, generally gave other reasons for their leaving. At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were thus involved. In Baton Rouge (La.), 236 students withdrew in protest from Southern University after the dismissal of a group of sit-in leaders.

STATE-BY-STATE SUMMARIES*

ALABAMA

The movement began February 25, 1960 in Montgomery, when 35 from Alabama State College took seats in the county courthouse snack shop.

Cities affected: Tuskegee, Montgomery, Mobile, Huntsville, Birmingham.

Arrests: at least 86.

Charges include: disorderly conduct, failure to obey an officer, trespassing after being warned.

Demonstrators: estimated 5,500.

Participants: students from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama State College, David Payne College, Miles College, and Huntington College; Alabama Civic Affairs Association; Montgomery Improvement Association; local ministers.

Other demonstrations: consumer boycotts, kneel-ins, boycott of classes, mass meetings, parades, marches.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Montgomery, where a Negro woman, a Negro photographer, and a jailed student were beaten. There were other minor incidents in Tuskegee and Birmingham, which involved a scuffle during a march and the dragging of a Negro minister from his home to jail in the middle of the night.

Biracial committees formed to seek a solution to protests: none.

Desegregation: none. (The Freedom Ride resulted in availability of service at Montgomery bus terminal.)

ARKANSAS

The movement began March 10, 1960 in Little Rock, as 50 students from Philander Smith College sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Pine Bluff, Little Rock.

Arrests: at least 20.

---

* These data are compiled from press and other sources; it is important to note that while estimates are as nearly exact as possible, they are only estimates.

Charges include: loitering, breach of peace, threatened breach of peace.

Participants: students from Philander Smith College, high schools.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, boycotts, picketing, mass meetings.

Biracial committee: appointed in Pine Bluff.

Desegregation: one city.*

FLORIDA

The first sit-in occurred on February 12, 1960 in Deland and quickly spread to Tallahassee on February 13, 1960, when nine Florida A. & M. University students sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Deland, Tallahassee, Tampa, Gainesville, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Daytona Beach, St. Augustine, Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, Jacksonville, Ocala.

Arrests: at least 243.

Charges include: disturbing the peace, unlawful assembly, vagrancy, disorderly conduct, improper language, violation of state law which provides for ejection of "undesirable guests," inciting to riot.

Demonstrators: estimated 2,500.

Participants: students from Florida A. & M. University, Florida State University, Florida Normal and Industrial College, high schools.

Other demonstrations: marches, picketing, boycotts, wade-ins, kneel-ins, local Freedom Rides.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Tallahassee and Jacksonville. In Jacksonville, one person was killed and 70 persons injured during a three-day riot; a white sit-in student was attacked in jail and suffered a fractured jaw; a 16-year old boy was pistol-whipped by Ku Klux Klansmen. In Tallahassee, tear gas was used to disperse a march; several persons were burned. Minor altercations between Negroes and whites occurred in St. Augustine and Tampa.

---

* Names of all cities which have one or more desegregated establishments as a result of sit-in activity are listed on page 14.

Biracial committees: Auburndale, Coral Gables, Daytona Beach, Delray Beach, Eustis , Ft. Lauderdale, Ft. Pierce, Miami, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, Tampa, West Palm Beach, Orlando.

Desegregation: 15 cities.

GEORGIA

The movement began in Atlanta March 15, 1960, as 200 students sat-in at ten eating places simultaneously, including the State Capitol, city hall, and county courthouse.

Cities affected: Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, Columbus, Augusta, Marietta.

Arrests: at least 292.

Charges include: refusing to leave private property, disorderly conduct, loitering, violating city ordinance against picketing without license, violating local statute against disrobing in public, trespass.

Demonstrators: estimated at 7,000.

Participants: students from Atlanta University Center, Emory University, Paine College, and high schools; Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

Other demonstrations: picketing, mass marches, laying of wreath at capitol, kneel-ins, stand-ins at registry, mass meetings, boycotts, picketing for fair employment, riding front seats of city buses, picketing golf course.

Major acts of violence occurred in Atlanta and Savannah. In Atlanta, an acid-like substance was hurled at a student picket; in Savannah, a white youth fractured the jaw of a Negro, and five persons received hospital treatment as the result of fighting between Negro and white teen-agers. Both of these cities also experienced minor disturbances.

Biracial committee: Savannah.

Desegregation: three cities.

KENTUCKY

The movement began February 27, 1960, when 20 Negro students from the University of Kentucky sat-in at a variety store in Lexington.

Cities affected: Lexington, Frankfort, Louisville.

Arrests: at least 374.

Charges include: breach of peace, disorderly conduct, blocking entrances to theater, delinquency.

Demonstrators: estimated 6,000.

Participants: students from University of Kentucky, Kentucky State College, University of Louisville; Lexington Ministers and Deacons Association.

Other demonstrations: stand-ins, boycotts, picketing, parades.

Violence occurred at Frankfort, where the gymnasium at Kentucky State College was burned.

Biracial committees: Louisville, Lexington.

Desegregation: nine cities.

LOUISIANA

The first public demonstration took place March 8, 1960, when more than 200 Negro students paraded on Dillard campus in New Orleans. The first sit-in occurred in Baton Rouge, March 28, 1960, as seven Southern University students sat-in at Kress'.

Cities affected: New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport.

Arrests: at least 71.

Charges include: taking temporary possession of a man's business, disturbing the peace, obstructing public passage, criminal mischief, criminal anarchy, violation of municipal ordinance requiring parade permit, holding unlawful assembly, vagrancy (by remaining in a place after being forbidden to stay), "open charge."

Demonstrators: estimated at 10,000.

Participants: students from Dillard University, Xavier University, Southern University; Consumers' League of New Orleans.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, prayer meetings, mass marches, boycott of Mardi Gras, picketing , picketing for fair employment, boycott of classes, picketing of library, read-ins, protests of Freedom Rider beatings.

Biracial committees: none.

Desegregation: none.

MISSISSIPPI

The movement (exclusive of Freedom Riders) started with a boycott by the NAACP April 11, 1960 in Jackson. The first demonstration occurred March 27, 1961, when nine Negro students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College attempted to use facilities of the municipal library in Jackson and were arrested.

Cities affected: Jackson, Biloxi, Starkville (four Little Rock Negroes seeking service at an all-white cafe were arrested), Gulfport, Clarksdale, McComb.

Arrests: at least 40.

Charges include: breach of peace, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, trespass.

Demonstrators: estimated at 1,600.

Participants: students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Jackson State College, and students from Nashville, Tenn.

Other demonstrations: sit-in, marches, campus prayer meeting, mass meetings, sit-ins at benches in zoo, attempts to use park, demonstrations at county clerk's office to register and vote.

Major acts of violence occurred in Jackson and Biloxi. In Jackson, police used clubs and tear gas to halt a march of students. Two police dogs attacked the crowd, inflicting injury on several persons. Negro women and children and a photographer were beaten by police and bystanders. In Biloxi, ten persons suffered gunshot wounds in street clashes after wade-ins. Negroes were attacked on beaches by whites with clubs and chains. Other manifestations of violence in Biloxi included stonings, police patrols equipped with riot guns, attacks on seven white airmen, and Negroes staying at their jobs all night in fear of violence on the streets.

Biracial committees: none.

Desegregation: none.

NORTH CAROLINA

The sit-in movement began February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, when four Negro students from North Carolina A. & T. College asked for service in Woolworth's and sat quietly when refused.

Cities affected: Raleigh, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Durham, Wilmington, Statesville, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Chapel Hill,

Henderson, Shelby, New Bern, Rutherfordton, Elizabeth City, High Point, Concord, Monroe, Salisbury.

Arrests: at least 268.

Charges include: obstructing sidewalk, trespassing, affray, assault and battery.

Demonstrators: estimated 4,200.

Participants: students from North Carolina College, Duke University, Winston-Salem Teachers College, Wake Forest College, Shaw University, St. Augustine College, Fayetteville State Teachers College, North Carolina A. & T. College, Bennett College, University of North Carolina, Kittrell College, Barber-Scotia College, University of North Carolina (Woman's College at Greensboro); Negro Passive Resistance Group.

Other demonstrations: mass meetings, picketing of stores, movies, and swimming pools, boycotts, stand-ins, parades, prayer meetings, courtroom demonstrations.

Minor altercations were reported in Durham, Henderson, Shelby, High Point, Raleigh, and Greensboro. These included confiscation of newsmen's cameras; fist fights; hurling snowballs, bricks, bottles, rocks, and eggs at Negro demonstrators; and the setting of a Negro student's coat on fire. In Monroe, however, a more serious situation occurred. For two days, veritable battle lines were drawn between a white mob and followers of Robert Williams, a Negro advocate of retaliation in kind against intimidation; a white couple was held hostage for several hours, leading to indictments against Williams and others for kidnapping.

Biracial committees: Asheville, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, High Point, Kinston, Laurinburg (Chamber of Commerce committee), Raleigh, Winston-Salem.

Desegregation: 17 cities.

OKLAHOMA

Sit-ins have been held continuously since 1958. Although non-violent direct action techniques have appeared sporadically for almost twenty years in the United States, the first concentrated employment of these techniques began in Oklahoma City.

Cities affected: Oklahoma City, Enid, Tulsa, Stillwater.

Arrests: at least eight.

Charges: disorderly conduct.

Participants: high school students.

Biracial committee: On March 30, 1960 Governor J. Howard Edmondson appointed a state-wide Governor's Committee on Human Relations.

Desegregation: 116 eating places have been opened to everyone as the result of the three-year campaign of sit-ins and other demonstrations in Oklahoma City. Some desegregation has occurred in five cities.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The first demonstration in the state, a sit-in, occurred February 12, 1960 in Rock Hill, when about 100 students from Friendship Junior College and Clinton Junior College entered Woolworth's and McCrory's and asked to be served.

Cities affected: Rock Hill, Orangeburg, Denmark, Columbia, Sumter, Florence, Myrtle Beach, Charleston, Hartsville, Greenville, Spartanburg, Darlington.

Arrests: at least 947.

Charges include: trespass, breach of peace, loitering, obstructing sidewalk, conspiracy to breach the peace, distributing leaflets without license, disorderly conduct.

Demonstrators: estimated 4,000.

Participants: students from Friendship Junior College, Clinton Junior College, Carolina State College, Claflin College, Voorhees Junior College, Allen University, Benedict College, Morris College.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, picketing, marches, boycotts, wade-ins, distribution of leaflets, read-ins.

Major acts of violence occurred in Rock Hill, Orangeburg, Columbia, and Greenville. In Rock Hill, ammonia was thrown at sit-in students. In Orangeburg, students were hosed; a Negro sit-in student was almost fatally stabbed in Columbia; a Negro girl was knocked down by police in Sumter; and in Greenville a white sit-in demonstrator was beaten by white men. Minor disturbances in these same cities were also reported.

Biracial committees: Florence, Rock Hill.

Desegregation: none.

TENNESSEE

The movement began in Nashville on February 13, 1960, when 40 students from Fisk University, Tennessee A. & I. University, and American Baptist Theological Seminary took seats in Woolworth's and requested service.

Cities affected: Knoxville, Memphis, Oak Ridge, Nashville, Chattanooga, Jackson.

Arrests: at least 692.

Charges include: disorderly conduct, committing an affray, breach of peace, vagrancy, loitering, threatened breach of peace, conspiracy to obstruct trade and commerce, obstructing sidewalk, creating public annoyance.

Demonstrators: estimated 16,000.

Participants: students from Tennessee A. & I. University, Fisk University, American Baptist Theological Seminary, Vanderbilt University, Howard High School, Lane College; Associated Council for Full Citizenship; Memphis Ministerial Alliance.

Other demonstrations: ministers' seven-day march in downtown Knoxville, boycotts, picketing, read-ins, attempts to enter art gallery and municipal museum, kneel-ins, ministers' riding front seats of city buses, stand-ins, picketing for fair employment, mass meetings, sit-ins at jail, mass marches, mass prayer meetings, demonstrations at courthouses and at mayor's office, picketing of Vanderbilt University, parade to courthouse protesting violation of voting rights in Fayette and Haywood counties.

Major acts of violence occurred in Chattanooga, Nashville, and Knoxville. In Chattanooga, a massive three-day street brawl was described by the Chattanooga Times as "the most massive racial clash in the history of Chattanooga." In Nashville, a Negro defense lawyer's home was bombed; Negro sit-in students were burned with cigarettes; and a white sit-in student was beaten. In Knoxville, a white professor was beaten. Minor incidents took place in these same cities, as well as in Memphis and Jackson.

Biracial committees: Athens, Chattanooga (merchants and ministers), Knoxville (good-will committee of white leaders appointed by Mayor and Chamber of Commerce), Memphis, Nashville, Oak Ridge.

Desegregation: seven cities.

TEXAS

The movement began in Houston, March 5, 1960, when 100 Negro students from Texas Southern University staged an orderly sit-in at a supermarket lunch counter.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Cities affected: Austin, San Antonio, Houston, Amarillo, Galveston, Marshall, Dallas, Beaumont.

Arrests: at least 317. (Note: This figure includes 55 who were arrested and 200 who were taken into custody in Marshall.)

Charges include: assault, loitering, unlawful assembly.

Demonstrators: estimated 6,500.

Participants: students from University of Texas, Rice, Texas Southern, Wiley College, Bishop College, high schools; Progressive Youth Association.

Other demonstrations: picketing, stand-ins, mass meetings, boycotts, wade-ins, sit-in at laundromat, attempts to enter city-owned park.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Houston and Marshall. After a sit-in in Houston, a Negro man was stabbed by a white man in a parking lot. Another Negro was flogged with a chain by three whites; the symbol KKK was carved on his chest and stomach; and he was hung by the knees from an oak tree. In Marshall, a crowd of Negroes was hosed by policemen accompanied by three K-9 dogs. Minor occurrences also were reported in Austin and San Antonio.

Biracial committees: Houston, Dallas, Galveston (informal, all-white committee), San Antonio (group of white religious leaders acting as mediating committee, later set up as an interracial committee), Texas City, La Marque.

Desegregation: ten cities.

VIRGINIA

The first demonstration in the state took place February 11, 1960 in Hampton, when approximately 25 students from Hampton Institute sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Arlington, Hampton, Norfolk, Hopewell, Portsmouth, Alexandria, Fairfax, Newport News, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Middleburg, Martinsville, Suffolk, Whaleyville, Petersburg, Danville, Lynchburg, Lawrenceville, Charlottesville.

Arrests: at least 235.

Charges include: trespass, violation of municipal ordinance against passing out handbills, disorderly conduct, and violation of city code prohibiting public parades, demonstrations, or speeches in public places without written permission of the city manager.

Demonstrators: estimated 11,000.

Participants: students from Hampton Institute, Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, Norfolk Division of William and Mary, Virginia Union, Howard University (in Washington, D.C.), Hampton Extension of Virginia State College, Sweet Briar College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, St. Paul's College, University of Virginia, Virginia Theological Seminary, Lynchburg College, high schools; Hopewell Improvement Association; Petersburg Improvement Association; Lynchburg Improvement Association.

Other demonstrations: rallies, marches, stand-ins at theaters and voting registry, prayer meetings outside jails, boycotts, picketing, withdrawal of Negro children in elementary school in protest, sleep-in at hotel lobby, mass meetings, read-ins at public libraries, petitions, boycott of segregated theater.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Portsmouth, Petersburg, and Danville. In Portsmouth, Negroes were attacked by white teen-agers carrying wrenches and hammers. Violence continued for two straight days in a parking lot outside a supermarket, and police used the K-9 Corps to restore order. In Petersburg, a store manager threw ammonia at three Negro high school students. In Danville, crosses were burned in front of a Negro church and a local Negro leader's home. Minor violence was reported in these same cities and in Richmond and Whaleyville.

Biracial committees: Arlington, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Roanoke, Richmond.

Desegregation: ~~24~~ 23 cities.

PROTESTS IN OTHER STATES

Protests against segregated facilities occurred in Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Cities affected: East St. Louis, Deerfield and Murphysboro (Ill.); Kansas City (Kan.); Baltimore, Chevy Chase, and Laurel (Md.); Jefferson City, Kansas City, St. Louis, St. Joseph, and Maplewood (Mo.); Las Vegas and Reno (Nev.); Xenia (Ohio); and Bluefield, Charleston, and Morgantown (W. Va.).

Desegregation: 14 cities.

DESEGREGATION

Listed* below are cities in which at least one establishment has desegregated its eating facilities. Desegregation of other public accommodations has occurred only where specifically noted.

ARKANSAS:	Ft. Smith	
FLORIDA:	Bradenton	Orlando
	Cocoa	Sarasota
	Daytona Beach	Largo
	Ft. Lauderdale (also beaches	Jacksonville
	Key West	Clearwater
	Miami	Dunedin
	Tampa	St. Petersburg
	West Palm Beach	
GEORGIA:	Savannah	Columbus (buses only)
	Atlanta	
ILLINOIS:	East St. Louis	
KENTUCKY:	Henderson	Lexington
	Owensboro	Ashland
	Paducah	Frankfort
	Hopkinsville	Louisville
	Richmond	
MARYLAND:	Salisbury	Chevy Chase
	Baltimore	
MISSOURI:	Clayton	St. Joseph
	Columbia	St. Louis
	Jefferson City	
NEVADA:	Las Vegas	Reno

* This list may not be complete. Similar lists, previously released by merchant organizations and action groups, have included some places which we have been unable to verify, and in some instances have classified suburbs and unincorporated places as cities. In several cases in Florida, our efforts to verify reports of desegregation have not succeeded in erasing doubts, as, e.g., in Coral Gables, where the city attorney said he did not know; he ate lunch at home. No one in the mayor's office in Lantana knew whether lunch counters had been desegregated. The mayor of North Miami Beach wrote that he had no official knowledge. In Hialeah, the mayor's secretary thought so. The assistant city manager in Pompano Beach said there were no signs or separate counters in the variety stores. In Ft. Myers, the mayor did not know of any desegregation. In Bristol (Tenn.), the mayor said he did not know whether desegregation of the lunch counters had taken place; he never ate there himself and had no more idea than we did.

NORTH CAROLINA:	Asheville	Greensboro
	Chapel Hill (also, movies)	High Point
	Charlotte	New Bern
	Concord	Salisbury
	Durham	Raleigh
	Elizabeth City	Winston-Salem
	Fayetteville	Wilmington
	Gastonia	Goldsboro
		Wilson
OKLAHOMA:	Enid	Tulsa
	Oklahoma City	Bartlesville
	Shawnee	
TENNESSEE:	Chattanooga	Madison
	Kingsport	Nashville (also, movies and employment)
	Knoxville	
	Johnson City	Oak Ridge
TEXAS:	Austin	Houston
	Brownsville	La Marque
	Corpus Christi	San Antonio
	Dallas	Texas City
	Galveston	Temple
VIRGINIA:	Arlington	Portsmouth
	Alexandria	Richmond
	Charlottesville	Roanoke
	Falls Church	Staunton
	Fairfax	Suffolk
	Fredericksburg	Williamsburg
	Hampton	Winchester
	Harrisonburg	Hopewell
	Manassas	Annandale
	Newport News	Middleburg
	Norfolk	
	Petersburg	Leesburg
WEST VIRGINIA:		Morgantown
	Bluefield	Charleston

NATIONWIDE SUPPORT FOR THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT

It would be almost impossible to enumerate the many thousands outside the South who joined sympathy protests, rallies, and picket lines. However, the broad appeal of the sit-in movement can at least be partially illustrated by the following:

1. There are on record favorable statements from over 40 religious groups, representing every major faith.

2. Support came from numerous labor organizations--locals, national unions, and district councils.
3. Students in at least 70 colleges outside the South actively campaigned in behalf of the southern students, either by financial collections or by sympathy rallies, picketing, and mass demonstrations.
4. Many organizations concerned with civil rights gave endorsement.

FOR THE FUTURE

In the last year and a half, emphasis was placed on the desegregation of eating establishments, although considerable energies were devoted to other forms of public accommodations. The enthusiasm generated by the student movement will not die out. Students and adult supporters will undoubtedly continue their campaign to help the South overcome racial injustice in public accommodations, in voter registration, in employment, and in churches.

SPECIAL REPORT

— file

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

A L B A N Y

By

HOWARD ZINN

Professor of History

37

A L B A N Y

By

HOWARD ZINN

Professor of History
and Social Science
Spelman College

Slowly developing anger and unpublicized dignified protest by Negro adults -- a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention -- and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

SRC: 22
January 8, 1962

CONTENTS PAGE

Albany, Georgia 2
A History of "Good Race Relations". . 3
The Albany Movement 8
The I.C.C. Ruling and the
Albany Police 11
Mass Arrests 13
Was it Victory or Defeat? 19
Is Negro Leadership Split? 21
"Outside" Influences 21
Communications 22
Police, Jails, Justice 25
The Jails 28
Where was the Federal Government? . 31
Conclusion 33
Appendix 35

Two weeks before Christmas, 1961, 737 persons in the Black Belt city of Albany, Georgia -- college students, professionals, working people, and children -- marched, prayed, sang, and went to jail to try to force open doors shut tight to Negroes since the city was founded in slavery days.

Into that week of protest and excitement was compressed every major issue debated today in the changing South: the enforcement of national law by local authorities hostile to that law; the absence of communication between whites and Negroes living close together in a small southern city; the ambitions of local politicians; factionalism in Negro leadership; monopoly of the press and television; charges of "outside" agitation and "subversive" influence; the peculiar operations of local justice; jailhouse brutality. Intertwined with these were other elements: the remarkable role played by a handful of young people, already veterans of several prisons, devoted to a philosophy of non-violence in an atmosphere of police repression; the participation of a few young southern whites, trying to pay with personal sacrifice the debt of their ancestors for ten generations; the awkward cautiousness of a national administration.

The following report is based on newspaper accounts in Atlanta and Albany, and on-the-spot talks with the mayor, businessmen, deputy sheriffs, white ministers, politicians, local editors, Negro leaders both local and national, men and women just emerged from prison, young Freedom Riders in and out of the county jailhouse, white local people unconnected with the city leadership, and Negroes not involved in the demonstrations.

Albany, Georgia

Many Georgians call it All-benny. Andrew Jackson drove the Indians from the flat, wooded plain so that cotton could become king here and all over the deep South before the Civil War. This was slave plantation country, and Albany was its trading center, incorporated in 1841 to become the seat of Dougherty County. DuBois, in The Souls of Black Folk, describes the area as it was in those days:

> For a radius of a hundred miles about Albany stretched a great fertile land, luxuriant with forests of pine, oak, ash, hickory, and poplar, hot with the sun and damp with the rich black swampland; and here the cornerstone of the Cotton Kingdom was laid.

At the turn of the century, blacks outnumbered whites five to one, and Albany was a placid little town, slavery gone and segregation firmly in its place.

Today the city is a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta, past scraggly cotton, clusters of Black Angus cattle, and beautiful brown fields of pecan trees. Across Kinchafoonee Creek, on the banks of the Flint River, it is wide-avenued and clean, a commercial center for southwest Georgia, trading corn, cattle, and pecans, attracting tourists, new industry, and travelers heading toward Florida. "Tenth fastest booming city in the U.S.A.," the man at the Chamber of Commerce said proudly. "There's the rating -- in black and white." We both must have had the same thought.

The black majority has gone down to 42% since World War II -- 23,000 Negroes out of a total of 56,000 -- making it possible for political leaders to say now, as one did sitting back in his swivel chair, "We need to listen to the majority." In the practicality

of it, however, democracy often counts voices rather than heads, and in the year 1961 the spoken demands of 40% may sound thunderous in contrast with the century-long silence of that overwhelming majority which once made the Black Belt really black.

A History of "Good Race Relations"

Again and again -- in the office of a political leader, in the anteroom of a businessman, sitting with a newspaper editor, in the living room of a middle-class white family -- the statement was made, "Albany has always had good race relations.... Our colored folks have been satisfied.... We have made considerable progress...." In a nation with ten thousand history teachers, memories remain poor; for the same statements were made in Montgomery before the bus boycott, in Atlanta before the sit-ins, and all through the South in the days of slavery.

Yet, the argument cannot be dismissed without meeting it, for it rests on stubborn facts: that the relations in Albany were peaceful; that the Negro community raised no shouts of dissatisfaction; that progress had been made. It is only when they are moved out of simple isolation into the texture of life itself that these undisputed facts become part of a much more complex vision of Negro life.

In a market where social goods are unevenly distributed, peace must always be paid for. The price, paid in the South by blacks and received by whites, has begun in recent years to seem not quite right. And the mistaking of silence for satisfaction has often been the ruin of a dominant group in the social order, who usually pay little attention until centuries of accumulated grievances gather and explode in a chain reaction. The white South has been notably unequipped

with the kind of social seismograph that would detect the first faint tremors of unrest, and too far out of touch with Negroes (the physical proximity of blacks and whites at work in Albany and elsewhere is offset by the social distance inherent in unequal status) to hear any but the loudest noises. Thus, southern whites have been hurt and shocked by the eruptions of the past few years.

In Albany, deep in the Black Belt, the shock of the pre-Christmas protest was particularly great. This was so because white and Negro residents have starkly different perceptions of the city in which they live.

A city political leader respected by many Negroes, twice mayor of Albany and a law partner of the present mayor, cannot believe that Albany Negroes are dissatisfied. Mr. James W. "Taxi" Smith (a champion runner in college, he once got tired in a cross-country race and took a cab the rest of the way) stated, "Outside agitators have caused all this trouble. Those Freedom Riders are getting $100 a day. Minimum! Some getting $200. Albany Negroes," he went on, "got as fair trials as white folks. Same crime, same sentence." (On the other side of town, the story was different. A Negro businessman whose independence irritated the city fathers, it was said, was fined $400 for a traffic offense.) As for juries, Negroes got on the lists, Mr. Smith said. A question about Negroes on actual trial juries brought a serious look, perhaps even a twinge of uneasiness; one got the feeling that he, as a lawyer, found it hard to square his professional ethic with the consistent exclusion of Negroes from juries. "Well, I don't know. I don't think it will work in this situation."

"Progress" rivals "satisfaction" in the frequency of its occurrence in the white comments on race relations in Albany. The history of these relations in the city was one of progress, intelligent and good-hearted white people said again and again. Like the confusion of peace with satisfaction, and silence with consent, here is another failure to understand the complexities of social change. The evidence is strong that it is precisely progress which brings the clamor for more progress. The American colonies on the eve of the Revolution, France under Louis XVI, Russia in the early 20th century, India and some of the African territories in our time were all making remarkable progress when the social fabric was burst by revolution. For progress creates expectations, and if its pace (no matter how swift compared to the past) does not match the ballooning of expectations, it is not enough.

This century has created expectations for Negro Americans which cannot be satisfied by the air-conditioned segregated school pointed to pridefully by the civic leaders of Albany, and by a friendly young cab driver. Albany Negroes live on clean and pleasant -- if unpaved -- streets in a town where roses bloom in December and there are no concrete skyscrapers or billowing smokestacks to keep out the fragrance and beauty of the surrounding countryside. White Albanians are friendly and helpful in personal contact. White lawyers have defended Negro clients. "A.T. Walden /Atlanta's venerated Negro attorney/ would phone me from Atlanta and ask me to handle this case for a poor colored boy. And I'd do it."

In Mayor McAfee's administration in the early 1950's, streets were paved in some Negro areas, the Negro football field was lighted, and a liaison com-

mittee kept contact with the Negro community. When the committee wanted to go beyond the paving of streets, and started talking about hiring Negro policemen, it fell into disuse. And then there is -- it must be mentioned at least twice, to give a slight notion of how often it is mentioned by Albany's white leaders -- the air-conditioned school.

To the Negro community, however -- and this is one of the hardest things for whites in Albany to understand -- all this was like improving the food inside a prison; for all progress was within the framework of a sharply segregated society. While in Albany's natural landscape, greens, yellows, and browns blend imperceptibly, its library, schools, hotels, and other public accommodations are all designated either black or white.

A Negro arriving in Albany on the colored part of the bus, enters a colored waiting room, drinks from a colored fountain, uses a colored restroom, has to walk eight blocks to find a restaurant which will feed a colored person, and must pass by five white hotels to find a modest Negro motel -- a better one is six miles away. He had better not get into trouble, for the entire machinery of justice in Albany is bound up with skin color. The courts are segregated, the jails are segregated, the judges, juries, sheriffs, deputies, and city police are all white. Tax forms for Negroes have a special color. There are no Negroes in city or county government, but there are well-educated, cultured, and competent Negroes in Albany who could move tomorrow into the highest municipal offices and bring credit to the community. Negroes in Albany get jobs on the basis of ability, but only after color has narrowed the field to a slit. "If

I can do a job as good as a white man, why shouldn't I have it?" a Negro porter asked me as we stood on the steps of the white church where he was employed.

To see the situation on the most elemental level, a white man must somehow recognize that no Negro in downtown Albany can stoop to a water fountain before making sure it is labeled "colored." On a level both more abstract and more heartfelt, whites need to comprehend, even dimly, the attack on his dignity felt by every Negro adult male who is called "boy." There is a basic hurt attached to being an American Negro -- both North and South -- which cannot be conveyed by any cold list of specific grievances.

In Albany, there has been no way for fair-minded white people to know these things. There has been contact, but it has been superficial. There has been exchange of words, not of feelings. But if communications inside that little city are crude, between Albany Negroes and the outside world they are as advanced as modern science can make them through radio, television, air travel, national newspapers, and magazines. And there are the mails, no longer closed, as in Abolitionist days, to the arguments for racial equality. Besides this there is the fact that several thousands of Albany's population are attached to Air Force or Marine Corps units in the area -- integrated units. Young Albany Negroes have gone to college in other parts of the country. The only college in the city -- Albany State College for Negroes -- long quiescent, is now sensitive to the winds blowing from Atlanta, Nashville, and Greensboro which tell of student demonstrations and protests and remarkable changes, fought and then accepted, in the once-adamant South.

All of these influences have acted on Albany Negroes and created expectations far beyond the crawling progress and kindly tolerance which Albany's white leaders thought -- and think -- sufficient. The white community somehow has not faced the idea that Albany cannot escape the general upheaval shaking the South today.

Something was necessary to shake the white community into the first pang of such awareness. So, around Thanksgiving, 1961, the Albany Movement was born.

The Albany Movement

On the first of November, 1961, a white college girl from Memphis named Selyn McCollum raced through the streets and back alleys of Albany to evade the police, took refuge in a Negro home, slipped out in a makeshift disguise to make her way to the bus terminal, and stationed herself in a position to watch nine young Negroes ordered out of the white waiting room. It was the day that the new Interstate Commerce Commission ruling for desegregation of train and bus facilities went into effect. Within 48 hours, the Department of Justice was notified that this ruling had been violated.

Behind the action of those young people in Albany that day was a history of rising indignation in the Negro community of that city. Slowly developing anger and unpublicized dignified protest by Negro adults -- a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention -- and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

The demonstrations in Albany had their roots in two race relations incidents, both occurring in the winter of 1961. Early in January of that year, a group

of Negro leaders presented the city commissioners with a request to initiate the desegregation of certain city facilities. It is reported that the commissioners never replied to this request. On February 6, the Albany Herald, edited by James H. Gray, Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party and a leading southern segregationist, published an editorial rejecting the Negroes' request both presently and also for the future. This action brought into the open a long-standing feud between the Negro community and the city's only daily newspaper. Negro leaders contend that the newspaper's editorials had the effect of inciting action against Negroes. In February and March sporadic incidents occurred around the Albany State College campus, in which marauding whites in automobiles threw eggs, fired shots, and once tried to run down a Negro student. The Dean of Students at Albany State, a dynamic young woman named Irene Asbury Wright, newly wed to an Air Force lieutenant stationed in Albany, resigned in protest over the college administration's timidity in defending the students. (She and her husband were later to become leading figures in the Albany Movement.) Before going off for the summer, Albany State students staged a protest march on the president's office.

The Negro ministerial alliance had written a letter to Mr. Gray asking fair treatment. The ministers next sent a registered letter to Mayor Asa D. Kelley, asking for a hearing, and proposing a biracial committee to discuss Albany's race relations. There was no response.

It was against this background of local unrest, frustration, and developing action that the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in September, 1961. sent a team into Albany to register Negro voters. SNCC was born out of the sit-in struggles

of 1960 and staffed by a small group of young people who had experienced jailings in the sit-ins and beatings in the 1961 Freedom Rides. They set up an office in a run-down little building two blocks from the Shiloh Baptist Church, registered voters, and through their enthusiasm and energy acted as a catalyst to a community which had already begun to stir.

When the I.C.C. ruling was handed down, SNCC, whose members had gone to jail through the summer to force this ruling, was ready to test it the very first day of its existence in the segregated terminals of Albany. That is why on November 1, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, two veterans of the Freedom Rides, rode down to Albany from Atlanta on the Trailways bus, with white Selyn McCollum deliberately sitting apart from them but prepared to witness later that day the test of the new ruling. The sight of police waiting for them at the terminal produced Selyn's hour-long race through Albany streets before she could slip, undetected, into her intended refuge, a Negro home. When, later that afternoon, she made her way back to the terminal, and watched the students being ordered out of the white waiting room, the SNCC mission was accomplished, and she took the bus back to Atlanta.

In the meantime, the Youth Council of the local NAACP had made plans to test the I.C.C. ruling and began to work with SNCC. There was some uncertainty by NAACP adults about SNCC's entrance into the situation. It was partly in an attempt to rectify this confusion about roles, partly to gather into a cohesive organization the loose and lengthening strands of discontent in the Negro community, that the Albany Movement was formed on November 17, 1961, about two weeks after the SNCC action at the Trailways Terminal.

Oddly enough, it was Mayor Asa D. Kelley himself, worried on the eve of his re-election over the possibility of a Negro write-in vote, who asked to meet with Negro leaders. Assembled to prepare for this meeting, they formed the Albany Movement, a coalition of the colored ministerial alliance, NAACP, SNCC, and other Negro organizations. They named local osteopath Dr. W. G. Anderson as president, retired railroader Marion Page as secretary, and expressed their determination to attack discrimination at a number of key points: bus and train stations, libraries, parks, hospitals, buses, jury representation, public and private employment, and police brutality.

As one of the leaders of the Albany Movement saw its birth, "The kids were going to do it anyway...they were holding their own mass meetings and making plans...; we didn't want them to have to do it alone." Thus, the third element fell into place; after slow local build-up and sharp action by the youngsters, the coalescing of all forces into a united and militant movement took place. Now, the next reconnaissance action in the desegregation campaign would find massive reinforcements ready to act.

The I.C.C. Ruling and the Albany Police

That first move came Wednesday morning, November 22, 1961, three weeks after the I.C.C. ruling forbidding segregation in terminal facilities, when three members of the Youth Council of the NAACP in Albany, Evelyn Toney, Eddie Wilson, and Julian Carswell, entered the Trailways bus terminal and bought tickets to Tallahassee in the white waiting room. They sat down undisturbed, then went into the restaurant and ordered something to eat. The waiter started to serve them when Chief of Police Pritchett appeared and called them outside the

station to tell them that if they went back into the lunchroom he would arrest them. The students turned away silently, re-entered the lunchroom, and were promptly arrested for breach of the peace. There were only a few people in the terminal at the time. In a half hour, the three were out on bond.

Later that afternoon, hundreds of Albany State students arrived at the terminal to go home for the Thanksgiving holidays. The new Dean of Students of Albany State College was there to point out the colored waiting room, which most of them used. Two students, however, Bertha Gober of Atlanta and Blanton Hall of Athens, went into the white waiting room and were arrested. They decided to remain in jail rather than accept bail of $100. They were soon out of jail, but expelled from Albany State College without a hearing.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in consultation with the Negro community of Albany, decided to test once again the much-broken I.C.C. ruling. A group of eight young people, Negro and white, men and women, took the Central of Georgia in Atlanta on Sunday morning, December 10, sat together in the "white" car, ignored a conductor's demand that they move, and continued that way on to Albany. Over a hundred Albany Negroes gathered at the Albany Union Railway Terminal to meet them. It was about 3:30 in the afternoon, a quiet time in Albany, with little traffic and few whites near the station. The soft-spoken Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, A.C. Searles, watched the scene, said later, "Reason there were all these folks waiting -- we know by experience that if you come alone, you may get a beating. Having people around helps." Waiting also for the eight riders were police and newspaper reporters. They got off the train, went into

the white waiting room, and sat down. Police Chief Pritchett told them to get out. They left with Charles Jones (a widely-known leader of the student movement since the Charlotte sit-ins, and in charge of the SNCC Albany office) and Bertha Gober to cars outside the terminal which were waiting to take them into town. The group now numbered ten. Editor Searles reported, "I try to get close enough to hear, but not close enough to get spoken to." He said he heard Police Chief Pritchett call out, "I told you to get off the street. You are all under arrest." Some of the ten were already getting into cars. All of them were now ordered into the paddy wagon, along with Willie Mae Jones, an Albany student who was in the crowd watching. The eleven were charged with obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer, with bond set at $200.

Police Chief Pritchett's version, as reported in the press, was, "I told the demonstrators to move away from the terminal three times; then we called the paddy wagon and I gave the order to arrest them. We will not stand for these troublemakers coming into our city for the sole purpose of disturbing the peace and quiet of the city of Albany."

Editor Searles interpreted the incident as follows: "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief. There was a good feeling in the group. They wanted to stop this."

Mass Arrests

Now the Albany Movement went into action and the next seven days saw a series of mass meetings by the Negro community, marches downtown by over a thousand Albany Negroes, singing and praying, asking freedom for

the arrested students and, as one woman said after her release from prison, "to get our rights."

When the trial of the eleven was to take place at the city courthouse on Tuesday, December 12, over 400 Negro high school and college students marched downtown to protest, singing as they went by the courthouse. Police cars with loudspeakers ordered them to disperse, they continued to walk, and then they were herded into a 15-foot-wide alley running alongside City Hall, where they waited in a driving rain for two hours as police booked them one by one on the same charges leveled against the Freedom Riders. That night a mass meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church sang hymns and heard speeches by leaders of the Albany Movement. Many of the jailed were being released on bond, but 153 remained in prison and early the next morning were transferred to neighboring county jails.

On Wednesday, three different demonstrations took place. As court convened in the morning, about 70 Negroes marched downtown and knelt on the sidewalk in front of City Hall to pray. Their spokesman, Slater King, member of a distinguished Negro family in Albany, was arrested and sentenced to five days for contempt of court. In the early evening, 300 Negroes made one slow circuit around City Hall, returned to the Shiloh Baptist Church, re-formed, marched back to City Hall, and were arrested on charges of unlawful assembly, parading without a permit, and unlawfully congregating on the sidewalk. Chief of Police Pritchett told newsmen, "We can't tolerate the NAACP or the SNCC or any other nigger organization to take over this town with mass demonstrations."

On the following day, the original 11 were bound over from the city to county court on a new state charge

of disturbing the peace and conspiring to disturb the peace. On Saturday night, Charles Jones was released on $1000 bond and took his place in the leadership of the surging Albany Movement. Bernard Lee, young staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, left prison to return to his duties in Atlanta, and Tom Hayden, a white youth from Royal Oak, Michigan, was released to fulfill a speaking engagement up North. Remaining in the county jail back of Elm Street for part or all of the next seven days were: Lenora Taitt, a Spelman College graduate and veteran of the Atlanta sit-ins; Norma Collins, business manager of the SNCC office in Atlanta; Willie Mae Jones, the young Albany woman arrested "by accident"; James Forman, Executive Director of SNCC; Bertha Gober, the Albany State College expellee; and three young white people -- Per Laursen, a writer from Denmark; Robert Zellner, active in recent protest movements and a white girl, the last two, Southerners born and bred.

By Thursday, the total arrested reached 560, with 300 of these remaining in jail. That day Governor Ernest Vandiver called 150 National Guardsmen to duty in Albany and wires began arriving in Attorney General Kennedy's office (from SNCC to "stop illegal mass arrests," and from some faculty and students at Spelman College in Atlanta to "intervene in the Albany situation"). Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley assured the Attorney General that they could handle the situation. Albany Movement chairman, W.G. Anderson, talked by phone with the Assistant Attorney General. That day, too, ten Negroes were served coffee at the Trailways lunchroom, were arrested, jailed and later returned to the bus station under police guard, then released.

Late that night, three whites and three Negroes -- in each group one minister and two businessmen -- began negotiations to end the crisis. Neither

negotiating team, though designated to discuss terms, was empowered to decide on a settlement. The negotiations continued all Friday morning and broke up at noon, with agreement on acceptance of bus and train desegregation and on release of all the Negro marchers, but disagreement on the release of the original Freedom Riders without bond.

On Friday night, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., invited by the Albany Movement Executive Committee, arrived from Atlanta with Rev. Ralph Abernathy and spoke to a packed prayer meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church. King told the more-than-1000 assembled listeners, "Don't stop now. Keep moving. Don't get weary. We will wear them down with our capacity to suffer." Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Director of the NAACP spoke, too. "There are only two languages the white politicians and the power structure understand. One is the power of the almighty dollar bill. When those cash registers are not ringing they understand what you're talking about. They also understand the ballot." And the Albany Movement's chairman, Dr. W. G. Anderson, told the meeting, "Be here at 7 o'clock in the morning. Eat a good breakfast. Wear warm clothes and wear your walking shoes."

Meanwhile, the city commission was meeting and balking at release of the Freedom Riders without bond. In the wee hours of Saturday morning, the Albany Movement sent a wire to Mayor Kelley which he received late, at 9:30 a.m., and interpreted as an ultimatum. The wire set a 10:00 a.m. deadline after which demonstrations would resume, and the mayor responded by accusing the Negro leadership of "threats" and "bad faith." The Albany Board of Commissioners rejected the terms proposed by the Negro leadership.

At the intercession of some leaders in the Albany Movement, the mayor agreed to see a small committee. The negotiations resumed at 10:30 a.m., Saturday, but were broken off by early Saturday afternoon.

Saturday evening, December 16, came the climax of the demonstrations and mass arrests as Martin Luther King, Jr., and W. G. Anderson led 250 hymn-singing men, women, and youngsters down Jackson Street toward the county courthouse. Police Chief Pritchett stopped them two blocks from the city hall and asked King if he had a parade permit. King said, "We are simply going to pray at City Hall." Pritchett ordered the entire group arrested for parading without a permit. They were moved into the alley near the city hall, police cars rushed up to seal off the back of the alley, white onlookers were cleared off the sidewalks by police loudspeakers, and the Negroes were led one by one into the police station and booked. A southern white student from Brunswick, Georgia had marched with them and was also jailed. King, Abernathy, and Anderson were sent to Sumter County jail in Americus. Now the total arrested stood at 737, with over 400 people still in jail, many of them farmed out to prisons in nearby counties. Late Saturday night, sound trucks moved through the city calling military personnel back to the Air Force and Marine Corps bases, and police closed bars and liquor stores. The NAACP wired Vice President Johnson, Attorney General Kennedy, Governor Vandiver, and Mayor Kelley, protesting "unwarranted and illegal arrests."

Sunday was a quiet day, but the news vacuum was soon filled by reports of a rift in the movement. James Gray, the Herald editor, appeared on Albany's television station -- of which he is a part owner --

to denounce "outside elements." The Atlanta Constitution quoted an Albany Movement figure as saying, "Why can't these national organizations understand that this is a local movement?"

Negotiations were resumed Monday morning, and continued all that day, with the Albany Movement represented by C. B. King (first and only Negro lawyer in the history of the city); Attorney Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, the state's leading handler of civil rights cases; and Marion Page, acting as chairman of the Albany Movement now that Anderson was in jail. These three conferred with the Police Chief, Mayor, and City Attorney at City Hall. Verbal agreement was reached on: the acceptance by the city of desegregation of the train and bus facilities; the release of all the demonstrators from jail on the signing of simple property bonds, with the exception of the remaining eight original Freedom Riders, the reduction of their bond; the calling off of further demonstrations; and a promise by the city to hear the Negro community's case at the first business meeting of the new City Commission.

Late Monday night and up to 5:00 a.m. Tuesday morning, Negro men and women came forth from the jails. Wednesday, in the early afternoon, the eight Freedom Riders walked blinking into the sunlight outside the county jail. The Albany Herald called it a smashing defeat for the city's Negroes. Marion Page said, "We have just begun to fight." And pundits everywhere exchanged their analyses of the pre-Christmas turmoil in Albany, Georgia.

Awaiting the hearing, Albany Negroes have been framing their demands. The City Commission has set the date of the first business meeting for January 23.

and Albany State College has expelled* at least 40 students for participating in the demonstrations. What the city does now will be studied by the entire nation.

Was it Victory or Defeat?

A front-page story in the New York Herald Tribune the day after the Albany settlement called it "one of the most stunning defeats" in the career of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Tribune correspondent termed it a "devastating loss of face" for King, said the Albany Movement had been considerably weakened by King's arrival, and noted a "collapse" of Negro pressure. James Gray's Albany Herald quoted from this article to underline its own analysis of the situation as a huge defeat for the Negro community. A young man sitting in the shabby SNCC office, just after his release from jail, was asked how he felt about the agreement. He smiled. "You curse first and then I will."

Undoubtedly, the Albany Movement got little in the way of specific concessions out of the settlement. For the city to agree to the desegregation of the terminal facilities was belated recognition of what became law on November 1. The release of the demonstrators simply restored the situation before the arrests. Trials and jail sentences still hang over everyone at the discretion of the police chief. The City Commission promises to listen, but not necessarily to act.

One immediate and specific gain did result: the establishment beyond question of Negroes' right to use the terminal facilities without discrimination. Despite statements by the mayor and police chief, this

*See Appendix.

was not a fact before the Albany crisis. Today it is a fact. On Wednesday, December 27, the Trailways restaurant re-opened -- it had been closed by order of the Chief of Police when the trouble began -- and 15 Negroes were served without a murmur of resentment.

Still, no long-term assessment of the Albany actions can be based on what was or was not conceded at the moment of settlement. This is a Deep South city, with a hundred-year history of Negro silence and white complacency which has now been shattered for all time. Anyone who sat in the Shiloh Baptist Church at the prayer meeting following the settlement knows that expectations have been raised which will not be stilled without a change in the social patterns of the city. "Albany will never be the same," Attorney Hollowell told the crowd that night, and he was right. The call for a boycott at that meeting came not from the platform but from the crowd, and was echoed by a dozen men and women who stood up amidst a swell of approval and called, with the passion of people who have tasted prison, for Negroes to stay away from the downtown stores.

Analysts may coolly add up the concessions on both sides and come out with a mathematical sum which signifies defeat. But the Negroes of Albany have no such feeling. The Negro porter on the steps of an Albany church said, "No, we're just beginning. Just beginning." And a woman on the Executive Committee of the Albany Movement declared, "We are anything but through with the fight to be full citizens right here in Albany. There's a lot that can't be told right now, and we're trying to go along and see how much good faith will be shown in January. But anybody who thinks this town is going to settle back and be the same as it was has got to be deaf, blind, and dumb."

Is Negro Leadership Split?

There were disagreements among Negroes and Negro organizations in Albany, and some remain. In this observer's view, the stories of "rift" contain some truth but have been exaggerated out of proportion to their size in the total picture. In a successful movement, organizations proliferate and begin to get in one another's way. Personalities clash and egos become involved. But when the enemy is gargantuan, it tends to devour such disagreements before they get too big. The overwhelming need of Negroes in the South for unity against the awesome economic and political power of long-entrenched interests will probably act to keep disagreements within manageable bounds.

"Outside" Influences

James W. "Taxi" Smith is convinced that the Albany troubles before Christmas were the result of "outside" agitators, Freedom Riders getting $100 a day, and troublemakers stirring up generally-contented local Negroes. Mayor Kelley of Albany and Georgia's Governor Vandiver* both told the press that "paid agitators" were at work and Kelley produced the prison records of SNCC youngsters who had gone to jail in sit-ins and Freedom Rides to prove his point. King and Abernathy were both denounced by James Gray's Herald for coming in to stir up Albany Negroes.

In the South, "outside" influences are often evident, but they do little more than heighten and sometimes direct an already intense set of grievances felt by local people.

*When students in the Atlanta University Center penned their famous "Appeal for Human Rights" in the spring of 1960, Governor Vandiver said it could not have been written in the state of Georgia, and probably was produced outside the confines of the United States, though, in fact, the student who wrote the original draft was born and bred in Atlanta.

In Albany, local people -- especially students at Albany State College -- were in motion in the spring of 1961. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee came on the scene in the early fall and acted as a further stimulus. Albany youngsters in the Youth Council of the NAACP began to act. The first arrests (November 22) were of Albany State students. The next arrests (December 10) were of SNCC young people -- white and Negro, mostly from the South, but not from Albany. The mass demonstrations were planned by local Negro citizens and the more than 400 arrested by Thursday were evidently Albanians. Only at this point did Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy, Negroes from another part of the same state, arrive on the scene. They (along with that young white fellow from South Georgia) were the only non-Albany people, so far as is known, involved in the mass arrests of Saturday night, December 16. The Albany Movement was overwhelmingly a local movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee introduced a novel technique into the Albany situation. They came from the outside, set up headquarters in the community, and worked so closely with local people that after a while they were, as one Albany Negro put it, "completely integrated" with the Negroes of that city. By their enthusiasm, ability, and their obvious courage they won the respect of local people.

Communications

Albany whites do not know what Albany Negroes are thinking. It would balance the equation neatly to say that Albany Negroes do not know what whites are thinking, but this would not be quite accurate. For Albany Negroes read the white press, while Albany whites do not read the Negro press (the weekly Southwest Georgian

reaches 5000 Negroes in a 60-mile radius from Albany). Albany Negroes see and hear Albany whites on television, but are not seen or heard themselves. And the conversations that take place between maids and housewives, between porters and employers, are hardly accurate transmitters of genuine feelings.

James Gray's Albany Herald is one of the many examples in the United States of a journalistic monopoly -- the one daily newspaper in town. Its total circulation is 29,000, of which 5000 is Negro. While it has a Saturday page devoted to activities in the Negro community, it offers no opportunity for Albany Negroes to communicate their grievances to the white people of the town -- except for an occasional letter to the editor. The editorial policy is strongly pro-segregationist, and the leading Negroes of Albany consider the Herald the city's most formidable obstacle to racial amity. Out of the recent events came a Negro boycott of the Herald, so severe that the paper dismissed the Negro assistant circulation manager who now had little circulation to manage. The man was also Treasurer of the Albany Movement, and Mr. Gray had kept him on, knowing this, firing him only when Negro readers fell off drastically.

Even the Herald's news columns are colored by its editorial antipathy to Negro moves for desegregation. On Friday, December 22, a front-page news story read, "There was a wave of feeling among Albany's Negroes to purge themselves of the Reverend King, who now seemed transformed from the Great Leader into a political liability who was impeding the path of good relations between the races in Albany." Herald reporters gave little first-hand coverage to Negro activities, and, with the obvious admiration for King expressed by

Albany Negroes both before and after his arrest, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this news report was manufactured in the office. This kind of reporting misleads the white community of Albany about local Negro sentiment. It makes whites adamant about holding to the status quo because it spreads the erroneous notion that Negroes are satisfied with things as they are. An element of honest self-delusion is apparent.

There are no opportunities for whites and Negroes in Albany to meet and exchange ideas in an atmosphere of equal give-and-take. Albany whites, in general, are not aware that there is a top layer of highly competent, well-educated, cultured Negroes who are worth knowing as persons, and who could make genuine contributions to the progress of the city outside of racial questions. A white minister in Albany, prominent in the city's ministerial alliance, asked me, "Are there any Negroes in Albany like the kind you find in big cities, to whom one can talk on an intellectual level?" I told him of the Negro home I had visited the previous evening, and of the authors represented in the man's library: Barzun, Edmund Wilson, Steinbeck, Schlesinger, Durrell, Suzuki, and Robert Graves.

It is not easy to find, in Albany, the white liberals who crop up in such numbers in a city like Atlanta. But this may be because the first spadeful of earth has not yet been overturned in a soil hard-encrusted since Civil War days. Once it is, people long silent will speak up, softly, but unmistakeably. A few -- ministers, businessmen, others -- have already begun. An elderly white couple, whose daughter I had met in Atlanta, invited me to tea and showed, in their questions, a basic humanity deep in all Southerners -- and, of course, in all people -- which will make race relations in the South

warm and noble once artificial obstacles are removed.

Albany's white people, like Albany's Negroes, are mostly hard-working, quiet, and peaceful people. One striking feature of the Albany situation was that at no time during the week of demonstrations -- nor during the earlier incidents connected with the Trailways Terminal -- were there any mobs, or angry crowds, or voiced threats. Could this be the first indication of what will be the pattern of Deep South reaction to subsequent Negro protests? There was one white man arrested for singing "Dixie" near Negro demonstrators, and once when a crowd gathered at the Trailways Terminal on Thursday, December 14, a few mutterings of hostility were heard. But signs of real tension were observed by no one, white or Negro, to whom I spoke and who had been on the scene. The New York Times reported in the midst of the turmoil, "There were no indications that the 30,000 white residents of Albany were greatly aroused over the dispute." Where whites did appear at the scene of demonstrations, the chief motivation seemed to be curiosity. "What were the white people doing when you were marching?" I asked a Negro man. "Nothing but reckless eyeballin'," he said, and then smiled. "That's what I call it -- reckless eyeballin'. Just curiosity."

Police, Jails, Justice

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett was hailed widely in the press for preventing violence in Albany during the week of demonstrations. An Atlanta Constitution reporter did a special piece on Pritchett in which he did not conceal his admiration. The reporter for the New York Herald Tribune said Pritchett "brought to Albany a standard of professional achievement that would be difficult to emulate in a situation so made to order for violence...." All of this praise may

indicate that Americans have unwittingly accepted a distorted conception of the rights of citizens and the duties of police officers in a democratic state. It needs to be strongly asserted that it is the function of police officers to defend the rights of citizens against anyone who would prevent them from exercising those rights. The negative function of preventing violence is an instrument supporting the positive exercise of constitutional rights by persons of the community. The praise is also a measure of the extent to which the purveyors of violence in Montgomery, Birmingham, and McComb succeeded in their function: they have managed to lower the settlement terms for race crises in the South, so that it becomes sufficient evidence of successful police action to have prevented violence. The requirement of positive protection of equal rights has been waived.

Recall what the police did, again and again. On November 1 -- the day the I.C.C. order for non-discrimination took effect -- they ordered two Negroes out of the bus station in a situation where, observers noted, there was no crowd, no threat, no indication of imminent violence or even nervous upset. On the morning of November 22, three weeks after the I.C.C. ruling, three Negroes were sitting quietly in the Trailways Terminal restaurant, waiting to get the food they ordered, with only a few people around and not the slightest sign of disturbance, when the police ordered them out, and arrested them for returning to the restaurant. The charge was breach of the peace, but there was not the slightest evidence to support the idea that they had disturbed the peace. That afternoon, two more students were arrested for using the white waiting room.

On December 10, six weeks after the I.C.C. ruling, the police arrested the eight Freedom Riders, the two

young people who came to meet them, and the one observer, as they came out of the white waiting room and began to get into cars. The charges: obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey a police officer. Talks with a dozen witnesses corroborate the fact that there was virtually no traffic to obstruct, that there was nothing disorderly about the conduct of the group, and that, at the moment of arrest, they were obeying the order to disperse -- since some were already getting into cars and the rest were about to leave. There were few whites around, the hundred or so Negroes standing nearby were quiet and orderly, there were no signs of disturbance or imminent trouble, and the whole scene would have melted away in a few minutes if the order to arrest had not been given.

In the demonstrations that followed that week, over 700 people were arrested for walking in single file, or twos, on one occasion threes, downtown to the vicinity of City Hall, singing hymns and praying. The New York Times reporter, describing the first demonstrators on Tuesday, said they "strolled slowly past the courthouse in pairs, singing hymns as they walked." (It should be noted that Albany's streets are exceptionally wide.) Again, no evidence of disturbance or imminent trouble. Whites stood around staring curiously. There were no angry speeches; these people were peacefully expressing their disagreement with the city administration's actions in arresting the Freedom Riders. Wednesday and Thursday, more walks downtown followed, with again no indication of white anger or probable violence. The Associated Press dispatch from Albany that Thursday said, "White residents of this city have shown little close-range interest in the incidents."

The arrest of the hymn-singing marchers led by Martin Luther King, Jr. on Saturday night was given

a more sophisticated legal basis -- parading without a permit -- and it would be fruitless to go into the niceties of what constitutes a parade. But the pattern of all these arrests is quite clear: the police kept a peace which had not been broken and with no signs that it was about to be broken, by putting into prison over 700 men, women, and children who were exercising basic American rights to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. To put it bluntly, this was not a situation where local police needed to protect citizens from private violence, but where the exercise by citizens of constitutional rights required protection.

There may be a valid question about the propriety of demonstrations which may influence judicial proceedings, but the chief did not raise this question, nor did his responses to other demonstrations that week indicate that this factor was primary for him.

Albany apparently followed the pattern of police action devised by the State of Mississippi and the City of Jackson at the time of the Freedom Ride: arrest quickly, quietly, and imprison. There have been times in the past when southern authorities have delegated "law enforcement" to the mob. No mobs formed in Mississippi around the Freedom Riders, nor in Albany. This is undoubtedly a great improvement. Yet if police action effectively suppresses the exercise of legitimate protest, leaving nothing for the mob to do, there is no real advance.

The Jails

A sheriff in a neighboring county surveyed the prisoners sent over from Albany, spotted a button in the lapel of one of them. It read, "We Believe in Human Dignity." The sheriff snatched the button, threw it to the ground, and stamped on it. This could

hardly be called "police brutality" but it suggests the kind of jailhouse psychology which determined the treatment of 400-odd prisoners in the Albany crisis.

There were eight places of confinement finally, when the city ran out of space: the city and county jails in Albany, the National Guard armory, and county jails at Americus, Dawson, Leesburg, Camilla, and Newton. The conditions ranged from just plain discomfort and bad food for most, to sickness for some, to cuffs and blows for a few, though probably jail conditions here are not worse than in many other local prisons in the country.

Charles Sherrod -- who had come to Albany to open the SNCC office in September -- said that when he arrived at Dawson in Terrell County with a number of other prisoners, Sheriff E. Z. Mathison told him, "Now remember. You left all your rights behind in Albany. I don't want to hear nothing about freedom." Sherrod said the group wanted two devotions a day, that though he was in jail he was still a man and still a Christian. The sheriff hit him with his hand and took him to his office. Then another man hit him in the mouth, cracking his lip. His mouth was full of blood. He was put in a cell by himself from 11:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., then returned to Albany where F.B.I. agents listened to his story.

A small group of Negro men and women, just out of jail, sat on a bench outside the office of the Shiloh Baptist Church and told about prison conditions:

A woman in jail for a week said, "I was in the Leesburg stockade with 51 other women. There was no place to sleep. The mattresses were wet and dirty.... They would put the food in a box, place it on the floor, and kick it into the cell.... Peas, peas, peas. Grits in the morning, fatty meat, crushed bacon in

grits, two slices of bread, water. I wouldn't eat for four days....We continued to pray and prayer does change things."

Another woman was in the Dougherty County jail in Albany: "We got bitter black coffee...there was a sick woman there...it was eight hours before the county doctor came...she asked for glasses because she gets headaches without glasses...they didn't get her any glasses...they told us if we don't stop singing they'd put us in the dark."

A man arrested Saturday night: "Although no one put a hand on me, I feel like I been beaten. When you sleep on steel and concrete you are automatically sore. I'm a trailer driver, on the job a year, came back to work this morning, found I got no job...they told me, 'You a Freedom Marcher'...My wife lost her job, too."

A woman: "We were 88 in one room from Saturday night to Monday night, with 20 steel bunks and no mattresses...most slept on steel benches and the concrete floor. Waited 12 hours from one meal to the next... grits and gravy...Sheriff took us to Camilla. On the bus he told us, 'We don't have no singin', no prayin', and no handclappin' here.'"

Another man: "Forty-two of us in a cell for 12 in the city jail...then we were put in a bullpen, 60 men, 16 beds...all standin' up on one another. The food? Oh bad, man!"

A young married woman, senior at Albany State College, left two children with her mother and demonstrated Wednesday evening. "I didn't expect to go to jail for kneeling and praying at City Hall." She slept on an iron cot in the city jail and got sick. From Wednesday to Friday she ate nothing. Slater King, Albany Negro leader in the same prison, tried to slip his food to

her through a hole in the door, but a guard came along and hit him in the back as he was passing the plate through the opening. He fell against the bars and hurt his head. (Police Chief Pritchett fired the guard soon after.)

When I went to the sheriff's office Wednesday morning, December 20, to see one of the original Freedom Riders still in the county jail, I was told they were allowed no visitors except for a lawyer. Husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, could talk to prisoners only by shouting through a barbed wire fence at a thick-meshed wire window through which no one inside was visible.

At the prayer meeting in the Shiloh Baptist Church that Tuesday night after the settlement, a young white girl arrested with the original group on Sunday, came down the aisle to the rostrum. She had been released from jail a few minutes before and was out of breath. She spoke briefly, softly. "First time I'd ever seen a jail. It's a funny mixed-up feeling to hate being in a dirty place but to be glad you're there for a good reason....We hope you'll keep going."

The Police Chief of Albany said, "We met non-violence with non-violence."

Where was the Federal Government?

While young people on three separate occasions were being ordered out of Albany terminals and arrested, while over 700 persons were arrested and over 400 kept in jail for marching downtown to sing, pray, and protest, the Federal Government, pledged through specific Constitutional guarantees, statutes, and administrative rulings to protect the rights of citizens against local usurpation, took the following visible actions:

On November 1, 1961, when Selyn McCollum watched the police order nine young Negroes out of the white waiting room at the Trailways Bus Terminal, and this was reported to the F.B.I., there was no apparent result. On November 22, when five students were arrested for using the Trailways facilities in Albany, no federal action was visible. When Chief Pritchett ordered the Freedom Riders outside the railroad waiting room on December 10, and then arrested 11 in the street, for the third time in six weeks the express ruling of a Federal Agency failed of enforcement. With the start of demonstrations and mass arrests on Tuesday, December 12, local police practice came into conflict, not with the very pointed I.C.C. ruling, but with broader -- and more complex -- issues represted by the Bill of Rights: freedom of assembly, the right of petition.

On Wednesday, with more demonstrations and more arrests, telegrams began going to Attorney General Kennedy asking federal intervention. On Thursday -- more demonstrations, more arrests--and the New York Times reported from Albany that, "The Justice Department was watching developments here closely." That day, Attorney General Kennedy conferred by phone with both Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley. The Mayor said he assured the Attorney General that law and order could be preserved without federal aid. Also that day, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division talked with Albany Movement leader W. G. Anderson. On Friday, with demonstrations and negotiations in progress, he phoned Mayor Kelley and offered to mediate, and the mayor assured the Assistant Attorney General that the city could work out its problems. On Saturday, negotiations broke down. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the march downtown that

evening, hundreds more were arrested, and the NAACP wired Vice President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy to protest the arrests. F.B.I. men were reported cruising the streets in cars.

On Monday, December 18, a settlement was announced, and within a hour Mayor Kelley said Attorney General Robert Kennedy called to congratulate him for a good job.

Events in Albany were caused by the city's violation of the Interstate Commerce Commission's regulation. The Federal Government took no apparent action to curb that violation, although it undoubtedly has power to enforce its own orders. Today in Albany the I.C.C. order is being complied with. It was enforced, not by federal authority, but by demonstrations in the streets.

Conclusion

Over 700 Negroes in Albany, and a few sympathetic whites, spent time in prison in December of 1961, as a mass substitute for federal action to compel recognition of a legal right. They were not opposed by the white people of Albany, but by local law enforcement officers. These officers acted, not out of malice, but out of a too-faint comprehension of the changes which are rolling slowly, but inevitably, through the South today, and which, with McComb, Jackson, and Albany, have begun to move into the heart of the Black Belt. As in other cases, a movement born of specific grievances was nurtured in crisis and developed larger objectives, those of full equality and untarnished human dignity.

The real feelings of the Negro community were kept from a fundamentally fair-minded white community by the powerful barrier of segregation, propped up by a hostile press and an unsympathetic city administration. As Christmas approached in 1961, masses of Albany Negroes

pressed the weight of their bodies against this barrier. They moved it only slightly, but the tremors were felt in Albany and through the nation. They may have to press against it many more times, but now that the first rumblings have sounded in the ears of the white community, help may come from that side of the barrier. One day, certainly, it will be dismantled, and Albany whites and Negroes, quietly, unspectacularly, will begin to live together in a manner consistent with the new expectations of this century.

The following items appeared side-by-side in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, January 7, 1962:

ALBANY STUDENT PENALTY STRESSED

By Gordon Roberts

An Albany attorney contended Saturday that Negroes suspended from Albany State College were dealt with more harshly than white students who took part in anti-integration riots at the University of Georgia last year.

C.B. King, who represents about 40 Negro students who have been suspended thus far at Albany, charged that punitive action was taken against them "for doing what they had a right to do," while white university students were not punished for participating in "mob action."

The suspended Negroes will appeal their cases, if necessary, to federal court, Mr. King said. Appeal procedure calls for seeking a rehearing at the college, and that failing, to ask the University System Board of Regents to review the suspensions.

The Negro students were suspended for taking part in anti-segregation demonstrations in mid-December, which for the most part involved "freedom" marches to the Albany City Hall.

Mr. King said he knows personally of at least 40 who have been suspended, but the number could run as high as 100. He said there were about that many Albany State students arrested as a result of the marches.

The students were charged with "conduct detrimental to Albany State College." College officials were still holding closed disciplinary hearings Saturday morning.

In appealing the cases, Mr. King said he would contend that the Negroes were ousted for doing what they had a right to do, but white University of Georgia students were allowed to stay, though what happened there last January "was clarly mob action."

(According to university officials, three university students — two of whom were indicted by a grand jury for allegedly participating in the riot — were suspended, but were cleared to return to the University after being out about one quarter. Two other students withdrew while university action was still pending against them.

(Seventeen students arrested by Athens police in connection with the rioting and other protest demonstrations on and off the campus were tried in the city court and a number of them convicted. The University placed them on probation.)

Attorney King also noted that the Albany demonstrations occurred after school hours or while the Negroes were out for the holidays, and that they did not occur on the college campus.

College President, William H. Dennis reportedly has received from the State Law Department advice on the actions he is taking. There also are rumors in Albany that University System Regent Roy Harris, an arch-segregationist, has advised President Dennis.

However, Mr. Harris Saturday said that report was without foundation, that he has not discussed the situation with the college president. He said the regents did discuss it at a recent meeting, but decided to let Pres. Dennis handle the matter.

Meanwhile, Regent Chairman, Robert O. Arnold supported Mr. Dennis in the suspen-

ATHENS RIOT TRIAL PLANS STILL LACKING

Another term of criminal court is about to begin in Athens, and there still are no definite plans for trying 11 persons indicted in connection with the desegregation riot at the University of Georgia, according to Sol. Gen. Marshall Pollock.

Criminal court week will begin January 15, and Sol. Gen. Pollock said Saturday he has not decided whether he will call the year-old cases for trial. However, he said he had no intention of dropping the charges. "I just don't know if they'll be tried now," he said.

Indicted in connection with rioting when the university admitted two Negro students, were two students and nine Atlanta area men, eight of whom were admitted Klu Klux Klansmen.

Their trials have been postponed from the April, July and October terms of court.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

37

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

SRC: 23

December, 1962

CONTENTS PAGE

Part I -Introduction.....1

Part II -Farmers Home Administration.....5

Part III -The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.....13

Part IV -Cooperative Farm Credit System.....16

Part V -Department of Agriculture Extension Service.....17

Part VI -Rural Areas Development.....19

Part VII -Conclusions.....20

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Part I

Introduction

This report seeks to give brief but accurate description of the meaning which federal agricultural programs have for Negro farmers in the Deep South. For this purpose, nine rural counties of South Carolina have been studied; these are: Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Clarendon, Hampton, Jasper, Lee, and Williamsburg. Although practices and conditions may differ throughout the South, these particular counties are valid illustrations of prevailing situations within the Black Belt.

The study was based on official records, supplemented by interviews of Negro farmers in each county.

The study had these aims: 1) to determine the degree of Negro employment in programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture; 2) to discover what exclusion, if any, there was of Negroes from such programs; and 3) to gauge the degree of participation of Negro farmers in the decision-making and advisory committees which help administer federal benefits.

In all but one of the counties selected Negroes constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. In five of the counties, more than 50 per cent of the farmers are Negro, according to the 1959 Census of Agriculture. In none were Negro farmers less than 39 per cent of the total. Furthermore, each of the counties had a very low Negro voter registration, ranging from a high of 22 per cent to a low of 6 per cent of the total registration.

Data as to Negro farmers and land operation are shown in Table III.

As background for this study, interviews were held with 20 Negro farmers in each of the nine counties. They were questioned about their attitudes toward the federal

programs, toward the people administering them, and about their knowledge and use of these programs. Little of a specific nature came from these interviews, but they did reveal certain consistently held opinions and feelings. The reports of these interviews show a group of persons, representative one can believe of a great many Black Belt Negro farmers, whose chief views toward the federal programs are the following:

(a) Generally, they have a confused picture of the agricultural agencies and of the benefits they administer.
(b) Some were aware of their right to participate in community and county elections, just as many others were not.
(c) Some feel that they have been unfairly treated in crop allotments, but either did not know of their appeal rights or saw no advantage in exercising them.
(d) There was general awareness and resentment about the non-employment of Negroes in agency offices.
(e) Those interviewed who were registered voters seemed to vote freely and without hesitation; of those not registered many indicated a vague but real feeling that voting was the white folks' affair, and that they were not expected to register.
(f) Underlying virtually all interviews was a pervasively expressed feeling of alienation from the rest of the farming community and the agencies of power.

The next five sections of this report are devoted to brief discussions of individual programs administered by the Agriculture Department and of their application in the nine counties. A final section discusses some of the findings.

Table I

Selected Population Characteristics*

	Population	White	Negro	Total Median Family Income (dollars)	Negro Median Family Income (dollars)
South Carolina	2,382,594	1,551,022	831,572	3,821	1,699
Allendale	11,362	4,178	7,184	2,188	1,326
Bamberg	16,274	7,187	9,087	2,380	1,418
Barnwell	17,659	10,004	7,655	3,266	1,239
Calhoun	12,256	4,058	8,198	1,766	956
Clarendon	29,490	9,360	20,130	1,945	1,241
Hampton	17,425	8,038	9,387	2,487	1,502
Jasper	12,237	4,619	7,618	2,401	1,555
Lee	21,832	7,459	14,373	1,680	912
Williamsburg	40,932	13,716	27,216	1,631	916

*U.S. Census of Population 1960

Table II

South Carolina Voter Registration

Counties	*Total Registered	**White	**Negro	Per cent Registered Negro	Per cent Population Negro
Allendale	2,980	2,760	220	8	63
Bamberg	4,253	3,666	587	14	56
Barnwell	6,974	6,260	714	10	43
Calhoun	2,177	2,049	128	6	67
Clarendon	4,736	4,211	525	11	68
Hampton	4,773	4,147	626	13	54
Jasper	3,077	2,399	678	22	62
Lee	5,328	4,168	1,160	22	66
Williamsburg	7,827	7,347	480	6	67
South Carolina	666,694	575,793	90,901	14	35

*Secretary of State's Report, Aug. 15, 1962

**Estimates.

Table III

South Carolina Farm Data 1959

Counties	Average Acres Per Owner White	Average Acres Per Owner Negro	Average Acres Per Operator White	Average Acres Per Operator Negro
Allendale	388	71	634	65
Bamberg	216	70	262	54
Barnwell	238	64	269	63
Calhoun	273	64	315	55
Clarendon	165	53	182	40
Hampton	304	45	372	36
Jasper	231	41	462	37
Lee	186	61	245	37
Williamsburg	199	46	201	35

Part II

Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture administers a program known as the supervised credit system. This program, which dates back through several modifications to 1934, is intended to help small farmers of poor credit standing acquire and sustain family-size farms by providing easy credit and technical assistance. Direct federal loans are made.

The FHA has an office in each agricultural county, headed by a county supervisor. He and his staff, if any, are members of the U.S. Civil Service. In some southern counties, there is an assistance agent, a Negro, to aid in processing loan applications of Negroes. But to insure local control, each application is passed on by a committee of three local farmers, selected by the state FHA director from panels recommended by the county supervisor. Thus, to the small farmer seeking assistance, this committee may be the most important governmental body with which he deals.

Loans are of various kinds: operating, ownership, disaster, water development and soil conservation, rural housing. In all types, the committee considers, without firm guidelines and hardly any administrative review, the applicant's character, reputation, and the economic soundness of the desired loan.

In the nine South Carolina counties studied, no Negro has ever been county supervisor. No Negro has ever held a clerical job in a county FHA office. In official correspondence, the office seldom if ever addresses a Negro farmer as "Mister."

The accompanying charts show the distribution of loans within each of the counties over the last three years. As will be noted:

(a) there are great variations, year to year, and county to county, in the proportion of assistance going to Negroes;
(b) Negroes fare relatively well in receiving operating and disaster loans, but fare relatively poorly in receiving ownership and housing loans.

Over the three year period ending June 30, 1962, there were only nine loans under federal programs in the entire nine counties to Negroes for the purpose of enabling them to acquire their own farms. And five of these loans were made in fiscal year 1961. Either to build or improve farm housing there were only 14 loans to Negroes, five of these having been made also in the past fiscal year. Moreover, out of the $1,222,630 advanced by the Farmers Home Administration for farm land acquisition in these counties during this period only $55,550 went to Negro farmers; out of the $1,328,915 advanced for farm housing only $81,955 went to Negroes.

While Negroes have received a fairer share of the operating and emergency loans made by the Agriculture Department, the figures for this three-year period indicate that a group which could reasonably be expected to constitute 75 to 80 per cent of the farmers needing aid received only about one-third of the aid actually given. Of the $3,615,240 advanced for operating loans Negroes received $1,241,380; of the $358,330 advanced for emergency loans Negroes received $142,160. No Negro in these counties has ever had a soil conservation loan from the department.

Table IV

Farmers Home Administration Program for South Carolina

Fiscal Year	Operating Loans				Farm Ownership				Farm Housing				Soil & Water Conservation			
	Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	919	1,377	570	1,135	287	53	68	3	539	59	298	17	25	0	9	0
1960	773	929	516	670	292	63	76	12	354	47	158	15	36	0	21	0
1961	928	1,259	564	985	365	60	81	4	491	50	299	22	37	1	9	0

Table V

Farm Housing Administration Programs
in Nine South Carolina Counties

Allendale

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	7	16	7	21	10,430	22,755
1960	8	17	7	34	7,670	33,020
1961	5	17	8	31	12,020	32,590
Emergency Loans						
1959	0	8	0	6	0	6,350
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	0	0	0	0	0
1960	6	1	0	0	0	0
1961	5	2	1	0	4,860	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	2	1	0	8,500	0
1960	4	0	2	0	19,000	0
1961	18	2	5	1	54,000	5,000
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Bamberg

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	36	25	23	17	86,010	11,740
1960	58	27	26	24	64,415	18,025
1961	31	22	21	20	80,800	16,920
Emergency Loans						
1959	25	14	10	11	28,620	7,500
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	8	1	4	0	69,620	0
1960	1	0	4	0	63,650	0
1961	4	0	1	0	21,700	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	3	3	2	25,300	3,730
1960	7	1	3	1	9,130	2,000
1961	15	3	3	0	16,680	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Barnwell

Operating Loans						
1959	20	32	19	28	44,000	28,525
1960	34	30	31	30	72,080	31,165
1961	29	33	29	28	66,500	35,785
Emergency Loans						
1959	6	2	5	2	5,320	1,000
1960	1	0	1	0	1,500	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	1	2	1	1	7,450	2,890
1960	2	1	1	1	26,500	2,500
1961	7	0	4	0	38,470	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	1	5	0	30,135	0
1960	7	0	7	0	53,250	0
1961	17	1	9	0	98,000	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Calhoun

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	26	48	24	45	94,195	40,850
1960	37	65	34	65	45,110	46,710
1961	43	60	38	53	146,970	40,010
Emergency Loans						
1959	14	22	14	22	19,140	7,460
1960	1	3	1	3	6,000	1,380
1961	1	0	1	0	6,000	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	1	1	0	33,600	0
1960	4	0	2	0	39,130	0
1961	4	2	3	2	40,500	12,050
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	1	3	1	3	4,925	23,525
1960	5	0	5	0	39,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	1,370	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Clarendon

Operating Loans						
1959	18	113	32	82	81,700	75,000
1960	30	189	56	172	168,955	137,975
1961	36	161	57	139	245,880	120,695
Emergency Loans						
1959	26	120	22	145	59,940	88,505
1960	0	0	2	1	6,000	500
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	9	1	4	0	94,360	0
1960	9	3	3	1	75,650	8,200
1961	14	1	7	1	110,330	17,000
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	2	3	0	36,900	0
1960	7	1	6	1	55,750	6,500
1961	20	4	9	2	72,000	12,800
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Hampton

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	20	6	21	4	63,230	3,100
1960	22	15	34	20	110,325	19,630
1961	9	10	40	21	121,905	12,715
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	4	6	4	7,350	3,300
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	4	1	1	0	7,200	0
1960	7	1	1	0	13,500	0
1961	6	1	1	1	10,500	1,310
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	1	0	12,000	0
1960	7	0	4	0	34,000	0
1961	24	1	4	0	30,500	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	1	0	1	0	1,000	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	2	0	0	0	0	0

Jasper

Operating Loans						
1959	20	8	18	7	51,460	8,250
1960	24	17	23	11	75,210	7,655
1961	28	9	22	5	77,730	3,350
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	9	9	6	20,100	5,500
1960	3	0	3	0	1,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	20,500	0
1960	1	1	0	0	0	0
1961	4	1	1	0	4,040	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	0	2	0	28,980	0
1960	3	0	0	0	0	0
1961	23	1	10	0	108,860	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	1	0	3,500	0

Lee

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	13	20	21	32	55,500	27,110
1960	28	43	51	48	141,030	42,910
1961	32	32	72	57	239,860	45,030
Emergency Loans						
1959	11	23	17	21	47,500	13,100
1960	0	0	2	1	4,750	200
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	5	1	4	0	49,370	0
1960	8	1	0	0	0	0
1961	21	3	13	1	194,350	1,700
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	13	0	5	0	35,150	0
1960	17	6	15	2	91,900	6,350
1961	29	3	10	0	100,900	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Williamsburg

Operating Loans						
1959	40	186	41	174	73,680	119,320
1960	42	185	41	166	80,985	126,995
1961	36	189	38	166	66,310	133,550
Emergency Loans						
1959	2	14	2	13	3,350	7,365
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	11	3	6	1	120,200	9,900
1960	11	1	4	0	59,500	0
1961	12	2	5	0	62,100	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	6	0	66,000	0
1960	11	1	9	0	90,650	0
1961	25	8	12	2	125,850	22,050
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Part III

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Agency carries out various programs in the fields of production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price and market stabilization. Included within it are the ASCS state, county, and community farmer committee systems as well as most of the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

In some regions, however, notably in the South, leadership in local ASCS administration has been shared with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service. But since the Agricultural Extension Service in the South has been from its inception a segregated institution whose policies and operations were carried out by whites, Negro farmers are handicapped by the same pattern in the ASCS operations. In the nine counties covered in this survey, it is apparent that the farmer-committee system has not benefited the Negro farmer specifically or the Negro generally.

The state committee is composed of three to five farmer members appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, plus the state director of the Agricultural Extension Service. County committeemen are elected annually by the farmers of the county, with the county agricultural agent also serving as a committeeman. County committees are under the general supervision of the state committee.

The county ASCS office is the farmer's point of contact in the case of most price-supported commodities. For example, office personnel assist the farmer in the preparation of price support documents and check his eligibility for price support. Each committee employs an office manager, but the committee itself is responsible for all programs, policies, and decisions at the county level. To assist it, community committees of three farmers each are elected annually by local communities within the county.

Today some 90,000 farmers throughout the nation are serving as county or community committeemen. Inquiry at departmental level indicates that in the entire history of these committees only one Negro has ever served as a county committeeman. That gentleman was from Vermont and is now deceased. Negroes have served as community committeemen in the past, but the only known instances in South Carolina were in Beaufort County and in Jasper County, and that was some time ago. At the present time there seem to be no Negro community committeemen in the state of South Carolina.

The ASCS county committees are vitally important to southern farmers for this reason: in the last analysis, they control the distribution of crop allotments for most of the basic crops. Since those public and private agencies which extend credit to small farmers base their line of credit on the amount of alloted crops, any lack of concern for the small farmer on the part of local committees greatly affects his eligibility for Department of Agriculture loans and all other types of loan. And since the state committee operates in close cooperation with the local committees, the crop allotments directly under the jurisdiction of the state committee are influenced by the policies and attitudes of the local committees. Thus, unless these local committees operate fairly in setting crop allotments, the small Negro farmer suffers a severe economic handicap. True, there is a review committee, consisting of farmers independent of all county and community committees and appointed for various localities by the state committee, to which a farmer can appeal allotment decisions made on the local level. There are, however, no Negroes on any of the review committees currently operating in South Carolina.

Theoretically at least, elections for county and community committeemen are conducted in the best democratic tradition. But many Negro farmers in the counties under study do not participate in these elections. If they did, it could normally be expected that at least some Negro committeemen would have been elected.

Moreover, like the Farmers Home Administration, the local offices of the ASCS could make clerical, blue collar, and supervisory jobs available to Negroes. Yet, in the known instances where Negroes have applied for jobs in the area under survey, they have been turned down; indeed, no Negro has ever been hired for such jobs in these nine counties. In fact, throughout South Carolina, there seem to be no regulations, policies, or procedures established by the state committee (which, as noted above, is appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture) to implement fair employment practices contained in the civil service regulations or in the pledges made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

Part IV

Cooperative Farm Credit System

The cooperative farm credit system is administered by an independent agency known as the Farm Credit Administration. Its credit facilities play an important role in American agriculture and are closely related to the other sources of credit available to farmers generally.

The three main branches of cooperative credit are: 1) the federal land bank, long-term farm mortgage credit system; 2) the production credit association, a short-term credit system; and 3) banks which finance agricultural cooperatives (this branch, however, plays no role in the nine counties involved in this survey).

Some 370,000 farmers are currently members of the 800 or so Federal Land Bank Associations in this country. Members of each association elect their own board of directors from among their fellow members. In turn, each of the boards of directors select two of their members for appointment to the Federal Farm Credit Board, whose directors are selected by the President to determine policy on a national level. As far as can be ascertained, no Negro has ever served as a member of any of these boards, local, regional, or national.

The production credit associations are organized in more or less the same way as the Federal Land Bank Associations. Despite the fact that many Negroes in the South Carolina counties under study have borrowed through the local production credit association, they have not usually participated in elections for board members or in any policy-making procedures. Nor has any Negro ever been hired as a staff worker for the local association.

Part V

Department of Agriculture Extension Service

The Extension Service was established in 1914 to bring better incomes and better living to farm families. The land grant colleges and universities in the agricultural states have long been employed to carry out the purposes and policies of the Extension Service. One half of the extension funds used in South Carolina come from the federal government.

In the South, however, the land grant college was -- and largely still is -- a segregated institution. In South Carolina, for example, all-white Clemson College has been the main institution used. Any Negro extension or home economics work has been done through the all-Negro state college at Orangeburg and through all-Negro high schools. But a regular reading of South Carolina newspapers suggests that the activities of the Extension Service are primarily devoted to white farmers. There is no breakdown of funds between white and Negro extension work, but all indications are that the Negro farmer is not receiving a fair or adequate share of the funds expended in this field.

In the entire nine counties there are only five Negro men acting as extension service representatives and six Negro women as home demonstration agents. On the other hand, in each of the nine counties there are full staffs of whites acting as extension service personnel. 4-H Club enrollment figures show that three of the counties have no Negro 4-H Club members whatsoever. Because of the shortage of trained Negro extension service agents and the fact that they must cover far more territory and deal with far more people than their white counterparts, it seems fairly obvious that their work cannot begin to compare with the extension work being done in the white communities.

Again, as has been noted previously of other Agriculture Department agencies in this area, secretarial and clerical jobs with the extension service are available. But, again, no Negroes in the nine counties -- or, so far as it can be determined, in the entire state of South Carolina -- have ever been hired for these jobs.

Table VI

South Carolina

4-H Club Enrollment for 1960

Counties	White	Negro
Allendale	264	248
Bamberg	645	859
Barnwell	480	495
Calhoun	129	0
Clarendon	1061	880
Hampton	429	638
Jasper	435	0
Lee	271	0
Williamsburg	577	785

Part VI
Rural Areas Development

The newly-established rural areas development program seeks to bring about a better balance between farms and industry in economically depressed areas and thereby to create new jobs. At present, the program is being administered by the state and local representatives of the Farmers Home Administration. But, as noted previously, the state and local FHA offices in South Carolina are almost entirely staffed by whites. Thus there is virtually no Negro representation to improve the chances that new jobs created by the program will go to Negroes.

Several projects in South Carolina have already been approved. Yet not one additional Negro operative job has opened up, though it is possible that Negroes may eventually be hired to fill a few menial positions.

The program also calls for the establishment of training schools to teach new skills for new jobs. At the moment, there is no way of determining whether these schools will be segregated or integrated. Nor is it possible to tell whether qualified Negroes will be allowed to participate in all of the training courses offered or just in those for semi-skilled and less remunerative jobs. It is fair to say, however, that there is pressing need for the positive safeguards of Negro rights.

Part VII
Conclusions

The Negro farmer in these nine South Carolina counties seems not to receive anything like a fair share of funds appropriated for the aid of the small farmer, and receives shockingly little in the way of help for the acquisition of additional farm land to make his farming more viable, or for housing to give him and his family an incentive to stay on the land. The extension service takes no more than a passing interest in his problems.

No agencies of the Department of Agriculture nor of the organizations over which it has general supervision have afforded South Carolina Negroes anything like equal job employment. The only jobs available, besides janitors, have been those within the segregated practices of some of the agencies. There have been no clerical or administrative jobs made available to Negroes in South Carolina. Since the federal government provides virtually all the funds for all of these operations, it could be expected to insist upon the same pledges and practices required of private contractors doing business with the government.

Area redevelopment programs which do not from the outset provide for equal job opportunities for Negroes will only strengthen and perpetuate the present system of inequalities. It is ironic that Negro unemployment and under-employment is counted to determine area eligibility for area redevelopment assistance, while the resulting projects exclude Negroes from any direct job benefits.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

037

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

January 1963

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

In the summer of 1961, just a few months after the Kennedy Administration took office, representatives of nine large corporations, each of them a defense contractor, affixed their names to the first Plans for Progress, pledging their voluntary support for equal employment opportunities. They would work affirmatively, they promised, toward elimination of job discrimination in all of their branches, plants, and divisions. They would chart their progress on self-analysis forms supplied by the government. And they would do this, they declared, in the knowledge that they were committed, as defense contractors, to making their jobs available to all qualified Americans, regardless of race, religion, color, or creed.

The first Plans for Progress embodied a program originally designed to implement President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, issued the previous March. This order gave the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate discrimination in hiring and promotions. The key aspects of the Plans, as the program's supporters pointed out, were the "voluntary" and "affirmative" points of the documents.

The Plans not only pledged non-discrimination; they also committed the companies to positive steps in bringing Negroes and other minority groups into their work force in non-traditional positions.

The Plan signed by Lockheed Aircraft, for example, stated: "Lockheed will in its employment recruitment aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates in order to increase the number of employees in many job categories..."

Western Electric Company's agreement noted that "High school and college recruiting programs will include non-white students. Qualified minority group members will be considered for all job categories for which we hire including professional engineering positions, technical positions, administrative and clerical positions and shop work."

Because of the commitment to "affirmative" action, the criterion for success of the Plans is simple. Has employment of Negroes (and other minorities) increased, and have they been placed in non-traditional job categories?

Robert B. Troutman, Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and member of the President's Committee, has been credited with conceiving and carrying out the Plans, and became chairman of a sub-committee charged with spreading them. An advocate of voluntary compliance, Mr. Troutman was quoted in the summer of 1962 as saying: "Compulsion is not the thing. I'm a lawyer. I can show you how to get around the executive order. It's got to be voluntary."*

Since Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the first signer, joined the program in May 1961, a total of 105 firms have signed up, including 19 new signers in January 1963.

President Kennedy has acclaimed the program as "an historic step forward in the effort to secure equal employment opportunity for every American of every

*Mr. Troutman resigned from the Committee in the summer of 1962, but has since maintained a strong interest in the Plans program.

race, color, and belief." Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a statement made in 1961 when eight companies followed Lockheed's lead, cited the companies for "proclaiming to all the world that we mean what we say when we pledge equal employment opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Nonetheless, there was controversy over the true value of the Plans for Progress. The controversy, reported the New York Times on June 17, 1962, "has strong political overtones. It centers on reconciling the 'compulsory' program and a 'voluntary' approach being pressed by Robert B. Troutman Jr....who is a close friend of President Kennedy." The Times article pointed out that "some civil rights groups" felt that "Mr. Troutman's operation, if uncontrolled, will weaken the 'hard line' originally laid down by the President." The strongest attack came from Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who charged in April 1962 that the Plans had "resulted in more publicity than progress." In a speech delivered at the NAACP convention in Atlanta in the summer of 1962, Mr. Hill said:

> It is our experience that major U. S. government contractors regard the signing of a 'Plan for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract.... the program called 'Plans for Progress' is simply a public relations term for what in previous administrations was called 'voluntary compliance'.

The Plans for Progress, in idea, are akin to a recommendation made by the Southern Regional Council in January 1961. In describing possible action which the President could take to combat job discrimination,

the Council declared:

> ...the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. ...the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by /a/ new office...that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.
>
> The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the

government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

It will be noted, however, that the Council's recommendation did not visualize voluntary compliance, and would have, in fact, required compliance as a prerequisite to holding a contract.

While the controversy over the effectiveness of the Plans has diminished somewhat, there is still a widespread difference of opinion about the results of the program. Mr. Troutman made his final report to the President on the Plans on August 20, 1962. In it he noted that "the potential of Plans for Progress can now be clearly seen." He supplied these figures in his report:

--Thirty-seven of the Plans signers who had carried out analyses reported a six-month total employment increase of 3.1 per cent. In the same period, the number of non-whites employed increased by 10 per cent, a great deal, even considering that some non-whites would normally be expected to obtain employment.

--When translated into income, these figures show that "where expected total increase for

non-whites was $7,800,000, the actual increase was $27,000,000."

--In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by non-whites. At the end of the six months, according to Mr. Troutman, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filled by non-whites.

The Atlantan ended his report with the statement that "Plans for Progress is one approach. It was never intended nor expected to be a panacea; it is merely one avenue toward bettering the employment picture."

Mr. Troutman's final report coincided with the release of a specially-prepared study of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity made by Theodore W. Kheel, a former president of the National Urban League. Mr. Kheel's report was prepared at the request of Vice President Johnson. It urged the Administration, reported the New York Times on August 18, "to give priority to compulsory rather than 'voluntary' approaches to ending discrimination against Negroes by employers with government contracts."

In his report, Mr. Kheel contended that "purely voluntary approaches are not likely to produce lasting results," although he praised the "energetic leadership" of Mr. Troutman in getting 85 major corporations to join the Plans for Progress.

* * * *

Results, such as those reported last August, are largely general. They show what has happened in the nation. But what about the South? A $27,000,000

increase in non-white income is fine, but how much of that income was made available to Negroes in places such as the Deep South, where they have been systematically barred from equality in employment. If most or all of the increased opportunities occurred in places, such as California, which outlaw discrimination anyway, then the effectiveness of the Plans was being overstated.

To get an impression of the degree of compliance which has been reached by Plans signers in the Deep South, a limited survey was taken. Of the original 52 signers, it was found that 24 had plants, offices, or regional headquarters in the Atlanta metropolitan area. Of these, only one firm declined to answer questions about its Atlanta operation. Information was obtained about this firm from other sources. In almost all other instances, the regional executives talked freely and with apparent sincerity about the part their organization is playing in Plans for Progress. Most of the executives asked that their names not be used, and this request has been honored.

Of course, the way to test the effectiveness of the Plans in the 24 Atlanta firms surveyed would be to count heads and thereby determine what increase there had been in the number of Negro employees hired since the firms signed up under the program. Unfortunately, however, these figures were not available. Accordingly, this report is drawn from interviews with the Atlanta regional executives.

The firms are:

American Machine & Foundry
Burroughs Corporation
Chrysler Corporation
Collins Radio
Continental Motors
Ford Motor
Garrett Corporation
General Dynamics
General Electric

General Motors
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
Hercules Powder
International Business Machines
International Harvester
Kaiser Industries
Lockheed Aircraft
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator
Pan American World Airways, Inc.
Philco Corporation (a division of Ford)
Radio Corporation of America
Raytheon Corporation
Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge
Western Electric
Westinghouse

All together, the 24 firms employ, or have regional jurisdiction over, about 26,000 employees. The biggest employer of the group is Lockheed in nearby Marietta, with 14,500 workers. General Motors, with its assembly plants, is second with 6,490; Ford has 2,000. The others number their employees in the hundreds or dozens; some have as few as three employees in Atlanta. A large majority operate only sales and service divisions in Atlanta, while some also have distributing warehouses. All these firms, with the exception of Lockheed, are keyed to the city as a hub of southeastern business, service, repairs, and distribution.

All had at least one year in which to implement their Plans, to take affirmative and voluntary action toward elimination of job discrimination. Yet the results of the survey clearly indicate that, except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional office in Atlanta, largely meaningless.

Only seven of the firms interviewed produced evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledges. Of the seven, three--Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear--demonstrated what appeared to be a vigorous desire to create job opportunities.

The remaining 17 firms have paid varying degrees of attention to Plans for Progress, ranging from ignorance

to indifference. Some did not know what the Plans were (one regional manager referred to the program as the "Alliance for Progress") and others simply dismissed them. An office manager for another firm said: "I'm not familiar with the Plans for Progress. I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says." When it was explained that the president of his company had signed a document promising that his company would work affirmatively in all fields, this official had a ready answer: "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

Similar replies, perhaps a little less blunt, were made by several other executives. The most frequent comment was: "This is just a sales and service office; we don't have any manufacturing in Atlanta"--an unstated admission that little if any thought had been given to hiring Negroes outside assembly lines. When an executive was asked what his company's policy was toward job opportunity, he was likely to retort: "our company has always been open to every qualified worker, regardless of race, creed, or color." But, with only a very few exceptions, the policy was not being carried out in the Atlanta office. Or, in firms which have hired Negroes for hourly-paid or production-line jobs, the door to salaried, white-collar employment remains closed. The exceptions to this rule are discussed below.

The "fact" that Negroes were not suited for any but production jobs was voiced repeatedly, even by the executives who had a clear understanding of the Plans and who took a measure of pride in their company's participation in the program. An official at the Ford assembly plant explained,on a tour of the 22-acre facility, that the company "always hires employees on

the basis of ability," but pointed out that layoffs at the plant had impaired the company's ability to hire more Negroes. The few Negroes who do work at Ford busy themselves, usually in twos and threes, apart from their white fellow workers. The official was asked if there were any Negroes among the plant's 250 salaried employees. He answered, "No," with a note of surprise in his voice.

Other companies, whose regional executives seemed genuinely aware of the provisions of the Plans for Progress (and the Executive Order), said their work was extremely technical, implying that it was too technical for a Negro. Few appeared to have considered the hiring of Negroes as secretaries and clerical workers. And only one of the companies has hired a Negro as a salesman. The others reflected the statement of one regional manager, whose firm sells appliances and housewares all over the nation: "We signed it because practically all of our major manufacturing is in the northern part of the country. When [we] signed this Plans for Progress thing we signed it as a corporation as a whole. It doesn't mean that down here in Atlanta we have to hire them. This is a sales office." His company has a few Negroes on its Atlanta staff. The executive referred to them as "material-handling" people.

An official at Pan American World Airways said that "even though we're an international firm, we have to be localized in Atlanta." A manager for Kaiser Aluminum, whose president is a member of the President's Committee, commented "it would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire someone [such as a Negro] for an outside sales responsibility.... If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman."

Another company, which has tried to find "inside" jobs for Negroes in its Atlanta office, has not yet hired a Negro salesman. It took a survey, an executive

related, "to determine whether we might employ a Negro salesman. The results indicated there wasn't a need for it at this time. If our marketing needs should change, I don't think we'd hesitate to hire a Negro salesman." By "marketing needs," the representative freely admitted that he meant the Negro market. Yet this firm's Plans for Progress, signed almost one year ago, states: "Persons from minority groups will continue to be considered and selected for hiring for any job openings for which they are qualified, including, but not limited to, supervisory, professional, technical, administrative, clerical, and production jobs."

These statements from company representatives themselves show that, for every company which wants to keep its promise to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, there are several which view the Plans lightly--or who somehow believe that the program does not affect their Deep South operations. There is also some apparent confusion over the meaning of the phrase, "equal employment opportunity."

At Continental Motors, for example, an official contended that "we allow no discrimination whatsoever." Then he explained the differences between his 23 white and three Negro employees: "Back in the back, where we work these three Negroes, there are eight whites. One of the Negroes is a porter and general helper.... The other two are engine teardown and cleanup men. We term them 'mechanic's helpers'. Their restroom is called the 'janitor's room'. They're not told to go anywhere; they just go where they want to go."

* * * *

Seven of the 24 firms showed evidence of compliance with the objectives laid down in their Plans for Progress. Of these, only three appear to have responded with vigor

in their Atlanta operations. They are Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear. The remaining four do at least report the employment of more than a token number of Negroes.

In the last analysis, only three of the 24 firms studied appear to be genuinely interested in adhering to both the spirit and the letter of the Plans for Progress, but even in those three cases, there are other considerations which overshadow the Plans to some degree. Lockheed now has an unannounced number of Negro employees--unannounced because the company desegregated not only its assembly lines, wash rooms, and cafeterias, but its employment records as well. While an accounting of the number of Negroes employed at Lockheed exists, it exists only for the company and the interested federal agencies. There is sufficient evidence from unofficial sources, however, to show that Lockheed is carrying out its pledge and its obligation under Executive Order 10925.

It is worth noting, though, that even before Mr. Kennedy's election and the subsequent creation of Plans for Progress, Lockheed was claiming more than 1,300 Negroes among its Marietta workforce, which then numbered 20,000 persons. Some of these Negroes were foremen. Much of what has occurred at Lockheed since the new administration took office can be credited not to the Plans, but to a series of complaints filed by the NAACP. A man close to the situation at Lockheed observed that most of the firm's progress resulted from the NAACP complaints and from the company's own sense of responsibility. "In a way," he said, "they were doing everything they could before the Plan was signed... But there was certainly this idea of going and doing a little bit more. When Lockheed signed the Plan, they went into it wholeheartedly. This wasn't

just something they were signing and then turning their backs on. There were some areas that may have gotten a little added impetus from the Plan--some cases where the Plan made it easier to do some things."

Western Electric, one of the 22 companies associated with the giant American Telephone and Telegraph, operates a facility in Atlanta where 275 production workers and 175 office people handle the repair and distribution of all telephone sets and other equipment for Southern Bell's Atlanta and Georgia systems. The plant also repairs equipment owned by AT&T in the same general area. Western Electric was one of the original ten Plans signers.

"Our commitment is being carried out here and elsewhere," said W. F. Gannon, manager of the distributing house. "That's obvious." Fourteen Negroes are currently employed by Western Electric, 13 of them in production jobs. One is on the office staff. A tour through the production facilities revealed Negroes at work beside whites, with no apparent discrimination being practiced, either by their co-workers or by the company. "We have made more than a subtle effort to find qualified Negroes," said Mr. Gannon. "We looked three weeks for a comptometer operator. We have felt in all sincerity that we should hire people on their merits, rather than because of their origin." It appears that Negroes already employed by Western Electric will stand equal chances with whites of being promoted into white collar, even executive, jobs in the future. Yet an assessment of the firm's Atlanta stand on discrimination must include the knowledge that the NAACP has previously filed numerous complaints against the company's operations in other cities.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is a good advertisement for Plans for Progress--and for the power of the Negro market. The firm has about 160 employees in its Atlanta headquarters and in its 12 company-operated stores in the region. Personnel in these stores report to the Atlanta office. Of the 60 store employees, four are Negroes. The four are full-fledged "incentive salesmen," (as Goodyear calls its employees who deal with the public) in Miami, Fla.; Lima, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; and Pritchard, Ala., a suburb of Mobile. R. H. Donaldson, regional personnel manager of Goodyear, said all four are paid the same as whites (a base salary plus commission) and all are treated the same as whites. All four of the stores have substantial, but not exclusively, Negro trade.

"Good business? It's excellent business," observed Mr. Donaldson. "Good business from everybody's standpoint except those who are staunch segregationists. As long as they leave this thing more or less voluntary, it'll be all right. We won't have any trouble. In fact, before next year is over I believe we'll have some more Negro salesmen." In all four stores, he said, "Quite a few colored people have dropped in and said 'I bought this set of tires from you because you have a Negro salesman'."

"Sure it's good business. Of course, there are some places in the Deep South where it would be hard to force this on the public. But we are going to carry this program out, wherever we can--wherever the store is big enough and the situation allows it. Presidential order or no, we would like to have qualified colored salesmen. It would be to our distinct advantage."

* * * * *

Such is the range of reaction among Atlanta

regional executives to the Plans for Progress. Most felt--and readily stated--that the Plan was not applicable to them. A few said it would become applicable when the hiring of a Negro would be advantageous, i.e., when the Negro market demanded it. Some did not even know of the existence of the Plans for Progress, while others who knew, and who did employ a few Negro janitors or porters on their staffs, felt that they were thereby upholding the object of the Plan.

To sum up, indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves.

- : -

January 1963
Rerun February 1963

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

C H A R L O T T E

BY

PAT WATTERS

C H A R L O T T E

BY

PAT WATTERS

May, 1964

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Charlotte	Mecklenburg County*	Charlotte	Mecklenburg County*
Total	134,042	197,052	201,564	272,111
Negro	17,587	23,769	57,059	66,761
Percent, Negro	28	25.4	28	24

This is an effort to tell of the progress Charlotte has made in race relations. It is confined to the accounts and views of those who participated in the progress, the leaders and people of Charlotte. In brief, these people tell what happened, how it happened, why it happened, what the situation is now, and what is the outlook for the future. How the people directly involved view these things seems to us an important dimension of what actually has and will take place.

The City Hall of Charlotte covers a square block on East Trade Street, in an area of the downtown devoted to

*The metropolitan area of Charlotte comprises all of Mecklenburg County.

government buildings (the massive Mecklenburg County Courthouse is on the next square block), an urban renewal project clearing out a Negro slum called Brooklyn which had been regarded for many years as the city's worst, and a few blocks of small businesses, including a fish and oyster market, and pawn shops, one featuring in a window a gold-framed, tinted photograph of the late John F. Kennedy for $7.50. A little farther on, beyond a railroad overpass, East Trade joins Tryon Street at the "square," the shopping and business and financial center of the city. Here, the white-glinting Wachovia Bank Building dominates a grouping of old and new skyscrapers which, along with dressed-up windows of the smartest shops, invoke the mood and tempo of the standard American city. (A planning consultant's firm warns that despite its strengths, the downtown needs more attractions, high-rise apartments, better parking to avoid debilitation from surburban shopping center competition.) A fine planting of old and city-blackened trees are on the lawn of the big, concrete city hall, with its massive round columns, and in some of the trees there are bird-houses. One of the first things that stands out when you enter the high-ceilinged, wide-hall main floor of this southern city hall is a young Negro woman among the clerical staff of the Water Department,

seated behind the bill-payment counter. (In another government building across the street, a Negro man asks where is the welfare department, facing a sign, "Entrance--Welfare Department.")

It is here amid the typical trappings of the seat of municipal political power, including the grimly painted police department with its grisly display of burglar tools in a glass case, and the pastel-tinted, sunshine-lit offices of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Education Department, that a study like this begins. From here, like the dozen of intersecting and right angling streets that form patterns and squares and rectangles off the main arteries of downtown, the story moves out of the city. It moves to the big office buildings, the offices of Negro professionals the fashionable homes of civic leaders, a noise-surrounded slum, the city rooms of newspapers, with tempting sidetrails off into the legend of Daddy Grace and W. J. Cash, and into the living legend of the cluttered office of Harry Golden, into banks, stores, restaurants, the omnipotent Chamber of Commerce, Negro funeral homes, churches, all of these interconnected and influencing one another, like criss-crossings of streets.

On the second floor of City Hall in an old-fashioned office with modern design furniture, Mayor Stan R. Brookshire, dapper in a business suit and richly polished loafers, a man of medium height with graying blond hair, heavy-rim

glasses tinted faintly blue, talked easily, genially, carefully.

It was, he said, a combination of "social consciousness, civic pride, and economic considerations" which moved Charlotte in the Spring and early Summer of 1963 to desegregate voluntarily its leading hotels and motels, "90% of its restaurants," and its first class movie theatres.

(Previously, the city had desegregated its auditorium and coliseum, lunch counters, its schools, library, buses, bus drivers, police department, parks and their swimming pools, community services, Medical Association, to some extent its colleges and hospitals, and its ministerial association.)

Mayor Brookshire told of how a new wave of demonstrations in the Spring of 1963 was sweeping through other North Carolina cities, "terrifically embarrassing those cities," and how negotiations were underway on desegregation of Charlotte's public accommodations. Owners were all "a little afraid to move independently," fearing economic repercussions. Then he recalled the proud story, familiar to all Charlotte, of what happened next.

The mayor and J. Ed Burnside, Sr., wealthy small-loans financier, then president of the 4,500 member, vigorous Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, had a talk on Sunday, May 19.

They agreed to call the Executive Committee of the Chamber together to see what could be done about the danger of a demonstration crisis. Eleven of the 15 members of the committee were present for the meeting. Mr. Burnside asked what they thought should be done. A motion was made and passed unanimously, and the next day the Chamber's board of directors, 24 of the 39 members, was confronted with a one-sentence resolution: "We, the directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all business in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color." It was passed unanimously. Expression of dissent was encouraged; none came.

Then there were meetings with the owners of the segregated accommodations. "We wanted them to know that the business leadership of this community felt that this was the right thing to do," Chamber Executive Vice President Charles Crawford was quoted as saying, in a behind-the-scenes story in the Charlotte Observer by City Editor L. M. Wright, Jr.

Desegregation followed: first, the hotels and motels; then the restaurants; then the theatres. Reluctance of many restaurant owners was overcome when one of them suggested that the Chamber officials bring the first Negroes to lunch or dinner as guests in a staged "trial" desegregation. This was done, with arrangements for these

public appearances made by the Mayor's Community Relations Committee, a bi-racial organization to improve race relations. White and Negro leaders who participated in these impressive, staged desegregation dinners recalled them with pride, and a certain amount of awe. "A few people glanced up, then went on eating. There was no trouble," said Mr. Burnside of his party's entrance into a hotel dining room.

The mayor's Committee also organized test attendance by selected Negroes for the first desegregation of movies. For some reason, there was a good deal of concern built up in Charlotte over the emotional impact of Negroes being seated there in the dark of the movie theatres, a fear that in this city, which had already desegregated its swimming pools without incident, white reaction would be strong. It failed to materialize. "We saw a lot of terrible movies," said a Negro who participated.

Mr. Wright's story summed up the situation thus: "Charlotte chose a different way. In Birmingham, hundreds were marching in the streets. Closer to home, protesters sat all day in the mayor's office in Greensboro, and were carried out by police when the time came to close the office for the day. In Raleigh and Durham they marched, and they were arrested. In Wilmington, in Fayetteville, in Lexington, they protested. But Charlotte chose a different way..."

That Mayor Brookshire played a key role in what happened and in creating a climate in which it might happen is generally agreed upon in Charlotte. The turning point for Charlotte, according to Charles M. Lowe, another prominent businessman who is chairman of the county commission, began at a meeting of the Chamber's Executive Board "six or seven years ago." Mr. Lowe, active in the Charlotte Council on Human Relations and considered a liberal on race, had received permission to appeal to members of the Executive Board for merit employment. He said he knew that privately all there agreed with him. But Mr. Brookshire, a sales engineer who grew up in the small North Carolina town of Troutman, was the only man there who got up and said so publicly. So when Mr. Brookshire was elected mayor, said Mr. Lowe, and with his friend Ed Burnside at the head of the Chamber, he felt assured of good things for Charlotte.

"The mayor and Burnside did it," said Mr. Lowe, "People thought they were such fine men they would not lead them astray."

Mayor Brookshire handed over a story about his receiving the silver medallion of the National Conference of Christians and Jews on 1964 Brotherhood Day. It told of his gradual realization after the Supreme Court decision on schools that racial discrimination was unchristian and unjust. Mayor Brookshire cited the circumstances of his

election for a first term in 1961 as an important key to what he has been able to achieve. He did not receive the support of the majority of Negro voters. This went instead to a woman candidate, Mrs. Martha Evans, who had long been outspoken in support of liberal causes, including Negro concerns. Mr. Brookshire, who had been chairman of the United Appeal in 1956, head of United Community Services in 1957, president of the Chamber in 1960, was an accepted part of the business "power structure." He conceded that his decision to run in 1960 had "tie ins" with businessmen's doubts about other candidates, including Mrs. Evans.

The lack of Negro support, he said, enabled him to act on race relations without unfair political interpretations. He had "no commitments" to the Negro vote; he could act "in the best interests of all citizens."

The second time he ran, in the Spring of 1963, he had the Negro vote. Probably one of the most revealing facts about Charlotte's general frame of mind is that, despite Mr. Brookshire's record on race, and despite the fact that the build-up to a showdown on public accommodations had begun, race was not an issue, was not mentioned during the campaigning.

The astonishing and heartening reaction to the desegregation breakthrough was described by Mayor Brookshire. (He pointed out -- and all others agreed -- that there is no

organized segregationist movement in Charlotte and no vocal segregationist leader.) There were only a few local telephone calls and letters of protest. There was national acclaim, even international, with radio Free Europe and Voice of America doing special programs on the achievement, and write-ups in national magazines. Conventions have increased, and new industries have come in, as a result of the action, he said and, most importantly, the people of Charlotte responded with cooperation and pride.

Things, he said, have worked out splendidly at the desegregated facilities. There is a general feeling that Negroes wanted the rights more than they wanted to take advantage of using them. There had been recently, in February 1964, trouble at a few restaurants still holding out. The most notable of these were high-toned, supper clubbish places, nine in all, and all with Greek owners. There were various theories in Charlotte as to reasons for their reluctance, including one that they feared resultant prejudice against themselves. City Editor Wright in an interview said most had been about to go along in 1963, but they had got together at a Greek wedding on the weekend before a decision had to be made, and among themselves agreed to hold out. A sit-in had occurred in February at a recently opened place, the

House of Beef. When the owner turned the sit-ins away, all his Negro help quietly walked out. Mayor Brookshire expressed confidence it would all be cleared up through communication. "If we can keep the confidence of one another," he said, "we are in good position to handle problems intelligently, a good position for racial accord."

The likeliest future trouble spots, he said, will be in contacts among individuals. "People get excited." (A cursory reading of news stories over the past ten years shows an occasional burst of raw violence among individual Negroes and whites in Charlotte -- fist fights, rock throwing, even shootings. These seem isolated, unconnected with any desegregation development of the moment.)

"Our Negroes," Mayor Brookshire also said, "in Charlotte take considerable pride in their own race... They prefer their own churches. There is no effort to cross to white churches... They have some fine neighborhoods, and are anxious to preserve their quality."

On jobs, the mayor said, there are "more doors of opportunity open on merit basis than we can find Negro applicants for." Utilities, banks, the governments, he said, were actively seeking qualified Negro clerical help. He spoke with pride of Negro police and of the Negro employe of the water department "in plain view."

He talked of the Mayor's Community Relations Committee as the largest factor in continued good race relations. When he came into the office, there was a mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, appointed by his predecessor during the original sit-ins of 1960. It had been dormant since then, and, in Mayor Brookshire's terms, was largely a thing "to put out fires." He "reconstructed" it for "productive efforts to correct causes of trouble."

Asked what the city had learned from its experience with such a committee, Mayor Brookshire said the most important lesson had been the necessity that all negotiations be in good faith. There has to be "understanding, good will, and cooperation." This can create the necessary climate in which progress can "be made, accepted, and supported." The other important thing learned, he said, is that race relations is a matter of dealing with people. "When Negroes approach with militancy and threats, it is a matter of saying to them: 'Look, we can't fight and cooperate... Which do you want to do?'"

Behind all the recent progress, the mayor said, has been the previous record of the city. "We got past many problems early that are still bothering other communities."

Why? "It is probably just a willingness of this community to be more progressive, to accede to reasonable requests," said Mayor Brookshire. At another point, he conceded that "to be basically honest," he would have to

say that the city had not moved on any recent racial progress "without threat."

What of the future? The mayor handed over two of his recent speeches. The following quotations from them typify the spirit and the approach of the mayor of Charlotte:

> Two hundred new manufacturing concerns, 900 new retail and service outlets and 450 new wholesale firms, together with growth and expansion of old firms, have provided 55,000 new jobs in Charlotte which we did not have 15 years ago.
>
> Total employment in Charlotte now stands at 135,000, producing an annual payroll of more than 400 million dollars. It is interesting to note that 17,000 people from surrounding counties commute to Charlotte to work...
>
> Charlotte's retail business comes to 350 million dollars per year and our wholesale sales exceed two billion dollars annually, representing an increase of 75% during the past 15 years... More than 36,000 new dwelling units have been built in Charlotte in the past 15 years.
>
> Charlotte is a regional city, populous, prosperous, and progressive, with a proud past and a promising future, enhanced by the trend towards urbanization, occupying a strategic geographic position almost in the center of the two Carolinas, midway between the mountains and the seashore, and equa-distant between Richmond and Atlanta... At our present explosive growth rate we should have near one-half million by 1980, and perhaps a million by the end of the century...
>
> * * *
>
> The current movement of Negroes to secure equal citizenship rights and opportunities is just, and by the same token, discrimination based on ethnic differences is wrong -- both morally and legally...
>
> Although current racial problems are national in scope, each and every community must face them

and seek to find its own solutions...

The best approach is through bi-racial cooperation, with an involvement of total leadership, both white and Negro...

Progress is limited to the speed with which attitudes can be changed and voluntary cooperation can be gained...

The overall problem of racial conflict can be converted to an opportunity of raising the level of citizenship and building better communities, by making more of our citizens self-respecting, self-supporting and responsible members of society, thereby attacking many of our civic problems of poverty, slums and crimes...

Many hundreds of community agencies in Charlotte, most prominent of which is our Chamber of Commerce, through strong leadership, are making contributions to the on-going of our city and region.

Tangible efforts to build a better city, and to meet the challenges of both present and future, can be seen in our programs of slum clearance, zoning, thoroughfare planning, expansion of city services, fiscal matters, race relations, and our attack on crime, delinquency and poverty.

(The mayor also handed over a copy of the Declaration of Independence of Mecklenburg County. It is dated May 20, 1775, a year before the one of all the colonies. Historians argue over its authenticity, but there seems to be no question at all that Charlotte is the place called by Lord Cornwallis during the Revolutionary War "a damned hornet's nest of insurrection." The Charlotte of the past immortalized this in its city seal, fastidiously omitting the "damned." Such local hall marks of American antiquity seem entirely left out of the consciousness of the new

Charlotte with its glass and brick skyscrapers, its regional headquarters and financial centers, and its movement of industry toward chemistry and computers. The ancient cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church occupies a square block in the center of the business district, but many of its old headstones are toppled and broken. The church, built in 1832, rebuilt in 1894, occupies the adjoining square block, sending a thin spire fragilely up among the skyscrapers. The first settlers came in 1748; "Charlotte town" was chartered in 1768; it knew a gold rush in the 1890's, with a federal mint established (now an art museum); it knew plantations before the Civil War, the last meeting of Jefferson Davis's Confederate Cabinet, and cotton mills as its main industry until relatively recently.

Like nearly everyone in Charlotte, Mayor Brookshire had his own version of the immediate events leading up to the big desegregation breakthrough in 1963. (Everyone agreed on what happened in public. Disagreement was on such matters as motive.)

Said Mayor Brookshire: through the Mayor's Committee there had been a tentative agreement in early Spring of 1963 for desegregation of hotels and motels during the International Trade Fair (another of the civic feathers Charlotte had plucked for its hat). But when the fair was over, things reverted to segregation as usual. Negroes,

mainly the student protest movement at Johnson C. Smith University, were threatening to picket. But "there was not a single demonstration in Charlotte last year." The only thing approaching one was the holding of services on May 20 by Negroes at the courthouse in honor of Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence Day. Not it, but the pressure and the events across the rest of the South prompted the action by the Chamber of Commerce.

Many things about Charlotte's past, present and future can be seen by comparing the mayor's version of 1963 with that of Dr. Reginald A. Hawkins, a Negro dentist and ordained Presbyterian minister. The name of Dr. Hawkins inevitably comes up in a discussion of Charlotte race relations. He is either condemned as a hot-head (and highly effective) stirrer of trouble, or praised as the most effective of Negro leaders, responsible for most progress. Interestingly, the praise more often comes from white liberals than Negro leaders.

Here is how Dr. Hawkins, in an office of his modern glass brick clinic across town (with stylized African glass statuary on the waiting room walls), recalled the same events described by Mayor Brookshire.

Hotels, the mayor, the Chamber of Commerce and others were asked by the Negroes before the 1963 Trade Fair began to consider desegregation. They gave a "wavering response."

In April, there was a "dry run" on the Johnson C. Smith campus of a demonstration for possible staging during the fair to embarrass the many national and foreign dignitaries expected. Governor Sanford, said Dr. Hawkins, asked for a delay of the demonstration; "he felt he could get the power structure to move." So, Dr. Hawkins said, he went before the students and asked them to delay a demonstration planned for a Saturday a week before the Trade Fair was to open. He said he gave the city leaders an ultimatum that the demonstration would occur the following Saturday unless desegregation occurred by Thursday. Eight hotels and motels, he said, agreed but they wanted anonymity. They were tested during the Trade Fair, but nearly all, he said, denied being desegregated.

Plans were underway to attempt to swear out warrants under an old innkeeper's law of North Carolina requiring service by hotels to all seeking it. Then came Birmingham, and, in the midst of its atmosphere, the March on the Declaration of Independence Day (May 20). Dr. Hawkins said that at the time, city leaders were "threatened" with a march of 10,000 later in the month when Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would be in the city to speak at the Johnson C. Smith Commencement, unless desegregation had occurred by then. He also claimed that the Chamber of Commerce resolution had been written before May 20, with his participation in drawing it up.

"They are lying when they say that they did it all on their own," he declared. He said "they" were angry about being forced to act, until praise from the rest of the country poured in. "Then they dehumanized me -- said they did it in spite of me."

He also said: "Everything that's been done, I've had a hand in forcing... everything that they praise themselves for. They give no credit to me. It's the old pattern of dehumanization."

Dr. Hawkins said he considered his civil rights work in Charlotte a mission of his ministry and expressed the hope that by the time he is 50, in 14 years, he can be retired from both dentistry and civil rights and become an overseas missionary, perhaps in Africa or Latin America.

A native of Charlotte, he graduated from Johnson C. Smith, and went on to Howard College for the D.D.S. degree. He served in World War II and the Korean War, and during this military experience -- partly out of the influence of a Jewish roommate who used to discuss religion with him -- came his strong turn to religion. He went back to Johnson C. Smith and earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree. He is active in Presbyterian Church work, including its regional race relations organization. He also holds an honorary LL.D. from Johnson C. Smith.

"We will keep at it in Charlotte," Dr. Hawkins said, "until we get an open society. This is the human approach;

it includes all the people. They [the white leaders] don't like to be coerced, but they are happy afterward. Then there is reconciliation." He also said: "I was the first ever to challenge them and beat them. There were vicious reprisals... But now they are coming around because I've built up political power." He said he had organized enough Negro voters to "swing any election."*

Dr. Hawkins conceded that in the recent past "we have had success in Charlotte. We can tell of breakthroughs in every area..."

He said that he had used "administrative procedures" to force desegregation, as far as it had gotten, at Memorial Hospital through pressure from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

He said he had protested voter registration hours, including none at night or on Sundays and holidays, and what he termed the firing of registrars he had gotten to take registration on holidays. He said he had caused an FBI investigation of such charges and of another that several thousand Negroes had been dropped from the voting lists because letters delivered to their registered address had been returned, they having moved elsewhere in the city. He said he had filed a suit to desegregate the local Dental Society, not winning the suit but forcing the society to give up appointive powers to state boards.

---

*According to May 1964 estimates, there are approximately 15,000 Negro voters in Mecklenburg County, equalling about 15% of the total electorate.

He said he had warned against establishment of two segregated city colleges; the previously all-white one is now desegregated and the Negro one down to 66 day students. And he said he has written housing officials concerning desegregation of public housing.

The problems, he said, are all interwoven. In politics, schools, housing, hospitals, the YMCA, even professional societies, the people he has to deal with are the same.

Charlotte, Dr. Hawkins said, is presently a dangerous city, "more immoral than Birmingham." He said breakthrough come under pressure only, and then it's back to business as usual. Like the others, he listed as major problems, unemployment, housing, and schools.

Charlotte, he said, is as ripe for a campaign against tokenism as were Atlanta and Chapel Hill, scenes of protest demonstrations at the time of the interview. "We don't want," he said, "these other cities like Jackson, Birmingham and the cities in eastern North Carolina to become like this one."

His understanding of the mood of the white community was that it would budge no more in any area unless forced by him.

Then he outlined his "new approach" for making the white community budge. He said it was through the

"administrative procedure" approach he had used on hospitals. ("Demonstrations can take many forms, like bringing in the federal government...") He said he had been studying federal government regulations back over 16 years, and he knew which agencies could do what, and had access to them.

A crisis, he said, must be provoked through demonstrations or administrative procedures. "Negotiation first is no good." He pointed to negotiations then underway on the Greek restaurants and an airport motel (on urban renewal land) as a result of the walk-out the previous week of kitchen help at one of the Greek restaurants. He said he engineered that.

"We've never had a demonstration siege here," he said. "And this approach has worked."

He said he didn't expect any violence in Charlotte, because of "mutual respect" of whites and Negroes. "They know I'm not violent... If we keep moving, there'll be no violence, but there must be no letting up."

As for the approach of the mayor's bi-racial committee (of which he is not a member): "Other Negro leaders have been won over... City Hall and the power structure want people who will say what they want to hear... They tried it on me -- honors and all. But they haven't come to me with the American Dream -- equal opportunity, the right to vote, respect for my human dignity..."

"I am not satisfied with Charlotte as it is," said Dr. Hawkins. "I will not cooperate with an evil system."

"Woe to them," said Dr. Hawkins, quoting the prophet Amos, "who are at ease in Zion and to those who feel secure in the Mountain of Samaria."

The office of J. Ed Burnside in a new modernistic building which he owns, is quietly splendid, with plenty of shelves and space. One wall is decorated with beautifully done model automobiles, another with plaques and certificates honoring him, including an "Outstanding Community Service Award," and a "Man of the Year" award.

He said that the secret of what had happened in Charlotte was the extraordinary influence of the Chamber of Commerce. "Anything they back goes over."

As outgoing president, he had to appoint 51 committees involving every aspect of governmental and public life in the community. "Of all that I asked to serve as chairman, only one refused and he had a good excuse," said Mr. Burnside. "That's what makes it tick." Through efforts of previous presidents, said Mr. Burnside, the Chamber by the time he became president was the prestige organization of the city.

That's the thing that helped the mayor put it over, he said. "The prestige leaders took a stand."

He recalled that his own preacher, Dr. Carlyle Marney of the powerful Meyers Park Baptist Church, said, after watching the Chamber Board of Directors approve the desegregation resolution, "The Temple has moved downtown."

"He might be right," said Mr. Burnside. He emphasized the unanimity of business leadership in the action. At the executive committee meeting, "I brought up the question. I didn't tell where I stood." One man made the recommendation, the vote was unanimous, and a committee was appointed to draw up the desegregation resolution. It was approved unanimously the next day by the board of directors. "There was not a single vote of dissent. No one even suggested hesitation."

Reaction, he said, was almost universally favorable. Ninety per cent of the City Club membership congratulated him afterward, said it was the best thing he had ever done. (The City Club is the exclusive downtown luncheon club in Charlotte, with its own dining room, complete with a special roped-off "bull-pen" where members who come alone can find luncheon companions.) Hundreds of letters poured in from all over the country. New industries were attracted, including the Eastern Air Lines Computer Center, which -- given federal policies and attitudes -- probably couldn't have been without the race relations breakthrough, he said.

Through it all, though, Mr. Burnside said, it was emphasized that the move was made because it was morally right -- not for economic reasons.

Mr. Burnside echoed Mayor Brookshire in making another point. "I don't believe this is a church problem. It has to be solved downtown." A church, he said, is a group of people who combine because they like each other socially -- and he didn't mean that they are country clubs. In practice, there had been no trouble at Charlotte churches. Negroes had come to services, been seated and didn't return.

He told of attending a discussion with a Negro group, headed, "by a young man named Willie Davis." He was invited as the only white man into a Negro home to discuss race relations with a group of Negroes. "I told them there are many whites who have never seen a Negro Ph.D. There are many instances where white persons have told me, after meeting prominent Charlotte Negroes, "those are as nice people as I have ever seen." He said he went on to tell the Negro group "there is more segregation in your own race than between whites and Negroes..." He told them the story of how he had taken his own Negro chauffeur and yardman to the annual Chamber of Commerce dinner, and how this man had been snubbed by other Negroes ("big shots") at the table. (The Chamber of Commerce is desegregated, he pointed out, with 22 or 23 Negro members "with all privileges.")

Mr. Burnside told how he had been moved to action in behalf of better race relations. He spoke softly: "In Japan, I met a Japanese couple and their son. They wanted him to go to Duke. I agreed to sponsor him. When he got here, I had him over... took him to church with my family. Now his family had killed our American boys in the war, and here I was giving him benefits -- and I wasn't doing anything for the boy who is black..."

As for the future, Mr. Burnside said there is only one agitator in town, and that he has "no more than two per cent" of the Negro population in his following.

Negroes ought to be on the city council and the board of education, he said. One factor that has prevented it is in-fighting among leaders.

The gap between white and Negroes, said J. Ed Burnside, a self-made man, a South Carolinian who has, by his own words, "come a long way," in race relations and material success, can be overcome if all concerned will "shoulder their responsibilities."

"We must carry our part of the load."

The Chamber president who succeeded Mr. Burnside is John Belk, president of Belk Stores, headquartered in Charlotte, and operator of one of its largest department stores. He was less communicative, saying he preferred to be interviewed over the telephone.

He said the only problem in Charlotte was "colored people." In explanation: "The Lord made some white and some colored..."

Basically, he went on, the race problem is an economic problem... "It's like a man and his wife, something that will never get solved." But: "We have some real nice colored gentlemen to work with."

There are a lot of advantages Negroes never had which they deserve, Mr. Belk said. But there are some people who just want to cause trouble. With those not so motivated, he said, "we are willing to work for common goals." He said the Mayor's Committee is the agency "to put things across -- if the people want them..."

He said, too, he had met and talked with the Negro discussion group, from eight until midnight recently. "They think they would like to be white... They've made a lot of headway. But the offended brother is hard to heal... I don't see how he is offended..."

He complained of the many varieties of Negro leaders, mentioning the NAACP and CORE, and expressing relief that Charlotte didn't have as many Communists and "Moslems" as other towns... "We've got the best people in the country..."

He said civil rights had certainly become a big thing. "Politics is on a rat race with it. Education is on a rat

race with it. Charity is on a rat race with it. Religion is on a rat race with it. The solution is economic..." He gave charity as an example. "The whites are willing to help. But we'd like the colored race to help too... It takes time..."

Asked about the hope by Charlotte to receive money from the North Carolina Fund, an effort across the state to attack the roots of poverty, Mr. Belk said that the Bible says we will always have poverty. "It can't ever be eliminated." Shouldn't anyone try? "If we give up, we might as well be dead..."

Concern in Charlotte over race, Mr. Belk concluded, is a temporary thing. It will be shifted down. He described as the important things facing his Chamber administration, the development of regional planning for the Charlotte area, and the development of a university in Charlotte as part of the state university system. He discussed them at some length, and spoke also of efforts to bring the Metropolitan Opera to Charlotte for seven days.

In the middle of all Charlotte's race problems (and at the center of most of the interviews) is the Mayor's Committee on Community Relations. Charlotte's first bi-racial council was established during the sit-ins, in March 1960. It was called the Mayor's Friendly Relations

Committee. Mayor Brookshire changed its name and the membership and put it on a regular meeting basis, but he did not change the chairman. Having it headed by Dr. John R. Cunningham, distinguished former president of Davidson College, eminently respected and respectable, is considered a master stroke. At the dignified office, in the city's biggest building, of the Presbyterian Foundation, Inc., of which he is executive director, Dr. Cunningham, thin, gray, austerely genial, spoke the language and the accent of refinement which distinguished higher reaches of southern education and religion of a generation ago.

He had only recently moved to Charlotte, on retiring from Davidson after 16 years as president, when he was asked to head the Friendly Relations Committee. "I never dreamed it would be more than the lunch counter thing... It has come to be almost a half-time job... I never dreamed we would be facing up to a revolution."

He said he was very glad Charlotte had responded to the Mayor's foresight as it had. The chief duty of the committee had been to serve as a channel of communication. "A lot of problems are solved by this alone."

A fact sheet, which Dr. Cunningham wrote about the committee, lists 27 members -- one-third Negro, two-thirds white, representative of the population proportions. Members past or present have included, among whites, editors

of both papers, a member of City Council, two ministers, two doctors, a Douglas Aircraft official, three churchwomen; and among Negroes, two ministers, a banker, an undertaker, an insurance man, a doctor, a teacher, a professor's wife. (Dr. Cunningham said in the interview that extremists of either race were avoided.)

Subcommittees are on economic opportunities, housing, education, health, and crime... The Committee meets every second Tuesday "in the beautiful Board Room of the Duke Endowment." Dr. Cunningham wrote, "I would emphasize the importance of regular meetings. Even when there is no tension and when we have no special problem before us, we discover that meetings usually result in constructive proposals, reports on conditions locally or elsewhere and so forth. The committee has come to feel a bond of united concern and a warmth of personal relations which are great assets."

The fact sheet also praises Mayor Brookshire for his support, and his speaking and writing about better race relations. "Another very great advantage we have had has been the intelligent support of our two newspapers." It pointed out that at first the committee gave no publicity, but that later, as during the 1963 breakthrough, "it has been decidedly advantageous to be able to announce progress after a limited number of days of experimentation."

(Newspapers generally would chafe at holding off from such a story, even for a limited time to allow experimentation,

as the two Charlotte papers did when the Negro and white leaders were dining together to break segregation's ice at the restaurants. Asked about it, Observer City Editor Wright admitted some of his staff were disgruntled; Perry Morgan, managing editor of the News, claimed no one on his paper complained. A television station that tried to cover the event was told that if a camera were at a restaurant, the desegregation teams would not be, and the station would be responsible for blocking progress.)

"At the present time," Dr. Cunningham's fact sheet said, "practically all areas of the city's life are integrated at least in token form. We see no reason to question that, as the months come and go, the barriers of segregation will be gradually and fully removed. We have much to do in strengthening the Negro's position economically, educationally, politically and religiously...

"It is a tribute to the climate of our city and the quality of our citizenship that all these steps have been taken without a single incident of violence or public embarrassment." In the interview, Dr. Cunningham gave as an example of community response a statement by the president of a civic club to which he had described activities of the committee. "I'm from the Delta of Mississippi. But I believe all of what I heard today," the man said.

Dr. Cunningham acknowledged that "nothing is finally, completely desegregated," and that "we must make more

progress." He said the committee was working on the situation of the Greek restaurants. "Dr. Hawkins," he said, "furnishes us with splendid ammunition. He threatens and we use it" in negotiations. (Of Dr. Hawkins, Dr. Cunningham said: "He is such a difficult person. He has never recognized our committee in any way, form or fashion....")

Dr. Cunningham described what happened during the 1960 sit-ins. The committee worked from March to July for a breakthrough. The chain stores put it to the leading department stores, Ivy's and Belk's -- saying they would do whatever these local stores did. The two local stores were reluctant. Students met with them to put their position across -- the logic of demanding food where they were served in all other departments. Finally -- and Dr. Cunningham said unexpectedly -- he got a call asking him what would be the best day for the stores to desegregate lunch counters. He named a day.

"That was the beginning... Now in any area, as at a concert, people are used to it... we are not at the point where desegregation gets the ill will of the better citizen. They see what the community has gained the other way. People are over the fear of being called "nigger lover," now. Especially the younger people..."

He said a main problem is helping the Negro help himself and his own race. "They've talked about rights,

they must talk about their responsibilities. The Negro doesn't assume responsibility for his own people..."

As did nearly everyone, he listed main problems as education, jobs, housing. Of housing, he said the danger in urban renewal was that in closing out one slum, two or more were created. He described efforts to open jobs, and spoke of the difficulty in communicating opportunities. He told of speaking on the subject on television, and getting a phone call from a Negro job applicant before he left the studio.

As for the future: "What took place here with the Chamber of Commerce and the leadership is a real tribute... to all of them... We would have to have a complete turnabout of the climate of the whole community before the government or business would think in terms of turning back. They were so relieved we did not have a Little Rock or Jackson, that I can't imagine them turning back."

Dr. Cunningham's opinion was that the ministers had been a very strong influence. "Of our 27 members, if one of them is not a dedicated church member, I don't know it."

He handed over a stack of reproductions of all the minutes of committee meetings. They are a study in the slow but steadily effective work of such a group, and of its human processes of talking to one another and of discovery of one another and self, which may be its most important contribution.

"I took this job to serve my community," Dr. Cunningham said, "with some assurances of the support I would get. I've never thought of myself as an extremist. Maybe that's a reason I was asked to take it. I will do all that I think is right, but I hold to the practical. It can't all be done at one meeting or in one month... The committee is completely relaxed. Members can say anything they think. There is a spirit of utter good will..."

In all discussions, the Alexander brothers, Fred and Kelly, are described as important Negro leaders. Fred Alexander, a forceful man of middle age, balding, with heavy topped glasses, a thin moustache, talked late into the night about his city, his own life as the son of a Negro undertaker when few Negroes attained middle class. He talked of his people, and the problems past and future of Charlotte race relations. He is a member of the mayor's committee and a member of the county welfare board -- first Negro named to an appointive board. The interview was in tne den of his large, modern, tastefully expensive and beautifully furnished home in a Negro suburb on the western outskirts of Charlotte.

"We've had some progress," he said. "We've moved because a fairminded group of whites -- or one or two -- were convinced not to let the situation fall in on them."

The election of Mayor Brookshire was the first move, Fred Alexander said. A change in the Chamber of Commerce attitude was the next. It was a combination of these things that allowed sitting down and talking about problems and trying to avoid disaster.

He praised Mayor Brookshire, his willingness to be helpful and give leadership, "his going into the neighborhoods and hinterlands preaching this philosophy."

You've got to talk to businessmen across the board, said Fred Alexander. "Some feel the scare technique will work. I was born and brought up here. I've seen the rough days. It's stupid to think you can scare people who build 50-story buildings. You can be a nuisance. But you can no more scare them than you can come in my house and scare me. It's a matter of whether I want to listen to you and see if there is sense in what you say." He continued:

"If it had been fear alone, Charlotte would be in the throes of a demonstration still. The willingness of the power structure and the mayor to sit down and talk was the key thing -- the ability to find Negroes and whites willing to see if the conference approach would work.

"The Mayor's Committee is not a committee of handkerchief heads. I'm in the NAACP. My brother is on the board, and state chairman. We don't sit around and

make it easy for everybody. We say what we think." He said white membership was also "top flight." The committee has been the first means by which such men would sit down and talk with Negroes. "You can't get anywhere dealing with the poor white man. He's just like the Negro -- struggling."

Fred Alexander described the first year of the committee as a cat and mouse game. What did it accomplish? "The fact that Negroes and whites sat down together and stayed together twelve months was an accomplishment."

He said the committee members learned not to be afraid of each other, and that this opened doors that otherwise would have been closed. "So--we got the eating places." He said the committee counts 98 of them open to Negroes, but there had been no recent recheck to see if all were remaining open. "We have the major ones. We have enough so that Negroes don't have to wonder."

He said that talks on restaurants began about a year before the 1963 breakthrough. These were "feelers through individuals -- one or two contacts."

He said there are some "fringe places" still closed. "It's a waste of time to battle them. You could spend that time on something worthwhile."

The Mayor's Committee, he said, could handle the situation of the Greek restaurants. "The other element

wants the knockdown way. Give us a chance to officially confront them... Then, if that doesn't work, I say let's organize a demonstration of the first rank. Not a hit and run thing... just to get somebody's name in the paper... and cause foolish talk. You can't do that /have a first rank demonstration/ if all you want is flapjack publicity... 'I did this and I did that...'

"The community battle of status," he continued, "goes right along with the battle of human rights. You can't control it. It's part of the mores of Negro development. You can't wipe it out. You will find it in every community."

Dissension and lack of a broad base of leadership is the cause of the Charlotte Negro's ineffectiveness in politics, he said. The Negro vote is not organized, not cohesive. He denied there were any bars to registration. "It's lack of interest in doing the most important thing the Negro can do... You can't feel politics in the palm of your hand. We must teach the Negro what politics can do." White politicians are naive, he added. A professional slickster could easily take over.

Asked at one point whether the Mayor's Committee wasn't an excellent place to get rid of anger, Fred Alexander talked at greath length on how personally he had long ago rid himself of all anger in dealing with white people, and of what a struggle it had been. "When I want to disarm an opponent," he said, "the first thing

I do is needle him and make him mad. He blows up. I let him have it...

"I move in relation to my white bretheren with steps of caution... Not with anger or righteous indignation." At another point, he said: "Some may say nothing has been accomplished here. I say something has been accomplished in Charlotte. Why use a fist when words will do it? I exterminate you just the same... The fist penalizes me and nothing is accomplished. When I break your neck with words, I deflate you and get some response from you... This isn't an overnight process or tomorrow overnight... I, as a Negro, am chafing at the bit. But I can't kill this chicken that is laying the golden egg. I've got to get a lot more eggs... I'm not saying they've done all they should do. But we're making progress..."

He criticized the multiplicity of Negro organizations. "If you've got to have noise for existence, your effectiveness is gone." Referring back to the Trade Fair negotiations on hotels, he said, "The hotels were almost crystallized... This was almost blown up in a minute by the actions of another group. We were trying to do it quietly... We were able to smooth it out."

Then he addressed himself to the overall white leadership. "The leadership is always smart enough to ease up the pressure before something happens. This is the worst kind... We'd be better off if we were where we could see it

and battle it, instead of having to look for it, hunt it before we hit it."

Negroes from surrounding areas move to Charlotte, he said, thinking it is a mecca. "There is comparatively little police brutality. The man from the country can stand on the streets at night. There are no bad raids on juke joints. Nobody's going to snatch his beer and hit him with a blackjack. He's in heaven."

The city, he said, has "no big labor problems." Asked if he didn't think unionization might help in the race struggle, he said scornfully that labor unions offer little or nothing in the struggle for Negro rights in the South, not even membership.

He described Charlotte's emergence as a financial and distribution center, with increasing white collar influence, and said that "if progress in human relations is to be made in North Carolina it is fit and proper that it be made in Charlotte."

"But," he went on, "we are yet to make a dent in employment, in segregated housing and schools."

He said the effect of current urban renewal efforts and other forces was to herd Negroes together in separate housing areas as never before, and that this in turn reinforced segregation of schools. Negroes, he said, couldn't afford financially to attempt to move into a stable white

neighborhood. Blockbusting occurs with little tension, he said, in transitional areas. He said the center city was increasingly Negro, and criticized a Salvation Army plan to close a mission in a previously all-white area when there were now many Negro families within sight of its doorstep desperately in need of its help.

Housing and jobs, said Fred Alexander, would be the last-ditch battles. "It's the old social bugaboo... If you live and work together, then you'll be sleeping together..."

As for employment, "there are one or two Negroes hither and there where there were whites, as in the water department. This is too slow." It's not enough for the needed change of the image of the Negro. He needs to be able to aspire to more than the professions of preacher or doctor or school teacher or lawyer. "If we're going to be successful in directing kids to the right schools, they must see Negroes in the right jobs.

"This is a problem for the Mayor's Committee to wrestle with. I told them, 'You've got to stop talking about whether there are qualified Negroes. How are you going to find qualified Negroes when a whole generation of Negroes grows up without aspirations?'"

He said he was for reverse segregation - "put Negro boys and girls in a job over the white boy and girl... a Negro must be on front of a bank just because he is a Negro--

so other Negroes can see this...and be inspired."

What would the Mayor's Committee think of this? "They are willing to think. They haven't been hurt by what has happened so far... Talk and think... It's not as fast as I want... but I'm willing to work for it... to keep bringing it up."

Fred Alexander told how the Chamber of Commerce happened to be desegregated, he having been the first of the initial group to be signed up. "They wanted Dean Rusk to be speaker at the 1962 Annual Meeting, so they invited us to join..." He told how the Chamber of Commerce officials elaborately and tactfully arranged that Negro members would be seated with white members friendly to their cause at the first annual banquet they attended.

Then, with feeling, he tried, as a background for understanding dissension among Negro leaders, to explain some of the psychological grounding of growing up in the culture he has known in Charlotte. He talked of the deliberate patterns in slavery time whereby the white owner of slaves convinced those he owned that they were the best slaves, and all others were of no account, and of the continued tradition of whites convincing Negroes who work for them to turn to them, the whites, for all assistance, and depreciating any efforts by Negroes to help themselves or each other. He described the effect upon himself and his brother of growing up in a home owned by their parents, with "no white rent man" at the door, and of having parents

not employed by whites... "I grew up independent..."

He told of his efforts to help other Negroes in Charlotte to know the freeing influence of owning a home, his encouragement of a white contractor to be the first to build Negro homes, and sell them at a low margin of profit. (Now, he said, since that contractor got rich, any contractor in Charlotte is glad to build Negro homes.) The children of these people, he said, have a chance to grow up without a white-induced inferiority complex. (His business is housing. He is manager of a Negro apartment project whose construction he also encouraged as the predecessor to the private homes.)

Fred Alexander also described the base of Negro leadership in Charlotte as being extremely narrow. He said there were just not enough men with money and education to get things done, compared with such a southern city as Atlanta. He said lack of money prevented attraction of any great Negro preachers, explaining the absence generally of preachers among the leadership. He said educators tended to be concerned only with their schools. Summing up, he said: "Jobs and housing and education -- these are the keys. Our doom is sealed without them."

And: "Much depends on how long we can keep in office the type of men we have now..." (He included as very important the chairman of the county commission, Charles Lowe.)

And: "The North Carolina Fund will help too. All poverty is wrapped up in segregation and ignorance... for whites and Negroes... It transcends race."

And: "If adult Negroes ever go into the streets here, something bad is going to happen. So this should be the very last resort..."

He returned once more to the question of anger. He told of how his daughter at the age of eleven, home from a northern, integrated situation, chided him about not taking her to the airport park. She said she knew why he kept putting her off. "I don't believe," she told him, "that I like white people down here." That, said Fred Alexander, was when he had to talk strongly and truly to her. "I don't want her to grow up with any feeling of hate in her."

He also said this of his dealings with whites on the Mayor's Committee and otherwise in Charlotte affairs: "I know that they too are fighting their consciences, as I fight mine to maintain feelings of strength in belief of the goodness of their motivation..."

Fred Alexander has described himself and his brother as sort of a team. His brother, Kelly, he said, as an NAACP official was regarded by some as a radical, wasn't a member of such things as the Mayor's Committee. Those who didn't want to talk with Kelly, he said, could just come to

see him and vice versa. In an office of the family funeral home, which he now runs, Kelly Alexander, darker, with a heavier moustache, talked rapidly, directly, organizing his thoughts carefully.

To understand progress in recent years, he said, required knowledge of the historical background for it, and this required knowing that until a few years ago the NAACP was "the only voice crying in the wilderness." He went on to outline NAACP involvement in getting Negro police, golf course desegregation, other recreational facilities, including swimming pools (which to date have never been much used by Negroes), voter registration, desegregation of the Democratic Party on the precinct level, and Negroes on policy making boards. He described his own two races for the city commission, claiming that whites pitted Negro opposition against him to split the Negro vote.

He described an NAACP survey of educational needs in 1947 which in effect demanded really equal separate schooling. After the 1954 school decision, the NAACP, he said, spearheaded efforts to desegregate schools. This came in 1957 in coordination with desegregation in Greensboro and Winston Salem.

He depreciated the effect of threatened demonstrations on the 1963 breakthrough, saying the real cause was the first

election of Mayor Brookshire which he said was done with the help of the NAACP. He also praised the Mayor's Committee.

The NAACP program for the year, he said, includes objectives of electing Negroes to public office, "from the legislature down," particularly the school board, and increasing and expanding desegregation. The program also includes integration of public housing. Its objectives in terms of equal job opportunities is the closing of the educational gap -- following, said Kelly Alexander, the recommendations of the NAACP study of 1947. There is also a need to motivate and stimulate Negro youngsters into new skills, and continuing a battle to open new jobs.

Negroes already hold such jobs as telephone operators, bank blue and white collar workers, postmen, and higher and maintenance positions at Douglas Aircraft. There have been some in-roads in textile mills. (A notable addition to Charlotte banking was the opening in 1963 of a branch of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham, first such Negro-owned institution in the city. At dedication services, Lorimer D. Milton, president of the Citizens Trust Company of Atlanta, a Negro-owned institution, declared: "Where there are no active banks there are no rights except the right to spend... The do-gooders don't get the job done. Politicians understand only money and power and they have to have one to get the other...")

Kelly Alexander said the attitude of the administration of Governor Terry Sanford had been important in Charlotte's achievements. He said Governor Sanford understood that the state could gain only by improving the status of Negroes.

About dissension among Negro leaders, he said: "I don't have to do things at my age some people seem to think they have to do." Differences, he said, are only on technique and strategy. "We are in the minority," he said. "We must have allies." And:

"I understand what it means for a white man to come to the point where he says he will do something. My long experience in civil rights makes me appreciate a mayor like Mayor Brookshire..."

He said, he thought dissension among leaders did no more harm than fallings out that might occur between Senator Eastland and Rep. Smith of Virginia. "The difference is not sharp enough to throttle and impede the drive to freedom... My dedication to the NAACP would make me less than a leader if I didn't at all times seek to sell our position..." He said the NAACP had backed Dr. Hawkins's suit against the dental society even though he had resigned from the organization.

"There will never be a roadblock to keep any Negro from using the facilities of the NAACP to advance Negro rights..."

The buildup and background to the 1963 Charlotte breakthrough was discussed in passing by nearly everyone interviewed. Probably the most detail was given by Dr. Raymond Wheeler, a leader in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, whose activities he outlined.

With the strong leadership of the late Harry Jones, executive director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, he said, the Charlotte council was active and effective in a range of activities, from writing letters to the editor to making statements before any group that would listen. He mentioned the early effort by Mr. Lowe, a strong member, to get the Chamber of Commerce to take a position on open employment.

"The Council put people on the spot and was turned down time after time, but kept coming back."

Early desegregation in Charlotte included the library, the Medical Society, the recreation facilities, the auditorium and coliseum, the United Appeal, the Unitarian congregation, and (while barring Unitarians and Jews) the Ministerial Association.

Part of the atmosphere that contributed to the 1963 breakthrough harks back to the 1957 school desegregation, and guilt attached to it. Dorothy Geraldine Counts, 15-year-old daughter of a Johnson C. Smith professor and

minister, the Rev. Herman Counts, was one of three Negroes assigned to three schools. Hers was a tough one. Newspaper accounts of the time tell of a white woman in the crowd the first day when Miss Counts came to the white school, crying, "Spit on her, girls." They did -- when she entered and when she came out. Remarks were hurled and sticks thrown. "Dorothy Counts never lost her composure or her dignity. The whole thing could have been stopped by proper policing." She withdrew from the school.

The Council on Human Relations had tried to get the police department and the school board to act against the unruliness. This was unsuccessful. Then worldwide indignation over the treatment of the young woman poured into Charlotte. It was printed in the local papers. "There was a resolve it would never happen again," said Dr. Wheeler.

He cited long-running controversy over hospitals and city colleges as examples of Charlotte at its worst on race relations.

In 1955, a committee of white and Negro leaders was appointed as a social planning council to make recommendations on hospital needs. Outside consultants were brought in, and after careful study a report was rendered to the city council that hospital facilities for Negroes were wholly inadequate. In the main, these consisted of an

Episcopal Church-owned hospital, then called Good Samaritan. The report to the city council said it was in such poor shape it would be impossible to renovate. The report urged a bond issue to add 250-beds to the then all-white City Memorial Hospital to be operated on a non-discriminatory basis, and that Good Samaritan be closed as soon thereafter as possible.

The city council in effect pigeon-holed these recommendations until 1959. A bond issue was subsequently passed on the basis of the report, reflecting a community concern about standards of health care for both races. Negro leaders supported it on the supposition that the recommendations on Good Samaritan would be followed. Then, as the 250-bed wing of Memorial neared completion, a committee from the Hospital Authority, representing boards of both hospitals, appeared before city council -- at first suggesting that Good Samaritan be rebuilt at a cost of $1,500,000, then retreating in the face of community protest to a recommendation that it be refurbished at a cost of $800,000. This would be temporary -- while yet another 250-bed wing was added to Memorial. In the Spring of 1960, another bond issue was voted which was regarded as accepting this interim idea.

The renovation of Good Samaritan, however, was delayed, reasons including difficulties over spending bond funds on a church-owned institution. Then when construction began on the second wing at Memorial in 1962,

the plan for a virtually new building at Good Samaritan was revived by the Hospital Authority. Instead of $800,000, funds amounting to $1,300,000 were put into this. Matching funds from the federal government could not be had. Approval could not be obtained from the North Carolina Medical Care Commission which administers Hill-Burton funds. In its opinion, the hospital could not be brought up to minimum standards without unreasonable expenditure of funds. Some doctors, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations, and, for the first time, the Charlotte Observer, protested. They pointed out that white doctors do not use the facility, Negro doctors do not have enough specialists among them to staff a hospital adequately, and that there are no accredited schools in the state to supply it with either Negro nurses or laboratory workers. Nevertheless, the construction went on, with the idea of keeping the facility (now called Charlotte Community Hospital and now theoretically but not in practice desegregated) going another ten or 20 years.

Memorial, meanwhile, is also, because of such pressures as inspections on specific details by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to some degree desegregated. Its clinics, including emergency clinics, are. But admissions are keyed to 75 or 85 beds on separate floors or wards for Negroes. Nearly all Negro indigent patients, their right

to be there and their bills assured, use Memorial, leaving other Negroes to wait or to go to the inadequate Charlotte Community Hospital. Its load has decreased, and to meet bills it has to keep going back to city council for more money. To date it has no full time radiologist or pathologist, and no anesthesiologist at all, and no prospect of getting any of them.

All of this, said Dr. Wheeler, indicates a long-range and deliberate effort, "brilliantly executed," over the years to keep a segregated, all-Negro hospital in the face of factual evidence that this is financially unwise and means second-rate medical care for Negroes. The result is to reserve the best medical care for white patients, when all might, as is their minimal due, have it.

A similar story emerges on the city's colleges. From 1944 to 1959, after they were dropped from the extension system of the University of North Carolina, Charlotte College for whites and Carver College for Negroes were operated by the city's board of education. They previously had met at night in high schools and their faculties were mostly from high schools. The white college changed to day classes and became accredited as a junior college. The Negro school continued with primarily a high school-parallel curriculum, with a few graduates going on to Negro colleges. In 1959, a board of trustees over both was formed, and a bond issue proposed to build a campus for each: $575,000

for the Negro institution, $1,375,000 for the white.

The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations and others questioned the wisdom of voting money for separate schools when segregation was being abandoned in state institutions of higher learning. A letter to the board of trustees was unanswered; talks with members got nowhere; finally a letter to the editor of one of the papers was published. Members of the Council on Human Relations were told they were endangering the bond issue and the negotiations with the state legislature in Raleigh for state funds. It was hinted that if they would leave the matter alone, they would eventually get what they wanted, with the Negro campus turned over to the city for a high school.

When it was announced that the contracts had been let to build the Negro college, the Council on Human Relations, with Ernest Delaney serving as spokesman, led a group of citizens before the board of directors to protest the waste of money in obvious duplications. In reply to a board statement that the Negro community wanted the Negro school, they presented a petition with 1,000 names of Negro citizens protesting it.

They were accused of being more interested in social engineering than education, and told that they were falsely injecting a racial issue into the situation.

In 1961, contracts had been let to build both schools. A suit seeking to prevent this lost in state courts. One of the schools was still called Charlotte Community College, a liberal arts, junior college. The other was called Mecklenburg College, ostensibly a vocational training institution. They were called desegregated, and the rationale for building two was that they offered different programs. But investigation proved both to have identical curricula, the only difference in them being an all-white faculty at the one, all-Negro at the other, one located in a Negro area, with students from the one being sent to the white hospital when ill, and at the other to the Negro hospital.

By 1963, enrollment at Mecklenburg had dropped so low that classes were discontinued. Students were transferred to Central Piedmont Community College, a desegregated trade school, and the college, with 13 classrooms, an administration office, and a library stands empty. Charlotte Community College meanwhile has admitted Negro students, and in 1963, some $92,000 worth of renovations was ordered there.

The pattern of clinging to a Negro institution, changing its name, and calling it desegregated did not work here as with the hospital, but in the process another large amount of money was wasted.

Against this backdrop, Dr. Wheeler said progress in the future can come only by "more hard work and different approaches."

Dr. Rufus Perry, president of Johnson C. Smith, 1000-student liberal arts and divinity school, filled in another chapter of race relations background. He described how the sit-ins came to Charlotte three days after they started at Greensboro in 1960. He read about that historical first one on a Thursday, set a faculty meeting for the following Tuesday in anticipation of sit-ins spreading, like panty raids, to his campus. They reached there on Monday, the day before the faculty meeting. His reaction? "For 30 years I had been teaching human dignity, Christian living, and brotherhood... When these people went out to attain them, I couldn't say no." His only restriction, he said, was that academic standards be maintained.

He said rapport was excellent with the police and merchants during the sit-ins. (Others, including Dr. Sidney L. Freeman, pastor of the Unitarian Church, who led the few whites participating, confirmed this.) At that stage, students didn't particularly want to be arrested, he said. Only three of his students ever were -- and charges against two were dismissed.

He and others on campus received bomb threats and other abusive communication from whites. "We ignored it." The students also had considerable support, he said, from large segments of the white community, including many who withdrew charge accounts from stores being picketed. Despite warnings that Johnson C. Smith would lose financial support, the fund campaign of the year of the sit-ins was more successful locally than it had ever been.

Dr. Perry said he thought one generally overlooked factor in all the discussion of the student movement had been the role of the influence of Negro colleges over the years -- "the sound, wholesome training." He said the highest aspirations and ideals of the student movement were simply a dramatic expression of what had been "deep in the educational philosophy of most southern Negro colleges for the 90 to 95 years of their existence..."

(The dramatic success of the sit-ins still can be startling in retrospect, to see it leap out of old news clippings from the midst of years and years of delay and slowly inching progress in other areas of racial change. Sit-ins came to Charlotte on February 9. On February 20, students were served at one lunch counter. By July, most in downtown -- seven -- were desegregated.)

Dr. Perry said there was intermittent student activity on hotels and theatres from 1961 until the Mecklenburg

Independence Day march of the Spring of 1963. Dr. Hawkins, he said, was mostly on the sidelines -- lending his car, offering advice -- until 1962 when he became "highly vocal." Since then, he had emerged as "the most vocal" Negro leader. He expressed general support of him, but said he disagreed on Dr. Hawkins's charges about voting. "It's not encouraged, but if a Negro takes the initiative to register, he can with no trouble."

Of the 1963 breakthrough, he said: "It was the same thing that happens in any community. When the power structure speaks, all opposition gives way."

Like nearly everyone, he said the immediate problems are jobs, housing, and education. (He showed a signed postcard he had received that day, for whatever it might be worth in assessing the immediate mood. "Dear Mr. President," it said. "I want you and the mayor and Harry Golden to help us colored folks. They is pushing us around too much. Please come out in the newspapers of Charlotte that you is all behind us.")

His view of employment: there had been "tremendous response" among employers to appeals to hire Negroes. Yet for specialized jobs -- engineers, for example -- there were no qualified Negroes available. He blamed "years of deprivation." As an educator, he said he knew the difficulty of motivating students to train for jobs they knew they

could never get. Jobs requiring no more than a high school education -- clerical work, sales, lower-level managerial -- need opening up. "They complain of difficulty finding good clerical help. I know this is true. But it's not a racial problem. There has to be opportunity to train on the job. That's what is done -- white or Negro."

On housing, his school has applied for a $3,000,000 federal housing loan for a 300-unit low-income apartment. It will be non-segregated in policy. Until recently, he said, real estate people have succeeded in blocking most public housing.

He talked at length of overcrowding at Negro public schools, telling of the experience of his daughter in one of them. Her classes are small -- a rare thing -- because she is in a selected scholarship group, but she often misses lunch because the cafeteria is too crowded to get in.

He, too, saw the North Carolina Fund as a key factor in solving race problems of the future, and spoke of his own interest in research into the culture of poverty. With his Chamber of Commerce membership plaque on the wall behind him, he said the basic issue for the future was unity -- the concept of human rights and the fully integrated society.

Dr. Sidney L. Freeman at the Unitarian Church added these recollections of the sit-ins. They had extraordinary student leadership from Clyde Carter, Charles Jones, and Robert Gore. (The latter two have made names for themselves in national civil rights organizations since.)... Students would call police before a demonstration, in effect got an armed guard. Police maintained real order with great impartiality... The police chief then, named Jesse James, called Dr. Freeman in and expressed concern over "white ladies" getting involved with Negroes in the demonstrations. "He didn't urge against it, but he wanted me to be aware of the danger..."

Dr. Freeman, a transplanted Northerner, described how little practical power in Charlotte attaches to "old families" and "old wealth" per se, and how much it goes to men who are successful in business and assume civic leadership roles. The criterion is strictly success, he said. He also described what others noted and what became apparent in conversations: Charlotte's sense of rivalry with Atlanta in business and in cultural affairs. (Invariably, the fancy shopping centers would be compared with Atlanta's.)

Dr. Freeman also said: "The opposition provided Mayor Brookshire in his first race by Mrs. Evans may have

been crucial. She forced him out on the racial question, "perhaps more than he intended."

Charles Lowe, both as president of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Council on Human Relations and personally, had a big effect on creating Charlotte's good atmosphere on race.

Mr. Lowe, a heavy-set, energetic man, is chairman of the Mecklenburg County Commission, a position not often in the South aspired to or held by a man outspoken for better race relations. How did he happen to get in politics? "I was an adopted child," he answered in a sort of telescoped use of words that seems to be characteristic. "So this might be considered noblesse oblige."

He said he hadn't particularly enjoyed politics, but felt it was something he should do. He apparently has spent much effort getting others to run. He said the calibre of the county commission is now such that there is no longer a tendency to pass the buck to the city, and there is a willingness to use planners and modern methods on problems.

The county now hires Negroes as farm agents, laborers, nurses, and welfare and juvenile court case workers. The commission is discussing Negro deputy sheriffs and secretaries.

People in the county, particularly low-income, rural whites, are less inclined to accept desegregation than

those in Charlotte, he said. (This is a problem cited by school officials; the city and county systems are combined.) Mr. Lowe said he thought part of the trouble is fear of something or someone they don't know. He recalled how in his business, an electrical distributing firm in a warehouse-like building out from the downtown, he called in his force and asked if they would object to his promoting a young Negro maintenance man to a fairly important job. The man knew the duties, and was capable, he told his other workers. Sure, they responded, because they knew him, we'd like to see him make more money.

Mr. Lowe talked of a move afoot by the personnel manager at Douglas Aircraft to get all agencies together interested in hiring on merit for regular meetings to discuss problems. He showed a letter giving results of such a meeting -- an agreement to seek North Carolina Fund money for a placement bureau to be run by the East Side Council on Community Affairs headed by the young Negro leader LeRoy Polk, and an agreement to seek a seminar by the Mayor's Committee on employment of Negroes.

Many people, he said, think things but are afraid to go out on a limb. This sort of thing gives them courage.

(As an indication of the complex interconnections of people and events in Charlotte race relations, Dr. Hawkins was critical of a written presentation on the Placement

Bureau prepared by Mr. Polk's organization. He called it a means for the white employer to get the "monkey off his back" and termed Uncle Tomism a paragraph which said: "the only 'cause' the Bureau will advocate is JOBS. The only thing it will 'propagandize' for is JOBS. The only 'marches' it will join are marches to WORK. The only 'advancement' it will advocate will be job advancement through merit. The only 'right' it will plead for is the right to WORK!")

Mr. Lowe said that the approach needed and possible in Charlotte on jobs, as on all other aspects of race, is the one used by an intelligent community on any other problem -- a sitting and looking at the problem and working out rational solutions. "We need to sit and look at the race problem just like we do any other problem... Figure out how to solve it... Set up a timetable... and work at it..."

Like most others, he said the North Carolina Fund is a key to the future, that the day is closing when poor whites and Negroes will allow themselves to be pitted against each other, when their problems are the same. He, alone among those interviewed, mentioned labor leaders in the area, praising them. He said they were doing as well as they could on race and other activities. He singled out for praise Floyd Henderson, president of the Charlotte Central Labor Union.

Of Dr. Hawkins, he said there was honest difference of opinion. The white man's view is that he has done a lot of good and harm. "He pushed us faster than we wanted to go." He made many mad. "Some think he hurt race relations. But in his own way, I expect he helped. I tell my white friends if we were Negroes, I expect we would say things are too slow." He said Negroes in good positions tend to like the status quo as much as their white counterparts. "The youngsters challenge them as much as the whites. It's like competition in business. It's human nature. How to get all people to look at problems objectively, instead of what's in it for me -- that's what we need."

The future, said Charles Lowe, will see some leveling off -- no continuation of the "tremendous" progress of the past few years. There will be gains but not as fast. Negroes will need "to study harder, to toe the mark, to seek jobs on quality, not on the basis of race...

"In the past, it's been dog eat dog. Now, it's live and let live. Within the next ten years, we may have 'live and help live.'"

Mr. Lowe, in discussion of how the good atmosphere for the breakthrough was built, said churches had not been in the forefront, but had done much good behind the

scenes. He, like many others, singled out Dr. Carlyle Marney, pastor of the Myers Park Baptist Church, as one who was outspoken, who didn't seem to share the feeling of many preachers that gestures costing loss of a job accomplish nothing.

In his book-lined, paneled office at the magnificent church in Charlotte's finger-bowl district, Dr. Marney, a happy-faced, middle-aged man who has published Structures of Prejudice and other books, said yes, he carried his resignation around in his pocket.

He introduced the attractive young Negro woman who is one of the church secretaries, showed the Negro children in an integrated nursery school, and described activities of the church, including a regular Sunday morning TV program on race relations, a mission program to help "mamas with nothing but 300 years of hopelessness to give their children," and plans for sending the youth of the church into the slums to help a family apiece. He described some of the special presentations members of the church have been faced with, including a program in the format of a radio show in which four Charlotte high schoolers from behind a curtain, unseen, talked feelingly of their ambitions in life. There was a gasp in the congregation when the curtain was pulled away and two of the high schoolers were revealed to be Negroes. (The congregation is not desegregated.

When it does become so, Dr. Marney said he feared it would be only by Negroes "of our class.")

Dr. Marney said he didn't create what was in the church -- which includes in its membership many of the rich and powerful men who made the 1963 breakthrough possible. It was there when he came, he said. He related what he told the committee which came to hire him: "They asked what I thought of them and I said you're a bunch of nice fellows down here at this cross-roads. When the tracks came through from New York to Atlanta, you said the Lord gave it to you, and you wanted to show your appreciation to Him. You know it was the devil, but you went on, built something beautiful for the Lord anyhow with this church. And now you want somebody to lacerate you every Sunday so you can brag about not firing him..."

He said he told them he didn't believe anyone of them knew himself. One spoke up: "I know who I am. I'm a bastard. And if somebody doesn't change me, I'm going to die that way..." He accepted their offer.

Charlotte, said Dr. Marney, "is in very grave danger. The danger is that we're not going to get anything done... after this great breakthrough."

Nearly everyone who discussed the breakthrough in light of past accomplishments and future developments

spoke of how slowly Charlotte schools had moved on desegregation after the initial action in 1957. Of 70,000 pupils (about 50,000 white, 20,000 Negro), 490 Negroes are officially designated as being in desegregated schools. However, 418 of these are in one school which has seven white pupils. The other 72 are in seven of the 103 schools. In all, 38 schools are said to have pupils assigned on the basis of neighborhood residence, 31 of them evidently in all-white or all-Negro neighborhoods. Under the Pearsall Plan by which desegregation has been guided, white pupils may request transfers out of schools where Negroes have gained entrance -- a so-called "safety valve."

Dr. William C. Self, assistant superintendent of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System (they were combined in 1960), discussed the situation in a pleasant, quiet, disengaged sort of way. He said there was "smooth sailing" in the schools, that the neighborhood plan was working out well. Asked about such charges as Dr. Hawkins's that neighborhood groupings for schools are gerrymandered on the basis of race, he said that if there was gerrymandering it was in order to fill up classrooms. Asked about integration of faculties, he said the board of education's whole direction of movement was in terms of the neighborhood plan. Asked if the

neighborhood plan had anything to do with faculty desegregation, he said it did not. Asked again about faculty desegregation, he was noncommital.

At another point, he did say that a summer school for children with special interests and talents in 1963 had one Negro teacher, a male teacher of mathematics. There was no trouble, he said.

He seemed to think Charlotte's centering its North Carolina Fund plans around schools was a good idea. But he said community problems could not be solved by schools -- that if other forces in the society didn't work on them, if they were left to the schools alone, they wouldn't be solved.

He said one of the biggest problems of schools was keeping buildings up with population growth. With a growth rate of 3,600 new pupils a year, the system, despite extensive construction, is still 4,000 to 4,500 pupils behind. Mobile classrooms and partitions of available space fill the gap.

He cited the record of Charlotte voters on school bonds, an impressive bit of evidence of the state of civic health: separate issues were approved in 1946, 1950, 1952, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1961, and 1963 -- all told, 66.6 million dollars worth.

An article in the February 1964, issue of The Nation's Schools, somewhat disapproving of Charlotte's

lack of much deliberate speed on school desegregation, pointed out that Negroes heavily supported the bond issues, including the most recent, for $15,600,000 in December 1963. The same article quoted Harry Golden, outspoken weekly newspaper pundit and nationally known author of works often centered on the race question, as saying of the school situation: "They've done something in Charlotte, but they could have done it all. You must think of North Carolina in terms of great disappointment, because it is the most liberal state in the South. The folks were ready for desegregation; they were merely waiting for direction... They had the opportunity to lead the South by starting a tradition. They could have built a reputation that would have lasted forever..."

In an interview Mr. Golden said the Charlotte School Board (before the merger) had been "as cruel an outfit as any in the South." He was particularly scornful of the procedure for handling Negro children requesting transfers --"they were made to bring their parents and were asked questions about 'Aren't you happy with your own people?' -- questions that would give pause to Freud."

Dr. Freeman confirmed this, recalling one of the first such sessions which he witnessed. A Negro student and his parents were before the board, under

questioning which "presumed them guilty until they proved themselves innocent." The youth, he said, kept his head and outtalked them in answer to such questions as why did he want to leave his friends and go to a school where he knew no one, and wasn't his school a good one, etc. "This has mellowed," according to Dr. Freeman. The PTA and League of Women Voters sends observers to all meetings of the board.

A Negro told of the experience recently of the two young ladies who are the only Negroes in the high school which serves the most exclusive white neighborhoods. "The acceptance has been just beautiful. They've been invited to senior parties in homes, and picked up to attend all the games." One white youth tried to give them trouble, and the other kids "got on his back." A tradition for this was established earlier at the school when the senior boys let it be know that anyone who bothered a lone Negro youth admitted to the school would have them to contend with. This youth won a scholarship to college; the two girls are doing well in their grades.

A Negro teacher described conditions at one of the Negro schools, an ancient one: Negro pupils pass by white schools to attend it. There is no real equality of equipment. The school might have as good microscopes, but while it has two, its white counterpart would have

20. Classes in white and Negro schools are overcrowded. Pupils at the Negro school, from low to middle class homes, are not really well motivated, have not experienced the kind of stimulus that would cause them to seek quality training. A good kid from a bad family does well the first four years, begins to lag behind, goes down, finally drops out. Another problem is that administrators of Negro schools are themselves Negroes of the "old school" and incapable often of independence, while teachers are often people who have struggled up from the same environment that cripples their pupils. They regard their job as an ultimate achievement, and have had no opportunity to find their way into the main streams of today's education.

David W. Harris is chairman of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School Board. He was vice chairman of the county board when the merger came. In his brokerage office (with an indoor putting-practice rig by his desk) at the modernistic Charlottetown Mall shopping center (with stores with open fronts and a display in the mall of surprisingly good high school art), Mr. Harris talked with the urbanity and charm of his occupation and stage (middlish young) of life:

"They say we have done as little as possible, and it may be that we haven't done all we could. But it's

safer to take the conservative course than to push to the danger point. There was a great deal of fear that was without foundation about desegregation. This is what we wanted to prove -- that it was without foundation. We wanted to show that it could be done, not how far we could go and how fast. If you want to build a house, you don't build the roof first...

"That's what we've been working on... We're in a position now to move... We don't want to risk a Birmingham. We've avoided bombings. It only takes one to get you in trouble.... This is something we didn't create; we inherited it...

"I'm not real happy with the progress we've made; but we will do a great deal more." (Reaction of several Negroes when asked about this promise was an almost cynical "When?")

Specifically, Mr. Harris said that "percentage-wise," the number of Negroes in desegregated schools would accelerate "considerably" during the coming year. Acceleration is possible now "because the pattern is set."

He also said: The neighborhood assignment policy was what Negroes asked for at first... Opposition to desegregation was not publicized but it was heavy from groups and individuals. This was part of the reason for going slow... Only one parent took his child out of the

special summer school class with a Negro teacher... A good school here and there is not the answer. One bad school in the system hurts all schools... White and Negro low income areas are generally served by the poorest teachers. There is serious consideration of assigning them the best teachers... School walkouts by Negroes would do great damage; there seems little likelihood of this so long as Negro leaders have open communication with the white leadership... An integrated faculty will "come in time." It is regarded as a "major change." ...

"As a school board," said David W. Harris, whose father was a teacher all his life, and who himself started out as a teacher, "we would like to do away with segregation tomorrow. But we're convinced we couldn't get away with it. We would lose the progress we have made."

(In the mall outside his office, the high school art on display ranged from carefully conscientious realism to abstract portraiture. Pictures of farm houses and city streets showed a feeling for regional flavor. Shoppers were caught by the art as they hurried by, and would turn and bend to the pictures, studying them. One of those carefully studying a pointillist technique in a painting of a big house and yard was a Negro youth, extremely neatly dressed. He looked of high school age

and as though he had come out to the shopping center just to see the display.)

Invariably when Charlotte people talked of the race relations of the future, they pinned hopes on the efforts to include the city in the North Carolina Fund, a foundation-financed, matching-fund program attacking poverty. Awareness is high that race problems are linked to the problems of poverty which transcend race. Not so high is the awareness of the extent of white and Negro poverty in the city, and while there are many groups "trying to do something," there is virtually no coordination. The North Carolina Fund would indeed be a way for Charlotte to move into some of the more complex, deeper cultural causes and results of discrimination, after its success with surface desegregation.

The proposal for including Charlotte in the program contains the set of dismal statistics becoming familiar in descriptions of what ails most American cities. Here is a sampling: while Charlotte is the largest city with the greatest economic power in the Carolinas, with the highest median income, it also has more poverty, a higher crime rate, more public assistance cases, more overcrowded dwelling units, more illegitimacy, more tuberculosis and venereal disease, more cases in Juvenile Court, and the

largest adult population with less than five years of schooling.

A total of 14,000 families make less than $3,000 a year, 3,000 of whom make less than $1,000 a year. Median income for white families is $6,440, for Negroes, $2,904. Three-fourths of the Negro families make less than $4,000. Half make less than $3,000. Fifty-five per cent of school children are white, but of the three-fourths of dropouts attributable to poverty, 47% are Negro, compared with 24% white. There is a 3.2% unemployment rate, low by national comparisons, and a shortage of skills: stenographers, machine operators, auto mechanics, welders, draftsmen. Recent attention to urban renewal and public housing and tighter enforcement of a tighter housing code has not dented 4,000 blighted houses, 6,000 in need of repairs. An impoverished family with six children cannot get public housing, and only the worst of private housing.

In 1962, the crime rate was 15.9 per 1,000. (A newspaper account gives breakdowns. Murder and non-negligent manslaughter: nine whites arrested, 29 Negroes. Forcible rape, five whites, 26 Negroes. Armed robbery, 17 whites, 70 Negroes. Police Chief John Hord, who wears a civilian suit in his little office cluttered with the trophies and sentimentality of the professional police officer, said that the high crime rate follows the inhabitants of a slum cleared by urban renewal to whatever slum they go

to. He talked of efforts of the Chamber of Commerce Crime Committee and the Mayor's Crime Committee to study causes and cures of crime. He said his men "enforce the law as fair as we know how. We treat colored just as we do white as long as they'll let us. If one jumps on an officer, though, we don't care how we get him off." He spoke of the traditional generosity of police to poor families, and from his professional knowledge of the situation, spoke feelingly of the plight of Negro and white slum children: "No father, and the mother works and he roams the streets. He's got no fair chance." As for poverty in general, Chief Hord said: "We're going to have to do something.")

The Charlotte Fund proposal says: "Special attention must be given to race as an important factor contributing to poverty... A practical astute achievement such as this /desegregation of restaurants, hotels/ delights us, but the disparity of opportunity is still very great with half of our Negro families falling below the poverty line. We are restless about the fact that traditional methods do not offer adequate solutions."

The proposal has an eight-point program to be administered in four neighborhoods, using junior high schools as centers. The eight points are (1) school readiness: a 6 to 8 week summer school, afternoon and Saturday programs, kindergartens; (2) health clinics

emphasizing preventive medicine (a pilot project by the Public Health and Welfare Departments administered oral contraceptives to 300 volunteers); (3) job opportunities: job training and Mr. Polk's placement bureau; (4) adult education: everything from the three R's to leadership training, with emphasis on home improvement; (5) a staffed youth program; (6) data correlation; (7) special services: teams of counselors, psychologists, and social workers; (8) neighborhood centers.

Pete McKnight, editor of the Charlotte News, is president of the North Carolina Fund. He said frankly he doesn't know whether Charlotte will be included. If it should be, it would follow the state policy of directly involving Negroes with whites in solving a common problem. (Since then Charlotte was selected to participate.) He said the two big problems are education and jobs, and that no one expects to "remake adults... The real hope is to cut off this generation of kids from the cycle of poverty." He pointed out, as had others, that whites as well as Negroes are among the impoverished, that the problems are the same.

The one man interviewed who didn't view the Charlotte Plan -- as presently conceived -- with total approval was Dr. Hawkins. He voiced as his first criticism that the group which conceived it had no Negro membership. He said that its first step should be announcement of integration

of schools, jobs and housing. He urged a reading program from age 4 to 6... an incentive program for adult education in the form of payments slightly higher and in lieu of welfare payments for attendance at schools... A commitment from every employer for equal employment to solve the job problem with responsibility on them -- "not us" -- to recruit and train personnel... open occupancy and rent control and tighter enforcement of the housing code to improve housing.

The Charlotte Fund proposal singled out what is at once the most difficult and most hopeful thing about Charlotte's concern with poverty. Noting what is readily apparent to an outsider, the tremendous activity by many groups in this area, it says: "Yet these projects are as fragmented as they are earnest, and they lack central direction, analysis and thrust. They are encouraged--but not powered--by the kind of concentrated community good-will that has built for Charlotte a solid reputation in business and industrial growth, progressive government and productive race relations. At the core of Charlotte's proposal to the North Carolina Fund lies determination to muster that 'will' and sustain it..."

* * * * *

Most of what the people of Charlotte, in discussing their race situation, talked about, argued about had already happened. It was in the almost off-hand appraisal

of future problems that they showed an exciting, almost unaware acceptance of an approach to the future unlike anything we have known before in the South.

Here, in telescoped form, are three more interviews to illustrate this, to round out this report, and -- because of a deliberate selection of disparate viewpoints and personalities -- to show again the drama of the human story of Charlotte, where people and events intertwine like the unplanned streets of an American town, unduly complicated, perhaps, not anywhere near as efficient or rational as a machine might make, but full of a wonderful variety and vigor and potential...

In an office full of books, records and momentoes of his successful career as enfant terrible of southern liberalism, Harry Golden, in a bright red sport shirt, with his paunch and his cigar, sat rocking and talking of Charlotte in sentences that could have gone down almost verbatim as an essay in The Carolina Israelite, his paper of opinion, if not in one of his many books of similar material.

"You've got to consider the structure. Start with at least 500 branch offices and warehouses managed by men making 15 to 30 thousand dollars, brought from the Midwest, Long Island, and Westchester County with political and economic values supported in the Midwest, Long Island,

and Westchester County. The distributing end is so big here that these men are the hard core of the power structure. Local merchants and manufacturers and distributors take from these managers with northern and midwestern backgrounds some of their political ideas. They are blended. The interests are the same. Some northern managers accommodate by taking on the sociological views of the South. But the connections are not deep. A man from IBM or Pitney Bowes comes in, and the first thing he does is sit down and write a letter to the editor -- 'what a beautiful city you have here... and one thing I've noticed is the controversy about integration. I know integration won't work. I'm from Ohio and I know...'"

The managerial class, he said, is one in economic and political views. Racial views are reflected by their Republican Congressman -- who never uses the word race. Politics are oriented to the society, and in heated elections and primaries, the candidates don't see fit to mention race.

"On this basis, my partly humorous comment is valid... They would elect Martin King or Malcolm X mayor if somehow one of them could give them a guarantee of no labor unions and no minimum wage for laundry workers."

He said he used the crack to make the point that "this city could have been integrated from top to bottom after the Supreme Court decision in 1954... Why they didn't has concerned me for years. My conclusion is

that while these people make a fetish of individual initiative and individual freedom of action, they are as enslaved to the section as any group in it, including Jews, Irish, and Negroes." They act, he said, as a unit. "They don't want to hurt Mississippi and Georgia and Alabama..."

He recalled the day when Dorothy Counts withdrew from the white school after the spitting incident. "Three or four of us went to her father to plead with him not to withdraw her... He showed us a pad of four pages of telephone calls of sympathy and condolences -- 48 names. They were the leading citizens. Any one of them expressing what they had said in public could have smashed things. But they didn't..."

The big point, he said, was that not a single measure of progress has been made in Charlotte without pressure, either from law, from demonstrations or the fear of demonstrations. "Negro militancy is the only thing that will do it." And:

"It's a city with more churches than any other with the possible exception of Glasgow... without ever being moved by Christian charity...

"Charlotte had such an opportunity for prestige... It could have been a byword for racial progress all over the world..."

Perry Morgan is another editor, with another approach. As managing editor of the Charlotte News (Cash's paper, once considered the more liberal, now the more conservative of Charlotte's two papers), he has had a hand in some of the things that have happened, an insider's view, and an influence on public opinion.

The ministers, he said, set the tone for the 1963 breakthrough. Just their presence at the executive committee meeting "added to the courage of those who spoke out."

The key to understanding it, he went on, is Charlotte's fundamental stability, its fear of excess. (The whole state is this way, he said.) "People don't like to be though of as anti-Negro... There are a few iron-headed segregationists here... and these are some of the finest and most civil people you'd want to meet... One had a Negro in a prominent position in his firm; he is a sincere segregationist but not a nigger hater."

Force has been minor in Charlotte's progress, he said. The real force is the consensus which says: "Be sure you know what you're doing when you move. Don't be silly. And don't shove us; tell us why."

Dissatisfaction with tokenism is manifested by only a minority of Negroes. The body of Negro leaders

tend to the same emotional characteristics as whites: "Work it out... Accommodate."

"I think they feel they're not in the Elysian Fields, and that Charlotte is not as progressive as whites think it is, but all the same, they feel they're better off than most... And they have the same pride in it."

He said he didn't think there would be renewed demonstrations, as at Chapel Hill. They key would be "young actionists from outside." They might try, "but they would be unable to carry the community... unable to achieve anything through force. 'Don't push me.' Dr. Hawkins would be the only one who would go along with them, and then only if circumstances were favorable..."

"The North Carolina Fund could be exceedingly important. It legitimizes a concern over poverty, and in Charlotte once a problem is brought into the arena, something will be done if it is needed... Just the fact of planning -- if it stops tomorrow -- is of great value..."

The important thing here is that "whites and Negroes would be grappling with the reality of the Negro condition -- poverty, ignorance, disease."

This is why, he said, he grew weary with the freedom rides (although he conceded their contributions to individual self-confidence.) They involved "so much agony

for a victory that means nothing to the mass of Negroes."

Liberals and conservatives alike use the cliche of the civil rights legislation to hide from reality -- "which is that this is a problem that will take an uncountable amount of work, wisdom, and years and years to solve."

The important thing with the Fund is that people actually face this, "with the power structure in the fore... You can't do anything without the power structure in charge. Here it can understand, and does understand, and is capable of leadership."

The need, he said, is to enter these things "freely and with good conscience..." If it is necessary for the solution of the problems of poverty to desegregate schools, this is preferable to doing it through courts and social dogma. It's the same with social contact. "I shrink from doing it for the sake of doing it. This implies acceptance of the premise that we must live and work and play together and I don't believe that is accepted anywhere... here or in the North."

It is a question of "integration on one base rather than another. People get used to ignoring color when the person is an obvious equal. But if it's just assertion of a writ, I don't accept it."

People grow into things. The way Charlotte is doing is far preferable to civil rights legislation. Growth is not at a "breathtaking rate... and when it happens, it stays."

He conceded that the 1963 breakthrough would not have happened without Birmingham. "But I hope pressure will stop short of force... that the momentum will continue... that we work it out and have it accepted as something we did. The tone is important: the absence of rancor and bitterness."

The next interview took place in the second floor office of a funeral home, with the dusk sounds of a Negro slum all around, children shouting, and wailing, adult cries, a fire engine shrieking danger through the narrow streets. Answering the questions were James K. Polk, son-in-law of the funeral home owner, educated at Johnson C. Smith and Temple University, young, urbane, and relaxed, and Willie Davis, an elementary school teacher, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, with a masters from Columbia, more intense, equally urbane. They are the leaders of the East Side Council on Civic Affairs, the group which has conducted conversations with the top white leadership and which organized the Charlotte Placement Bureau. Mr. Polk is spoken of by some white liberals as perhaps the new look in Negro leadership, someone able to resolve the dissensions, or transcend them. Characteristically, both the older Negro leadership spokesmen and Dr. Hawkins were less enthusiastic but generally favorable to these two new-comer young leaders.

Mr. Polk and Mr. Davis talked in turns, backing up or supplementing what the other had to say. Their thoughts are rendered here in direct and indirect quotations.

Polk: "They needed to attract business. They used a Negro on an industry hunting mission in the North. They knew they couldn't do it with poor race relations. I don't think it was a moral decision. I would hope they would add these things... We got in by the back door, but we must realize that this took courage... This is it when the Chamber of Commerce speaks... We were willing to go through all the trial periods -- to do what we had to do to break the ice."

Davis: "Charlotte has not done all it should. Its church-going doesn't show up in its behavior."

Polk: "Churches ignore the problem because if they faced it, they wouldn't be able to avoid their duty... We don't have time for their hearts to change... These influential people tell us inadvertently that they will do nothing unless forced to. They suggest demonstrations without realizing what they say."

They talked of the slowness of school desegregation, the lack still of any carefully defined plan upon which Negro expectations and reactions might be based. Was their group contemplating action?

Polk: "No. We are not to the point where we could influence boycotts or law suits. It's possible we could get to that, if we found it necessary."

Davis: "Jobs are still a big problem. There are many vocations still closed. For example, there are no Negro cab drivers, and few sales people."

Polk: "I think we're moving some. Some companies are opening. But there are still too few employees. They would have you believe it's a problem to find qualified Negroes. This means being head and shoulders above the white secretary at the next desk... But we're willing to accept this... to break the ice... solely for expediency."

Davis: "They are willing to train whites. But the Negro must be trained and experienced before he can be hired." There are no Negro plumbers and electricians. They are trained, but can't be licensed. They can be licensed in many North Carolina cities. Here, an apprentice must have two licensed people to vouch for him... So Negroes are hired as common laborers to do this skilled work at low wages. "How do you break such a vicious cycle without federal legislation?"

Polk: "We registered four or five thousand voters. We had to take them in: there's no telling what we could do if we could get registrars out in the precincts... We

are working on precinct and block voter organization."

Davis: Dissension? We're not moving for power... We have great respect for the other leaders. We don't want to steal anybody's thunder. But we will go in where nothing is being done...

Davis: "I hope those white leaders we [the East Side Council] have met with left the meetings with the impression that we were using a diplomatic approach. We want to let them know how we feel as human beings."

Polk: "I think we are having more effect than the Mayor's Committee [of which he is a member]. We work harder. The committee people are busy. They don't have time for these things. In our meetings, we have time to sit and seek understanding of how things seem to us, and what can be done on such things as jobs, education, and beautification of the community. We talk with each leader in the area of his concentration. We spell out our hopes and aspirations. We don't tell any of them who else has been in to talk with us. It's all in confidence, to inspire their confidence. It is frank discussion. They have all said they would be willing to come back.

"There's no backing down on principle, regardless of their stature. The method and procedure is give and take...

"It's a beautiful experience for us, and for those men. Many of them never had an opportunity to sit down and have Negroes disagree with them. They're such big men..."

* * * * * * *

Three central facts stand out to form the pattern in Charlotte's race relations progress.

One is the ability of the city's leadership -- that almost mystical concept of contemporary sociology called the power structure -- to appraise racial pressures with relative dispassion, to make decisions about what the city must do, and, most importantly, to act upon them. This illustrates what may be a basic fact in civil rights -- that when the downtown elite really wants action, the city obeys. This is a commentary perhaps on the state of our democracy, and unfortunately more often seen in the South when the men of power speak evil, or by not speaking, affirm segregation and resistance to law, or, as of late in some cities, seem to speak for progress but do not really mean it. The leadership in many cities will tell you that they have done the kind of thing that Charlotte actually achieved. In others they will piously speak of "all we have done for our Negroes," at the very moment a fierce demonstration against intolerable conditions is going on outside their office windows. Unlike such leaders, the white leaders of Charlotte do not slide their eyes away when they make their hometown boosterism boasts. They have done what they say they have done; there is a pride in them about it. They are more likely to discuss what they

haven't done, and they are less defensive, more inclined to promise further change. And these attitudes are reflected among the people of the city.

The second fact is that constant pressure from Negro leaders -- most notably in the past from Dr. Hawkins -- is an acknowledged ingredient of all the progress that has been made. The orientation of Negro leadership has been toward getting results rather than plunging into protest expressive of despair. Strategy came out of research, and seemed carefully planned.

The third fact is the existence of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations as an apparatus for channeling the pressured decisions of the business leadership into acceptable action. It also serves as a conductor of the pressure and as a place for letting off steam by both sides, and, surely most important of all, as a setting where intelligent and sensitive representatives of races long estranged and blocked by invalid over-generalizations from one another may come to the knowledge, in the gradual way of the human mind and emotions, of the individuality of each man and thus to the real truth of the race problems with which they deal.

It is important, too, to say that all of this analysis about pressure and reaction to pressure is meaningless without awareness that working through it

at all levels are such unanalyzable attributes of the human heart as courage, dedication, moral commitment, intellectual honesty, devotion to duty, and simple kindness displayed in happy quantity by members of both races struggling with a great burden of the past in Charlotte.

Combined, these things form the pattern which has enabled the city, since the sit-ins, to act before demonstrations were considered necessary by Negroes -- and to whatever extent race relations are good in Charlotte, it is attributable to this pattern.

It is obvious that race relations are neither perfect nor particularly happy yet. The undercurrents of criticism and dissatisfaction which swirl in any conversation with Negroes are in part an expression, surely, of the similar undercurrent of distaste or doubt among many whites about the progress that has been made. It is becoming clear that in the long and arduous American adventure that is the race revolution, such undercurrents of antagonism are going to have to be accepted and handled by people as best they can as a normal part of the process of change.

The Negro dissatisfaction is an expression, too, of reaction to the instances where the white antagonisms to change have held sway -- most notably at the hospital, the colleges, and, to a degree, the public schools. Yet

these situations tend to bear out what has just been described as the pattern by which Charlotte has changed.

It was pointed out in various of the interviews as something of an explanation for the disparities in these areas that the men on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Hospital Authority, the Board of Directors of the Community College System, and the men on the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education are not the same, for the most part, as the men out front and making progress through such an organization as the Chamber of Commerce.

While this is true, it is reasonable to assume -- and interviews confirmed this opinion -- that there are ties (business, social, and otherwise) between all four sets of men. It is also reasonable to assume that if the city's highest leadership had wanted to or needed to put a stop to the machinations involving hospitals, colleges, and schools, they could have, with the same thoroughness with which compliance on desegregation of public accommodations was achieved.

The point would seem to be both that the pressure was not applied as efficiently in these areas as it was in public accommodations by Negro leadership, and that these situations were complex enough to allow more maneuverability against pressure. In all three instances,

something beyond direct action or the threat of it was called for. Dr. Hawkins's efforts to get help from HEW on the hospital is indicative more than anything else of the kind of performance that has come to be expected of that agency of the federal government in such matters. They would investigate only one charge at a time, Dr. Hawkins said, rather than look at the hospital's segregation situation as a whole.

Aside from that, the failure of Negro leadership to apply efficient pressure -- as in, say, court suits -- must in some degree be attributable to the amount of dissension and antagonism among the Negro leaders. Where a concerted and cooperative effort seemed to be called for to develop a sophisticated strategy akin to business dealing or labor-management maneuvering, Charlotte's Negro leadership has been split and devoting much energy to battling each other.

This dissension is in the emergingly typical framework common to much Negro leadership at all levels in the nation: older negotiation-inclined, tolerant Negroes versus younger men who are full of impatience and inclined to action. One almost gets the feeling that the racial struggle in Charlotte has fallen into a battle of personalities that transcends race. Much at one time might have been achieved for mutual progress with the simple act of giving more recognition and honor to the contributions of Dr. Hawkins, and of acknowledgement from younger leaders of the achievements "back when things

were rough" of the older leaders.

At this writing, the dissension has broken into the open with charges and counter charges over registration performance and policy of the factions.

It seems crucial to future Charlotte progress that somehow all of this internecine battling be resolved.

The city, in part, seems settled in a pattern of amicable conference table competition between the races. In another way, it almost seems that the challenge to Negro leadership is not any more to keep up with what the white people are trying to do to them, but to keep up with white leadership in moves toward the kind of society that they, the Negroes, desire.

There will continue to be the need in the fight against de facto segregation, especially of jobs and housing, for concerted and effective Negro representation in the kind of day-to-day struggle of self-interest that is common to much of the American society's achievement in other areas. And there will continue, in Charlotte's attack on poverty, a great opportunity for Negro leadership to give invaluable assistance and to make sure that goals and results are appropriately within the framework of the open society. The challenge to much of the white citizenship centers on the need to find better reasons than pressure for living up to America's idealism.

In both cases, Charlotte seems about done with the southern battles of 100 and 200 years ago, and has moved its racial concerns into the mainstream of American thought and activity. One leaves it wondering if the leadership there, white and Negro, is capable of overcoming whatever blocks there are to a continuation of the kind of creative will they have mustered in the past. If so, not just the South but the nation might soon look to Charlotte for leadership.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

L O U I S V I L L E

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

L O U I S V I L L E

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

May, 1964

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Louisville	Metropolitan Area*	Louisville	Metropolitan Area*
Total	369,129	576,900	390,639	725,139
Negro	57,657	61,293	70,075	83,181
Per Cent Negro	15.6	10.6	17.9	11.5

The Situation in Brief

The city of Louisville, Kentucky, has made notable progress in the elimination of race discrimination, with a minimum of turmoil and with the evident approval of a substantial majority of its citizens of both races. Of its four main desegregation hurdles -- public schools, public accommodations, employment, and housing -- it may be said that the first two have been practically surmounted in that city, the third is being approached with some visible success, and the fourth is the object of an intensive and imaginative and a hopeful effort.

The situation in Louisville has many shortcomings from the standpoint of human understanding and interracial justice. Race prejudice is still present in varying degrees among a majority of that city's white population. A white cab driver, a fat, oldish, talkative individual, launched upon a lengthy

---

*Includes Jefferson County, Ky., Clark and Floyd Counties, Inc.

monologue from which the following is quoted:

> Negroes? Yes we're getting along all right. They can go into almost any place now. But I don't see many of them doing it. Some of them get dressed up and go into the big hotels and restaurants and nobody pays any attention. But the little places don't let them in. They haven't got strong enough locks on their doors. Negroes would ransack the place. Every one of them will steal. Every Negro you see on the street has got a knife or a razor in his pocket, maybe a gun. Did you ever see a Negro drunk? I've seen lots of them -- mean, big-mouthed.... But I ain't got nothing against them, and the way it is they can't do much harm.

This man's views are shared by a substantial element of Louisville's population -- though many would express them differently or not at all. Negroes are excluded from country clubs and civic clubs. White families tend to move away from neighborhoods where Negro families are moving in. Few white people are willing to dine with Negroes in a public place, and only a rare handful invite Negroes to their homes. Much subtle discrimination is practiced. Some Negro leaders say that "integration is a farce in Louisville."

Nevertheless, race prejudice may be said to be <u>contained</u> in this city. It is viewed by the community leadership as an evil to be combatted, and it is being combatted steadily and with increasing effectiveness. The interracial behavior pattern keeps almost entirely within the bounds of order and decorum. Discrimination on account of race is frowned upon in principle -- though still far from being eliminated in practice; it is recognized even by many

prejudiced people as inconsistent with Christian and American ideals and out of keeping with the changing order. New advances in racial integration are accepted cheerfully on the whole by the public. The city administration and the economic "power structure" are firmly behind a movement of civil-rights advance, which, not only has registered exceptional accomplishments, but is moving on to further progress.

Basic in the Louisville effort is a consciousness that this social change cannot be accomplished by a few dramatic steps, but demands a massive and continuous undertaking, with the dedicated efforts of many groups and individuals. In efforts of this kind the city is well served. In the private sector, a number of organizations are active -- the principal so-called "Negro" civil rights organizations and many other groups concerned with human relations. Several hundred individuals, in biracial organizations or independently, are giving much of their time to this cause. Yet the role of the public sector in race-relations reform has been particularly striking in Louisville. To an unusual degree initiative has come from the public school administration, mayors, aldermen, the police department, and other city officials and agencies. Since May 1962, an official Louisville Human Relations Commission has marshaled a massive private effort in this field.

Background and Chronology

Though Kentucky is not one of the eleven states which formed the Confederacy, it is the border state most commonly regarded as southern. If that identification is less pronounced today than it was eight years ago, the change is largely due to Kentucky's progress in adjusting to the new order in race relations. Of the state's metropolis it is sometimes said that "Louisville has integrated itself out of the South."

In 1956, at a time when hostility in the South to the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation was at its height, the public schools of Louisville were desegregated in a sweeping manner and without disorder. The late Omer Carmichael, the able and courageous superintendent of schools, to whom the feat was largely due, later collaborated with Weldon James, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in producing a valuable book, The Louisville Story (Simon and Schuster) telling how it was done.

These writers noted that Louisville "long has had a strong two-party system, with a healthy balance of independent-minded voters." (However, Louisville elected its first Republican mayor in 28 years in 1961.) But the book added "Politics aside, Louisville has faced the South since 1865. Its customs and its outlook have been almost professionally Southern...." At the same time the atmosphere

in Louisville for a generation has been one of exceptional tolerance, moving toward liberalism, in race relations. This trend has been immesurably aided by the city's two excellent newspapers (under joint ownership), the morning Courier-Journal and the afternoon Louisville Times, and the administration and faculty of the University of Louisville have exercised a constructive influence.

Louisville elected the first Negro member of the Kentucky legislature, Charles Anderson, in 1934, and the first Negro member of the city's board of aldermen, Eugene S. Clayton, in 1945. Negro alderman William W. Beckett in 1955 served as Acting Mayor of Louisville. Two Negroes, James E. Smith and Arthur Johnson, are among Louisville's representatives in the state legislature now, and two, Mrs. Louise Reynolds and Russell Lee, sit on its board of aldermen, while a Negro, Woodford R. Porter, is a member of its board of education, having served last year as its president. Negroes have served on the library, housing, and other important municipal boards. Two Negroes were members of the 1962-1963 Citizens Committee to Evaluate the Public Schools. A distinguished Louisville Negro, Dr. C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, was recently appointed to the 50-member Kentucky Constitutional Revision Assembly.

The following moves preceded the 1956 school

desegregation:

1948: The Louisville Free Public Library (downtown unit) was opened to Negroes. (The library branches were opened to Negroes in 1952. Since 1959, a Negro lady, Mrs. Barbara S. Miller, has served as director of children's work for the public library system.)

1950: The new Louisville Catholic college, Bellarmine, was opened to Negroes as well as whites, and Negroes were admitted to graduate study at the University of Louisville. The Louisville police were provided with a manual to promote racial tolerance and impartiality.

1951: Negro undergraduates were admitted to the University of Louisville.

1952: Public golf courses were desegregated following court action.

1953: The General Hospital School of Nursing was opened to Negro girls.

1954: Mayor Andrew Broaddus in his inaugural statement announced in January that city jobs would be open to all qualified applicants without regard to race.

1955: City swimming pools were integrated, quietly and without prior public notice.

1957: The Municipal Housing Commission announced desegregation of its housing projects. Some downtown hotels desegregated partially.

1958: Early sit-ins resulted in the desegregation of lunch counters in a few downtown variety stores.

The civil rights movement received new impetus with the wave of sit-ins which began in the South during the spring of 1960 and reached spectacular proportions in Louisville in 1961.

Louisville has long been free from the type of demagogic appeal to race prejudice which has plagued many southern cities, and the race question in that sense has not for a generation been an issue in Louisville politics. It figured, however, in a positive sense in the city election of 1961. Although steady progress had been made under three Democratic administrations, a belief that Republican candidates were more committed to take a leap forward in the fight against race discrimination was a factor in the election of a Republican mayor and board of aldermen. After the election, William S. Milburn, the defeated Democratic candidate for mayor, then president of the board of aldermen, commented aptly: "We came along at the end of an era and got squeezed in the gap when it closed."

Three months after taking office, on March 27, 1962, with the backing of Mayor William O. Cowger, the board of aldermen unanimously adopted an ordinance setting up a Louisville Human Relations Commission. On May 14, 1963, the board of aldermen adopted an ordinance, submitted by

the Commission, banning discrimination in places of public accommodation.

School Desegregation

Although the problem of school desegregation was met with sensational success in 1956, it is appropriate to glance briefly at the school situation in Louisville today.

Of the 50,249 pupils in the city's public schools, 19,366, or 38.5%, are Negroes. The number of pupils attending integrated schools is 41,490, or 82.6% of the total. Only 8.6% of the pupils are in all-white schools, 12.5% in all-Negro schools. The figures tend to give an exaggerated impression of the extent of integration, since three predominantly white schools have only one Negro each in attendance and two predominantly Negro schools have each enrolled only one white pupil. However, 58 of the 71 public schools are integrated and the racial balance is generally substantial.

"De facto" segregation, now a subject of controversy in many cities, is present in Louisville in a number of instances, but it is mitigated in a sense by a liberal transfer privilege. Transfers are granted by informal arrangement within the capacities of the schools and with regard for preferences and conveniences of other parents and children; though not officially intended to do so, these

informal arrangements do undoubtedly permit some adjustment to social preferences, but of Negroes as well as whites. Transfers are not permitted to crowd out any pupils in the residential area of a school. Pupils are not "bussed across town", however, to achieve a racial balance in schools, or for any other reason; except in unusual cases, free transportation is not provided for a pupil attending a school outside his district of residence.

The transfer privilege does not markedly diminish the racial imbalance in schools, but it permits some freedom of choice for both white and colored pupils. It may affect the racial balance either way, and whites and Negroes both contribute to the degree of de facto segregation that results from it. Louisville's Central High School, in a heavily Negro residential area, is a conspicuous case in point. The handful of whites living in its neighborhood generally send their children to another school. At the same time, Central High, one of Louisville's newest and best schools, is especially popular with Negroes and draws Negro pupils from outside its attendance district.

At present 127 Negro teachers are serving in integrated faculties, and nine Negro principals preside over biracial schools. Two Negroes serve as supervisors in the central office of the public school administration.

The racial pattern of the public school system is not a source of serious complaint among Negroes nor a part of

their agenda of protest in Louisville.

The public schools of adjoining Jefferson County were also desegregated in 1956, as were the Roman Catholic parochial schools of the Louisville area. The Catholic school enrollment is approximately 28% of the total school population of city and county. The Louisville school district census shows 16,472 pupils enrolled in private and parochial schools. The integration of Negro teachers in the Catholic schools has presented a special problem due to the difficulty of obtaining qualified Negro lay personnel at the low compensation offered and the lack of Negro nuns, but seven Negro lay teachers are now employed.

The Sit-Ins and the Louisville Police

A few sit-ins which occurred in the latter half of 1960 and the large scale Negro drive to open places of public accommodation which came in March 1961 were both a part of the new wave of Negro militancy and a reflection of impatience on the part of Louisville Negroes with many aspects of race discrimination. They resulted in the opening of 200 previously white-only eating places to Negroes, and caused the city to come to grips with the race problem in many of its ramifications.

The 1961 protest demonstrations which were staged almost daily for several weeks and sporadically for a longer period, took a variety of forms of marching, picketing,

and sitting in. Scuffles occurred with police seeking to prevent obstruction of traffic and flagrant disorder, and with some white hoodlums. An estimated 1,000 arrests were made, but, many being arrested repeatedly, the number of individuals arrested was fewer than 500. The cases of all the demonstrators arrested were dismissed after negotiations. White harassment of the demonstrators was largely confined to a handful of youths who made repeated attempts to break the Negro picket line at an amusement park. A dozen of these whites were arrested and several were fined.

Massive Negro protest demonstrations were a new phenomenon for the Louisville police force, but its performance in this crisis is not a source of serious complaint in retrospect even in Negro quarters. (The behavior of some privately employed security officers aroused more criticism.) In routine law enforcement pains have been taken to school the city's police force in the avoidance of race discrimination, and it has made an important, though little publicized, contribution to the peaceful progress of Louisville in adjustment to the new order.

The Division of Police, in 1950, published a hardcover, 129-page manual, titled Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups. Adapted from a Chicago manual prepared by Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois Division of Correction, the book contains a comprehensive

and scholarly discussion of the race problem. It explodes some of the myths upon white race prejudice is often based, and then directs that whatever "personal theories on race relations" he may have, the officer must be completely impartial in the performance of his duties. The manual is still in regular use. For example, Colonel William E. Bender, Chief of Police, commented that "15 recruits are studying it now."

The manual project arose from a study instituted by Colonel David A. McCandless, Director of Public Safety, in 1948, following a conference with a delegation from the Urban League. A biracial committee was set up in that year to plan for the training of Louisville police in the application of the precepts of good race relations to police functioning. The committee included six representatives of the Police Division, two representatives of the Urban League, a professor of sociology from the Louisville Municipal College, and three members of the faculty of the University of Louisville. Many meetings were held by the committee before Dr. Lohman was called in as a consultant, and, after the resignation of Colonel McCandless in January 1950, it continued under the leadership of the new commissioner, John Moreman.

Colonel McCandless became director of the Southern Police Institute, sponsored by the University of Lousiville.

Three representatives of the Louisville police force attend each of the four seminars held annually by the Institute.

Negroes have served as policemen in Louisville for 35 years. Thirty-eight Negroes are now on the force, one of them being a lieutenant and four of them sergeants.

Places of Public Accommodation

A few restaurants, drug stores, lunch counters, and hotels in Louisville were already serving Negroes along with whites in the late 1950's, but segregation was the general rule. Attention was drawn to the practice in an embarrassing manner by an incident which occurred in December 1958, when Mrs. Iris King, the mayor of Kingston, Jamaica, visited the city as a guest of the State Department. Mrs. King stayed in the presidential suite at the Sheraton Hotel and received generally VIP treatment. But a local drug store refused to serve her a cup of coffee. She retired to her hotel in tears, calling it a "gross insult." In the absence of Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell from the city, an administrative assistant expressed regret for the "unfortunate incident" -- which remained unfortunate nonetheless. An official of the drug store said its policy was to give "carry-out service only for colored customers" -- which made matters emphatically no better.

The determined Negro drive to bring discrimination to

an end in places of public accommodation may be said to have begun in 1959, though direct action pressure was not resorted to on a significant scale until 1961. Many white community leaders, including the mayor and members of the board of aldermen, expressed sympathy with the Negro drive, but hoped the reform could be accomplished by voluntary action. These attitudes themselves had prompted some voluntary desegregation here and there.

The late Charles W. Anderson, Jr., a distinguished Negro attorney and a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations Assembly, led a delegation of 35 Negroes and whites who visited Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell on January 4, 1960. Anderson praised Louisville's "excellent race relations, particularly as compared to other southern and border cities" and urged the mayor to "take the lead in seeing that theatres, hotels, restaurants, stores, and other places of public service and accommodations cease to discriminate or segregate." Mayor Hoblitzell replied that Louisville had reached "a most enviable position" by its race relations accomplishment and that the city had done all that could be done to end discrimination in public facilities, but that "trying to force integration in private business is another matter."

Meanwhile, on February 10, William W. Beckett, the only Negro member of the board of aldermen, introduced a

proposed ordinance banning discrimination in theatres, hotels, and restaurants, but not in bars or taverns. After the City Law Department ruled that the city could "not pass any laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of private property," the ordinance was rejected by voice vote. Alderman Clifford J. Haury, who had read the opinion, said: "I sincerely believe and hope that the good people of Louisville will iron out this problem voluntarily."

The Louisville Courier-Journal commented: "The issue was not squarely met ... the issue of further integration in Louisville is for the moment at a standstill. It could now move forward again, by voluntary choice of the community, or it could slip tragically backward...."

Alderman Beckett, insisting that a general lifting of racial barriers would not come by voluntary action, asked State Attorney General John B. Breckinridge for an opinion on his ordinance. A few weeks later the state attorney general ruled that "there is no conflict between the proposed ordinance and the Constitutions and laws of the United States and the Commonwealth, and the subject matter being within the police power of the state and the city of Louisville, it is our opinion that, if adopted, it would constitute a valid exercise of police power."

However, following a caucus at which letters and telegrams from opposing businessmen were read, the board

of aldermen on March 22, by a vote of 11 to 1, approved the following resolution:

"We, the board of aldermen of the city of Louisville, are opposed to any ordinance which takes away the right of an owner of a private business to select his or its customers or clientele."

Beckett also urged the establishment of a human relations commission for the city, but this proposal was rejected by a vote of 11 to 1, opposing aldermen saying that it would "substantially duplicate the work of the state commission."

Alarmed at the continuing sit-ins in the South, the City Law Department now came forward with a proposed anti-trespassing ordinance. However, when this was vehemently opposed by Negro leaders, the city's two daily newspapers and others, both the police court prosecutor and Mayor Hoblitzell announced their opposition to it.

The biracial Louisville Ministerial Association took a strong stand against racial segregation in theatres and restaurants. It urged its members to seek voluntary desegregation by persuasion in personal contacts with businessmen, but it pledged support for a public accommodations ordinance should such efforts fail. The Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations announced that it "considered any racial discrimination contrary to the public interest."

In conveying the Committee's finding to the board of aldermen, Mayor Hoblitzell expressed agreement, but reiterated his opposition to "any kind of force."

The Mayor's Advisory Committee represented a stage in the groping toward an official body to deal with race relations, which had begun with the formation of an advisory group of religious leaders in 1958. It grew into more formal status in May 1961, as the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, under the chairmanship of Dr. Philip W. Davidson, president of the University of Louisville.

With the sit-ins and other pressures, considerable voluntary desegregation of places of public accommodation had taken place by the end of 1961, but Louisville Negroes were increasingly irked by the failure of the board of aldermen to adopt a public accommodations ordinance or set up a human relations commission. Numerous groups and individuals were now urging anti-discrimination legislation, including several owners of segregated restaurants who felt the need of an ordinance to protect them from criticism and from competition when they should take the step.

The Louisville Human Relations Commission was finally set up in May 1962. The ordinance establishing it was expressly aimed at the elimination of "discriminatory practices", and the Commission was directed to recommend "such legislation as may be necessary" for this purpose. The new

commission, and the mayor himself, labored diligently -- and with some success -- to bring about desegregation of still segregated places of public accommodation. A survey showed that 268 of 410 restaurants in the city had desegregated by early 1963.

However, on February 9, 1963, the Commission adopted a resolution saying: "It is now evident that voluntary efforts by themselves are not sufficient to effectively accomplish the purposes set forth in the ordinance which established the Commission. Therefore, the Commission has decided to recommend to the mayor and the board of aldermen, the passage of appropriate anti-discrimination legislation, the nature and scope of which will be determined in the near future." A sub-committee of the Commission's Legal Committee, including the chairman and the director of the City Law Department, went to work on an ordinance which was adopted by the board of aldermen on May 14, 1963, and signed by Mayor Cowger.

The ordinance was to run into legal difficulties and its status is not clear today, but the fact that a law had been passed banning segregation in places of public accommodation was effective in accelerating the desegregation of many establishments.

A survey made by the Human Relations Commission before the adoption of the ordinance in May found that accommodations in the chain and franchise category were "generally

open with the exception of two establishments... under single local ownership." The Commission reported further:

1. Approximately 65% of all restaurants are integrated; of the remaining 35%, few seem likely to desegregate in the near future.
2. The better restaurants downtown accept the Negro as a patron, as do the short order cafes and chain store facilities.
3. The Negro will encounter segregation in the better restaurants in outlying areas.
4. Near his home, only one out of five restaurants will serve the Negro.
5. When he is served he is treated the same as a white person.
6. Whites seem indifferent to his presence in the restaurant and apparently are equally indifferent to his being refused service.
7. Most managers state their policy of segregation dispassionately.

Bowling lanes the Commission found to be "the most tightly closed category of services in Louisville." Privately-owned amusement parks, ice and roller skating rinks were "generally tightly closed." All downtown theaters and two of the three drive-ins within the city limits, but only

a few of the neighborhood theaters, were integrated. The previously segregated Louisville Automobile Club, following conferences within the month, had begun actively to solicit Negro membership -- with the understanding that reservations could not be made in southern states.

The public accommodations ordinance (No. 66, Series 1963) became effective, 120 days after its passage, on September 12, 1963. Promptly at the lunch hour on September 12, a testing campaign began. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., chairman of Allied Organizations for Civil Rights and editor of the Louisville Defender, reported that within a few hours 73 Negroes, acting individually or as husband-and-wife teams, entered 49 restaurants "without objection or rejection." Restaurants "received Negroes courteously and served them promptly," Stanley said, adding: "These restaurants are to be congratulated, along with the bowlers association (the Bowling Proprietors' Association of Louisville) ... for their acceptance of desegregation." A total of 98 restaurants were visited in the initial testing period, with negative results in only three cases.

Four tavern operators, members of the Louisville Tavern Operators Association, filed suit in a circuit court asking that the authorities be restrained from enforcing the ordinance on the ground that "the plaintiffs have a constitutional right to restrict their customers to such

persons as they see fit to serve, and to refuse service to anyone for any reason." The case is still in litigation, but to a large extent the ordinance has done its work. Although, pending the outcome of the litigation, the Commission is unable to enforce the punitive provisions of the ordinance, it is following the situation closely and several recalcitrant restaurants have been persuaded informally to comply with it. In no instance has a restaurant, once desegregated, returned to the practice of barring Negroes.

The Human Relations Commission

We come now to an examination of the Louisville Human Relations Commission itself, its organizational structure and its program.

The ordinance establishing the Commission (No. 33, Series 1962) set forth the reasons for it and its purpose as follows:

> Whereas, the Board of Aldermen and the Mayor of the City of Louisville find that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, creed, color, or national origin, is contrary to good public policy and detrimental to the peace, progress, and welfare of the City, and
>
> Whereas, the lack of full participation of any individual in the privileges of full membership

in the community retards the progress of the community, and affects the general well-being of all its citizens,

Whereas, for these reasons and to implement a constructive approach to the problems involved in improving inter-group and inter-racial relations leading to the elimination of discriminatory practices in the City,...

The commission was to be composed of eleven residents (later increased to 15), appointed by the mayor, as "nearly as possible representative of the several social, economic, religious, cultural, ethnic and racial groups which comprise the population of the city of Louisville." No city official, elected or appointed, is eligible. Commission members serve, without compensation, for one year, except in the case of an interim vacancy, when a member may be appointed to fill the unexpired term, and members are eligible for re-appointment for additional terms. The mayor designates the member to act as chairman. The Commission is required, with the approval of the mayor, to employ an executive director, whose compensation is fixed by the mayor.

The executive director, with the mayor's approval and within the limits of his budget, employs staff and fixes its compensation. The Commission was voted an

initial annual operating budget of $25,000; its current operating budget is $26,055.80. It occupies offices in the Mayor's suite in City Hall, the only agency in such proximity to the city executive.

There is general satisfaction with the plan embodied in Ordinance No. 33, a copy of which will be found in the appendix, but the chairman and others suggested that in principle it might be preferable to have Commission members appointed for staggered terms to insure greater continuity of experience and policy during changes of administration.

Of the original eleven members of the Commission, eight were white and three Negro. The enlarged 15-member body contains eleven white and four Negro members. In appointments to the Commission and to its various committees it is sought to have the three major faiths, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, represented in each group.

Dr. Marlin M. Volz, dean of the University of Louisville Law School, was designated chairman of the Commission. A treasurer and a secretary and such other officers as are deemed necessary are elected by the Commission. James A. Crumlin, a Negro attorney for the Kentucky NAACP, was chosen treasurer and Mrs. William Florsheim, secretary; the Rt. Rev. Alfred F. Horrigan, president of

Bellarmine College, was elected vice-chairman. These three, together with the Rev. D. E. King, a Negro clergyman, form the Commission's executive committee.

Mansir Tydings, executive director of the Lincoln Foundation and a veteran of race relations work, was engaged as executive director of the Commission. His staff now consists of Arthur Evans, assistant executive director, and Mrs. Erma B. Coleman, secretary-treasurer. Both of these are Negroes.

In addition to the Commission a broad apparatus of Associated Committees was set up to carry forward the campaign against race discrimination in its many phases. During the summer of 1962 the Commission was chiefly engaged in enlisting community leaders to serve on these committees; by October, 180 had rallied to the undertaking. Approximately 200, about evenly divided between whites and Negroes, are now serving. Committee members include the directors of the employment and housing committees of the NAACP and the executive director and two other members of the Urban League.

Eleven Associated Committees were formed to work in the following areas: education, employment, housing, public accommodations, supportive community organizations, religious groups, institutions and agencies, professional advisory (legal),programming, research, and communications.

Associated Committee appointments are made by a letter from the mayor in each case, after informal consultation. Following the adoption of Ordinance No. 66, the Public Accommodations Committee was replaced by an Anti-Discrimination Division. The Research Committee was also later replaced by a General Advisory Committee, and the Institutions and Agencies Committee has been dissolved, some of its members being transferred to other committees, while a new Women's Committee for Civil Rights has been formed.

The Commission meets regularly once a month, and its executive committee meets on call. The Associated Committees have regular monthly meeting days, and sometimes meet more often, with the exception of the General Advisory Committee, which meets semi-annually with the Commission and the Associated Committees for an overall review of the Commission's work. Its members are available for counsel at other times. A newspaper reporter attends every Commission meeting.

One is likely to be skeptical of a system which relies upon so many citizens to engage without compensation in any sustained altruistic endeavor. The Associated Committees plan seems, however, to be working. It may be the most valuable feature of Louisville's effort in the race-relations field. Not all committee members are active; about half of them give little time to this

work. But the fact that 200 respected citizens are committed in this manner to the elimination of race discrimination is a powerful influence. An estimated 100 Associated Committee members are very active indeed; they are rendering unflagging service in the many complex and often delicate phases of the battle against discrimination.

Actually, the ideal of interracial justice tends to make crusaders out of many who are imbued with it, but a dynamic and infectious enthusiasm on the part of its leaders is essential to the cohesion and success of so large a group of volunteers. This quality is not lacking among the leaders of the Louisville Human Relations Commission. It is present to a superlative degree in Dr. Volz, its chairman. Mr. Tydings brings also to the position of executive director a high degree of good-humored tact, which his duties of administrator and negotiator require.

When an official human relations agency is set up by a city or state government, the suspicion often arises that it is for appearances only and that it may be used even to frustrate Negro objectives. This view is not seriously held of the Louisville Commission in any quarter. As elsewhere, Negro leaders in Louisville are reluctant to express satisfaction with, or even approval of, the accomplishments of their community in civil rights. It is considered bad form or un-militant. "Moderates" are

unpopular among many Negroes. However, even aggressive Negro leaders agree privately that Louisville is making exceptional progress in civil rights, that "the thing is moving" in that city. The Louisville Human Relations Commission, they say, is "making an honest effort." Lyman T. Johnson, president of the Louisville chapter of the NAACP and a veteran of civil rights struggles, is less reserved than most in this regard and is sometimes labelled a "moderate" for that reason. Johnson was active in earlier demonstrations, but has used his influence to prevent further demonstrations since the work of the Commission has gotten under way.

The establishing ordinance gave the Commission a scope broad enough to embrace the objectives of civil rights organizations themselves. Its charter said: "The Commission shall cooperate with Federal, state and other city agencies in an effort to develop harmonious inter-group and interracial relations and shall endeavor to enlist the support of civic, religious, labor, industrial and commercial groups and civic leaders dedicated to the improvement of inter-group and interracial relations and the elimination of discriminatory practices." Louisville thus recognized this endeavor as a matter of concern to the city, and it has brought the civil rights movement largely into the framework of public administration.

After the completion of the organizational structure of the Commission and its Associated Committees, late in 1962, a word should be said about the manner of its embarking upon its task. According to its first-year report, "in less than six months the Associated Committees had held 76 meetings. The Commission had had 27 meetings, of which 16 were with groups of citizens interested in knowing more about the Commission's objectives, as well as with business groups whose cooperation was sought for the removal of discriminatory practices. There were meetings with the Louisville Restaurant Association, theatre-owners, proprietors of bowling lanes, directors of secretarial schools, and similar groups. In a number of instances the mayor has participated personally, applying the prestige of his office and his convictions by writing letters, by issuing invitations to conferences, and by leading discussions in several of the meetings."

In establishing its alliance with private human-relations groups and agencies, the Commission's report continued: "A series of weekly conferences were held with individuals and with representatives of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, Inc., the Lincoln Foundation, Inc., Louisville Urban League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Conference of Jewish Organizations, National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the American Friends Service Committee. Members of these organizations now actively participate as members of the Associated Committees...."

To learn from the experience of other similar bodies, the Commission devoted one full meeting to a conference with the executive directors of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati and the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights. On February 9, 1963, there was held at the University of Louisville an all-day work-shop meeting of the Commission and its Associated Committees, attended also by the mayor and nine members of the board of aldermen. The executive director of the Kansas City Human Relations Commission served as a consultant at this meeting. Incidentally, all of the committees of the work-shop, on the basis of their experience in seeking voluntary action, recommended suitable legislation for the removal of racial barriers.

The Commission has since settled down to a routine of operation -- or as much of "settling-down" and as much of "routine" as the dynamic and changing situation permits. The more we delve into the problem of race relations, the more we are impressed with its magnitude and complexity. As the Commission's report said, "the more there is of personal involvement in this important task, the more it is apparent that there is much yet to be done."

Employment

A number of observers remarked that "the Commission is doing its best job in the employment field."

The public sector had already a good record in the matter of equal employment opportunity when the Commission was established. Apart from the integrated school administration, 23 % of the city department jobs are held by Negroes and only about half of these are employed in non-skilled capacities. The police and fire departments are both integrated. The mayor's receptionist is a Negro lady. Judge J. Earl Dearing, who presides over the night court division of the police court, is a Negro and a former NAACP president. Charles J. Lunderman, Jr., assistant city attorney, and James A. Crumlin, traffic court prosecutor, are both Negroes. Other Negroes in public office in Louisville were mentioned earlier.

It is in the field of employment in private business now that the most intensive efforts are being made and most conspicuous results are being accomplished. In this endeavor a busy and efficient Louisville Urban League, under the able direction of Charles T. Steele, collaborates closely and constantly with the Commission and its Employment Committee. The Commission and the Urban League have been busy identifying Negroes in the ranks of elevator operators, janitors, and even floor-sweepers who are qualified for employment at higher levels, and have been successful in

securing the upgrading of many.

The Commission recently conducted a survey of employment integration in 26 leading stores, whose owners and managers were 1963 officers and directors of the Retail Merchants Association and the Retail Division of the Chamber of Commerce. These 26 stores employ a total of 3,304 persons, of whom 396, or 11.7% are Negroes. Of the latter, 299 or 75.5% are employed in the humble capacities in which Negroes traditionally served; 97, or 24.5%, now have supervisory or other superior positions. In non-traditional job categories, Negroes were reported as follows: department manager, three; sales supervisor, one; maintenance shop foreman, three; bookkeeper, one; cashier, one; office or clerical worker, ten; sales clerk, 21; price-marker, ten; fitter (men's clothing), six; sign-painter or window-dresser, eight; department clerk, 15; wrapper, ten; appliance repairman, three; customer service assistant, one; and security officer, one.

None of the Negroes employed in the drive, which began last August, in the 26 stores under survey has proven unsatisfactory in his new duties, though one man has been called up for military service. A department store recently asked for 15 Negro high school graduates to be trained for clerical positions. Two Negroes are now serving as bank tellers and two more are in training for this position.

The Courier Journal has one Negro reporter.

In the field of industrial employment accurate surveys are not available, but comparable progress is being made. Arthur M. Walters, industrial secretary of the Urban League, is a member of the Human Relations Commission's Employment Committee and the two groups collaborate diligently in negotiations with both management and labor to secure better jobs for Negroes. The League maintains a regular register of job and apprenticeship opportunities and of Negroes seeking placement. The task of matching qualifications with openings is a principal activity. A number of Negroes are now employed as assistant personnel directors, time study engineers, and in other superior positions. Rufus Stout, personnel manager at the Air Reduction and National Carbide Corporation plant, is a Negro.

The Commission has prepared, for early publication, a directory of employment opportunities and of training programs available to Negroes in Louisville. It is recognized that long exclusion from the better jobs has left many Negroes deficient in the experience and education required for the positions that are now open to them. Consequently, present planning includes night classes and other vocational instruction for Louisville youth of both races. The Employment Committee and the Education Committee collaborate in this field. The Education Committee

has a subcommittee for job training and another subcommittee seeking to reduce school drop-outs and raise the aspirations of Negro youth. The Commission has recommended that a separate Youth Commission be established to coordinate the efforts of existing organizations, and the schools, in this field.

A great deal remains to be done before the doors of employment are freely open to Negroes throughout the city, but a substantial entering wedge has been made. Though continued prodding will be necessary, something like a trend has been established.

Housing

The population changes registered in the Louisville area by the census figures of 1950 and 1960 indicate a movement of whites to the suburbs and of Negroes to the city. During the ten-year period the white population of adjoining Jefferson County grew from 125,486 to 220,308, while the Negro population of the city proper increased from 57,657 to 70,075. However, the number of whites within the city limits increased at the same time from 311,472 to 320,190 and the Negro population of the county increased from 4,858 to 8,275. Many well-to-do white families moved from city to county, but there are some signs now of a return trend: a new 28-story apartment building just opening is drawing some of these families back to the city, and a

contemplated housing development on the river front is expected to bring more.

The problem of housing or neighborhood desegregation -- the most widely encountered and in a sense the most baffling of all problems in the race relations field -- is centered in Louisville around a large residential area within the city limits known as the West End. At an earlier period the residents of this section were nearly all white. The influx of Negroes began during the housing boom after World War II, when many white residents moved to suburban homes and Negroes in better-paying jobs than before began moving into the vacated West End houses. The trend has continued and accelerated since, as is shown by the 1950-1960 figures for several West End census tracts: in tract No. 10, the Negro population rose from 1,457 to 3,270; in tract No. 11 it increased from 222 to 2,325; and in tract No. 12, from 177 to 1,460.

The West End is still predominantly white. If the racial elements were distributed and the pattern were stabilized the situation would be wholesome. What gives cause for alarm is the continuing trend -- whites moving away and Negroes moving in, and solid blocks of Negro homes developing. "Block-busting" tactics have been observed at times; they have not been in evidence in recent months, but similar influences have operated in a subtler manner. Most

realtors express a willingness to cooperate with the Human Relations Commission; a past president of the Louisville Real Estate Board and two other realtors are members of its Housing Committee. The State Real Estate Commission, at the instance of the Louisville Commission, has condemned tactics tending to promote panic selling.

But the problem is infinitely complex. For instance, many Negroes desire homes in the West End and many of them are unmindful of the danger of turning the area into a ghetto. In these circumstances the duty of the real estate agent is not always clear to him; Negro realtors themselves feel obligated to satisfy the wishes of their customers.

The question also arises of where else the Negro can go to escape from the crowded old Negro quarters of the city. In the scattered white residential districts and the fashionable East End Negroes are generally unwelcome. Pressures are sometimes used to deter them. Lending agencies formerly refused loans to Negroes for the purchase of homes in these areas, and, though this practice has ostensibly ceased, it is said to be difficult still for a Negro to obtain credit for the purchase of a home in a white neighborhood.

The desires and conveniences of individual Negro families pose difficulties which underline the close relationship of the housing problem to the whole pattern of

prejudice and segregation in a community. Not only do many Negroes object to being pioneers in an unfriendly neighborhood, but the location of available houses is often inconvenient for them. The older Negro residential areas and the center of Negro social and civic activities are nearer the West End. A well-to-do Negro physician found an available home in the East End too far from his practice.

The Commission's Housing Committee and allied human relations groups are attacking the problem of finding suitable houses for Negroes outside of the West End, with steady success here and there. One dedicated white lady is in the real estate business with the sole aim of finding suitable non-West End homes for Negro families in places where they will be contented and where their presence will tend to break down the barriers of prejudice.

Meanwhile, the campaign to bring about a friendly assimilation of the Negro contingent in the West End community and prevent departure of white residents is a chief activity in the race relations field. The effort is aided by the relatively high cultural and economic level of the Negro new-comers. The educational status of West End Negroes, as reflected in the 1960 census is interesting in this regard. The Census Tract 11, where the white population was 3,190 and the Negro population 2,325, the median school grades completed by Negroes 25 years of age and older was 11.3 compared with only 10.7 median school grades completed

by the total adult population. In the same age category in Tract 10, the median school grades completed by Negroes was 10.6 and by the total population 9.7.

The direct attack upon the West End problem is centered in the West End Community Council, of which Dr. George B. Kimbrough is an energetic leader. This organization was launched last August, with the desegregation at the same time of the local Y. W. C. A., which became its headquarters. It is aided by the Commission and other human relations groups, notably a Catholic organization, the Christian Family.

Biracial block meetings are being held and couples and teams, with representatives of both races, are going from house to house to further the integrated community idea. "I know of instances where 'For Sale' signs have come down," Dr. Kimbrough said, "after families living in the homes have met some of their Negro neighbors." "Not For Sale" signs have been distributed and many of these have been posted by whites with good psychological effect. In one five-block section "Not for Sale" signs have been posted in front of nearly every house. Many white residents have also posted a sign saying simply: "We Welcome You."

A folder entitled, "Well, I'm Not Moving," prepared by the Community Council and published with financial help from the Human Relations Commission, has been distributed to West End homes. The sub-heads in the folder's text are illustrative of its appeal: "This is a Good Place to Live"; "We Won't Lose Money If We Stay"; "In Fact, We'll Make Money If We Don't Move"; "Maybe It's All A Hoax"; "And We Prefer an Integrated Neighborhood", and "Will You Help Us Build a Community?" A series of films is being shown of the same tenor.

In a survey of a section of the West End, conducted March 21, 1964 by the Community Council, 406 white families were visited. Thirty-nine said they definitely intend to move, 29 were undecided, and 17 refused to be interviewed; but 321 said they planned to stay, and 172 expressed an interest in joining the Community Council.

The campaign is proceeding with genuine enthusiasm on the part of a large group, and in April 1964 was still gathering momentum. The West End Community Council meets twice monthly: 110 had attended its last meeting. "We are only now getting into full swing," Dr. Kimbrough says.

Planning for Future

The tendency of the Louisville Human Relations

Commission, its Associated Committees, and the allied private organizations is not to taper off, but to expand to meet the formidable remaining problems in the city's race relations. Planning for the future has a large part in the movement's activity and concern.

The Commission's 1962-1963 report said with reference to the public accommodations ordinance that it is "mindful that similar remedies should be applied particularly in the areas of employment and housing." It added that though "these problem areas are much more complex and confront long-established customs based on a heritage of prejudice," its "experiences have already borne out that in due course the people of Louisville will accept the challenge of the changes involved." The Commission is studying legislation to promote equal employment opportunity and open housing.

Elaborate planning is being directed to the problems of youth and community improvement. As Negroes comprise a disproportionate number of the underprivileged, work in these areas has important bearing upon race relations and the problem of equal opportunity.

The underprivileged Negro has long suffered from a vicious circle in which poverty, squalor, and ignorance increase the prejudice against him and the same race

prejudice deprives him of the opportunity to escape from those afflictions. On the other hand, education and a clean wholesome environment for Negroes tend to open doors that were formerly closed to them, including the door of economic progress in which these advantages can be increasingly enjoyed. Education and vocational training are necessary to enable Negroes to qualify for many of the better-paying jobs to which their race itself is no longer a barrier. Hence a broad program of advance in these areas is essential to a solution of the race problem. In Louisville, this kind of program is supported by the same individuals and agencies engaged in the direct attack upon race discrimination.

In August 1963, a biracial commission of approximately 65 men and women was appointed by the mayor and the county judge to consider the need for a Commission on Children and Youth for Louisville and Jefferson County. The executive director of the Human Relations Commission was prominent in this undertaking. This body, which rendered its report on February 24, 1964, was "unable to recommend an overall commission encompassing all the problems of youth," but it urged improved services for youth through the coordination -- and some consolidation -- of services to youth being provided by existing local and

state public agencies, such as the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Louisville Police Department, the Jefferson County Juvenile Court, the Children's Home, and the Welfare Department, the Kentucky Department of Child Welfare, etc. The study commission recommended further that "full support" should be given to a proposal known as "Futures Unlimited," and to a plan of the Louisville Board of Education for a school-neighborhood project in an area of the city producing major problems of youth. The board of education program is to start with the school and reach out to parents, neighborhood agencies, the juvenile court, the welfare department, the library, the recreation department, and other agencies.

"Futures Unlimited" is a project advanced by the Health and Welfare Council, a body made up of representatives of organizations participating in the Community Chest. This project is also co-sponsored by the mayor, the county judge, and the city board of education. It has not been adopted; controversy has arisen over administrative and other details and it is unlikely to be embraced in its present form. It is interesting, nonetheless, as indicating activities envisioned for the future, and in part already under way, in Louisville.

The Health and Welfare Council's memorandum of

January 19, 1964 describes Futures Unlimited as, "A Plan to Assure a Future Unlimited for Youth, the Family, and the Neighborhood in Communities Bordering on Urban Renewal Areas." It states: "The general purpose is to improve the level of living in sections of the city fringing upon urban renewal and redevelopment areas, utilizing this change in the physical environment as the opportunity for human renewal as well...." In order to observe results of the contemplated program, "two areas of the most deteriorated central part of the city will be designated as 'Target Areas' A and B, which will in effect be laboratories for testing new and improved social work, educational and community organization methods...."

While these plans embrace the whole population of the designated areas, the population there is largely Negro and the objectives are closely related to the problems of equal opportunity in housing and employment and of the harmonious development of biracial communities. Some figures from the 1960 census on the comparative condition of white and Negro homes in Louisville are pertinent here: 88.2 % of the white population was found to be living in "sound" housing units; only 59.7 % of the Negro population was so housed. Twelve and four-tenths per cent of the whites and 28.4 % of the Negroes were living in "deteriorating" housing units.

Eleven and nine-tenths per cent of the Negroes, but only 2.6% of the whites, had "dilapidated" homes.

The Health and Welfare Council's report notes that during the past year three neighborhood councils, or "block clubs" (self-improvement citizen organizations) have been initiated "with help from the Health and Welfare Council staff, the Louisville Urban League, and the Louisville Human Relations Commission."

The Council expressly acknowledges the role of the Urban League, an organization long devoted to improving the lot of Negroes. "This agency," the report notes, "has long extended neighborhood services into this as well as other parts of the city and has established historical as well as practical priorities in Target Area A,..."

Among the objectives contemplated for Futures Unlimited are:

- further organization and development of block clubs;
- door-to-door surveys to gain information and enlist citizen support of block clubs and of the project as a whole;
- a thorough program of code enforcement to be carried out by inspectors from the fire, health, sanitation, and city housing departments.

- "housing clinics," to which tenants, landlords, and developers can turn for advice on improving homes;
- recruitment of a corps of retired persons to serve as consultants on construction and finance problems;
- a continuous project of neighborhood beautification;
- communication and cooperation in the solution of neighborhood problems of all kinds;
- raising the educational and cultural level of the poor through closer cooperation between the schools and the social, recreational, and health agencies.

Jobs and preparation for jobs are prominent in the activities contemplated for Futures Unlimited, including personal counselling, job development and placement, and special technical classroom or on-the-job training -- with the openings in Louisville especially in view. This program is to be financed by the U. S. Office of Manpower and Development Training.

The organization plan and proposed first-year budget of Futures Unlimited contemplate the employment of a director (at $9,000), four neighborhood organizers

(at $5,000 each), clerical help whose aggregate compensation would total $19,800, and part-time workers in research, casework, and youth services. Counting office-rent and other expenses, the total budget is $69,800, the money to come from a variety of sources: the Urban Renewal Agency, city and county governments, and local and foundation contributions.

This is a suggestive, if unexciting, note on which to end this story of Louisville. For perhaps the most revealing fact about the city's race relations now is that they are passing into the hands of boards, commissions, official and semi-official committees, into, that is, the normal, institutionalized processes of municipal life.

* * * * * * * * * * *

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

LAW ENFORCEMENT
IN
MISSISSIPPI

LAW ENFORCEMENT
IN
MISSISSIPPI

July 14, 1964

I. MISSISSIPPI SUMMER, 1964

During 1964, the Mississippi legislature enacted at least seven measures, inspired by the impending summer program of the Council of Federated Organizations. The new statutes:

- -- increase from 275 men to 475 the authorized strength of the Highway Patrol, and invest the patrol with police powers during emergencies determined by the governor (unlike the patrol of other states, the Mississippi patrol had not before now had police authority, except for traffic enforcement);
- -- give greater authority to municipalities to restrain the movement of individuals;
- -- strictly regulate picketing of public buildings so as to obstruct normal access to them;
- -- increase penalties which municipal courts may assess from $100 and/or 30 days to $300 and/or 90 days;
- -- authorize municipalities to pool manpower and other resources for prevention and alleviation of riots or civil disturbances;
- -- provide penalties up to $500 and/or six months for printing and circulating boycott leaflets, handbills, etc.;
- -- make unlawful, punishable by heavy fines, refusal to comply with police commands in nine circumstances, defined to relate specifically to demonstrators' tactics.

The long anticipated, long dreaded, summer of 1964 is here, and the confrontation which may achieve epic stature between old Mississippi and young America has begun. The Council of Federated Organizations is a state-wide combine, originally for solely voter registration purposes, of the Mississippi representatives of the

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Congress of Racial Equality. The workers are, however, almost all youth, recruited from colleges over the United States and directed chiefly by SNCC and CORE. They have field support from the National Council of Churches, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the National Lawyers' Guild, the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Laws.

The planned program and the number of persons engaged in it are both large, and have excited the apprehension not only of Mississippians but of many others. The Washington Post in an editorial of June 25, 1964 voiced such concerns:

> The drama in Mississippi is by now choked with enough potential for terror as to need no further acts or actors.... With several hundred college students of the Mississippi Summer Project coming into the state, the risk is that tragedy could grow into holocaust, murder into massacre.
>
> The young men and women themselves deserve the highest tribute. They are among the Nation's finest, and their idealism, their decency and their courage -- because it walks arm-in-arm with intensely realistic fear -- are admirable beyond words....
>
> With respect to each element in their program, the young project workers will be acting in the most lawful way and for the worthiest of purposes. They are entitled to the full protection of the law. The primary duty to provide that protection rests

with the peace officers in Mississippi. If violence comes, it will not be done by the students but by the racists they encounter.... The inescapable responsibility rests, then, with the Mississippians to keep order among their citizens....

But having said this, one must add that the young civil rights workers heading for Mississippi have an obligation to consider deeply all the likely fruits of their action. The possibility of violence, despite best efforts of responsible Mississippians, remains enormous and indeed, as now seems terribly probable, has already begun. The young project workers cannot claim they do not foresee the response their presence may provoke....And some of the adult organizers not only expect mayhem but also see as one purpose of the operation -- perhaps the major purpose -- the compelling of Federal intervention in force, by marshals or troops, to quench the expected violence. But they must come to know, as many of them certainly do not know, that it is simply impossible for that protection to be given them. The Federal Government cannot guard every student and quarantine every hoodlum, Klansman and racist; the conditions that admit the dispatch of Federal troops to the State are not likely to come about promptly.

Moreover, and more important, both the adult organizers and the young participants of the project must know that in fixing on these means to carry on this fight in this way and in this time and place, they are not necessarily acting in response to a national consensus nor embracing a tactic that has been determined, by democratic choice, as right and necessary. Nor can they assume that it is proper, wise or justifiable to force Federal action as they propose. We cannot feel that the Federal Government now shows itself so apathetic, stupid, hypocritical or cowardly that it must be constrained to act by the threat of piling martyrs' corpses on its doorstep. The President, the Department of Justice and its Civil Rights Division and even the Congress, on the eve of enacting America's most encompassing civil rights law, have not demonstrated such feebleness of purpose and such pusillanimity that their course of action must now be mortgaged

> to the decisions of a thousand collegians and a handful of ruthlessly righteous organization leaders.
>
> ...../Let/ the young people subject to the trenchant study they apply to other matters the question of their own competence as political strategists. Let them ask themselves with some humility what action, however fastidiously legal, they are entitled to take that could inflame passions and explode sparks in the political tinderbox of this menacing summer.

"This menacing summer" includes racial tensions of the severest sort throughout the non-South; the Presidential campaign, in which civil rights issues will likely figure prominently; organized civil rights campaigns in Alabama and other southern states besides Mississippi; the deliberate incitements of politicians and power-holders such as Governor Wallace; the first months of enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and especially its public accommodations section; and, in late summer, the initial desegregation of public schools in Mississippi and in several notoriously resistant localities of other states.

There is perhaps no reasoned dissent from the concerns and cautions expressed by the Washington Post, just as there has never been to similar warnings expressed whenever in the past few pell-mell years the civil rights movement has gone in new and perilous directions. The boldness and size of the COFO program, the special character of Mississippi, and "this menacing summer" -- all these being what they are, there may well be cause

here for unique and probably valid fears. But to them the only, and to many the sufficient, reply is contained in the slogan which is, in truth, much more than a slogan: "the time is now." Beyond this is the belief of many in the civil rights movement that neither the region nor the nation at large is entitled to tranquility while racial injustice lingers over the land.

Moreover, the country must not lose sight of the unassailable legal and moral right of the students to be where they are and to work for the aims they seek. Nor should it overlook the orderly, careful, and responsible manner in which they have made their plans and are carrying them out, and their deliberate efforts to avoid provocation of local whites.

Mississippi is not only beset by the invasion of the students. The purpose of its new laws for tighter law enforcement would not be understood if notice were not taken of the fact that the monolithic control excercised over the white society of the state by the Citizens Council has been broken. The Ku Klux Klan has not until recent months been important in Mississippi. It is now, with numbers estimated as high as 90,000, though this claim of the Klan is not corroborated by observers. Sharing the extremity with it is a spreading organization, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race. Whether the men and groups who have controlled and in some measure disciplined the state prior to this year have still the

authority to do so is a question on whose answer the lives and safety of a good many people may depend.

Not, of course, have the Citizens Council and the state and local authorities in the past been careful of Negroes' lives. But the case has been that whenever the civil rights movement in Mississippi has focussed on a large campaign, the authorities have enforced a disciplined response which has kept the lynchers and the bombers in the background. This was the experience during the Freedom Ride in 1961, the Greenwood voter registration drive of 1963, and the tensions in Jackson after the assassination of Medgar Evers. Only at the University of Mississippi in 1962, and then for calculated reasons of state, was the mob unleashed. It may no longer be on leash.

No Southerner can speak of Mississippi except as a part of himself, and he as part of it. Yet Mississippi, taken as a whole, and allowing for its many local variations (but even they are less significant than in other states), is not like any place else. For here every datum of economics and every fact and twist of history have conspired to keep its white people deeply and ofttimes harshly resistant to change and its Negro people ill-equipped for it.

II. THE RECORD OF LAWLESSNESS

Law enforcement in the United States is Constitutionally and traditionally a local responsibility, primarily. Today, the most urgent complaint which the nation has against Mississippi is that men are not safe within its borders. Below are listed instances of violence and open intimidation, since January 1, 1964. The list does not include numerous harassing arrests for alleged traffic violations and other petty charges, or for picketing, marching, etc., except for a few specially interesting incidents. Even so, the list is almost certainly incomplete, for it includes only reports which found their way into the press, and very likely has missed a number of those. But more than are listed below are hardly needed, in order to document the almost unrestrained lawlessness which is permitted within the state against one class of people.*

CANTON

COFO alleges, over denial of sheriff, that George Raymond, voter registration worker, beaten and bloodied by police in January. (Jackson Daily News, 1/5/64)

---

*A similar list of 64 incidents between January 1, 1961 - March 27, 1963, directed chiefly at voter registration workers, was released on March 31, 1963 by the Council's Voter Education Project. See also the report submitted by COFO to the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, March 18, 1964.

McCOMB

Armed night riders shot into six Negroes' homes wounding young Negro boy. (Atlanta Daily World, 1/16/64)

VICKSBURG

Seven crosses burned in various Vicksburg locations in what was termed "evidence of the empire of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi." (Jackson Daily News, 2/2/64)

JACKSON

Police used tear gas and shotguns to quell two demonstrations near Jackson State College February 3. The demonstrations were precipitated when a Negro girl was injured by an automobile as she tried to cross a city street which bisects the campus. Nearly 100 policemen were involved in what became a riot. (Jackson Daily News, 2/4/64)

JACKSON

Two voter registration workers, Arthur Harris and Will Galloway, badly beaten by police in February. (Mississippi Free Press, 2/15/64)

THE DELTA

"Houston churches have been asked to send food and clothing to Mississippi Delta area Negroes who claim they are victims of a plan deliberately to starve them out of the state.

"The Negroes claim some of their people are literally starving because they can't find jobs and can't get welfare help....

"How much of this is true? The Houston Post sent a team of reporters to Mississippi to find out.

"We found out that much of what the Negroes claim appears to be true. Some of their words seem to be exaggerated.

"They are not being starved out. A better way to put it is that they are being 'hungried' out of their state." (Houston Post, 3/8/64)

BUDE (Franklin County)

Negro cafe -- the Blue Flame -- wrecked by dynamite blast on April 4. (Jackson Daily News, 4/5/64)

NESHOBA COUNTY

Twelve crosses burned throughout Neshoba County around 10 p.m.: one at county courthouse and three in Negro section of Philadelphia; others in scattered communities. (Jackson Daily News, 4/7/64)

HOUSTON (Chickasaw County)

Cross burned April 18. (Jackson Daily News, 4/20/64)

JACKSON

On April 21, Norma Stamps, a secretary at Jackson State College, was slapped by an elderly white man after being pushed against him and another white man behind her as they stood in a crowded line for the Beckwith trial #2. She slapped the man back and was arrested and charged with assault. Arresting officers hit her and twisted her arm, she stated. (Mississippi Free Press, 4/25/64)

STATEWIDE CROSS BURNINGS

Police confirmed reports of multiple cross burnings (one report said they occurred in 64 counties) at around 10 p.m. on April 24 in an apparently pre-arranged statewide campaign. At least three were burned in Greenville; a white hooded figure was seen setting fire to one in Greenwood; one before a Negro church in Meridian; one at University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg; one at Confederate Memorial Park at Natchez; others in Jackson, Canton, Fayette, Vicksburg, Utica, Prentiss, Crystal Springs, and Winona. Three men were picked up by Greenville police for investigation: one died of a heart attack; two others were charged with disturbing the peace and released on $250 bond each. (Jackson Daily News, 4/26/64; Memphis Commercial Appeal, 4/26/64)

AMITE COUNTY

"A short fat man with greying crewcut hair thrusts a wrinkled and grimy piece of paper in front of a businessman, 'These people must be fired from your firm,' he says. 'The organization does not approve of them.'

"The businessman looks at the list and notes that two of the names represent employes he has known for 20 years, but he nods sad agreement to the demands just the same. Germany, 1939? Russia today? No, Amite County, Mississippi 1964....

...."'All we have to do is to make white people raise rents until the Negro is forced to move away. Of course we will do it gradually so that their loss will not affect our economy. We can start with the progressive Negroes, since they give us the most trouble', he [a member of Americans for the Preservation of the White Race] concluded." (Delta Democrat-Times, 5/11/64)

LAUREL

Early Sunday a.m. (5/10), the pressroom of the Laurel Leader-Call heavily damaged by a dynamite explosion. The F.B.I. reported investigating. There were reports from Laurel that white groups were holding meetings in heavily-guarded abandoned oil company shacks outside the city. (Delta Democrat-Times, 5/12/64)

HINDS COUNTY

Charles Evers, state NAACP director, in a letter to Attorney General Kennedy, alleged that Ernest Caston was shot and killed by law enforcement officer of county. (Jackson Daily News, 5/15/64)

HATTIESBURG

SNCC worker, Oscar Chase (white), tells of being beaten by prisoners after being jailed in January for "leaving the scene of an accident," and of later seeing the attacker rewarded with a pack of cigarettes and released. (The Nation, 5/18/64)

CANTON

Unidentified white male demanded to be let into CORE "Freedom House" during pre-dawn hours; when refused, fired several pistol shots at house. (Jackson Daily News, 5/21/64)

FAYETTE

A COFO worker, who had driven a car full of food, clothing, and literature, stopped at a Negro home where two whites and several uniformed law officers surrounded the home, shouting for him to come out. He fled. Car was emptied of its contents. (New York Times, 5/22/64)

LONGDALE COMMUNITY (Neshoba County)

Mount Zion Methodist Church was burned down. Armed white men, some masked, some in law enforcement uniforms, had allegedly earlier surrounded church and brutally beaten three Negroes who were attending a church meeting. (New York Times, 5/22/64 and 6/21/64)

NATCHEZ

Clifford Walker, Negro, found dead in March, with half of his face torn away by a shotgun blast. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

BEARTOWN

In January, cross burned in yard of NAACP Pike County president, Curtis C. Bryant. Anonymous telephone call, on April 29, to Bryant, telling him to get out of town; bomb tossed through his barbershop window the next night. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

AMITE COUNTY

Louis Allen killed by two shotgun blasts, on January 31, in front of his home. Allen had been a witness to the 1961 slaying of Hubert Lee, active in voter registration, by E. H. Hurst, then a state legislator (ruled justifiable homicide). (New York Times, 5/30/64)

LIBERTY (Amite County)

In February, a Negro forced to strip, soaked in motor oil, then beaten. (New York Times, 5/30/64

NATCHEZ

Flyer distributed attacking Catholic priests on grounds their home "a sanctuary and hideout" for northern student agitators. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

JACKSON

Negro motel being constructed north of city limits dynamited night of May 6. (New York Times, 5/30/64)

NATCHEZ

In February, Archie C. Curtis, an undertaker, and a companion responded to an emergency ambulance call in a desolate area where they were stripped and beaten by hooded men; a third Natchez Negro beaten the same night, (New York Times, 5/30/64)

CANTON

Pakistani instructor at Tougaloo College hauled from car and beaten by whites. (Washington Post, 5/31/64)

CANTON

Negro man taken to hospital May 30 after alleged beating by eight policemen during arrests of 55 persons in a voter rally outside a Negro church. (Delta Democrat-Times, 5/31/64)

JACKSON

Two carloads of white youths drove by COFO headquarters in early evening and hurled rocks, which shattered two windows and struck two persons unloading a car. (Jackson Daily News, 6/3/64)

JACKSON

COFO building windows were shattered by rocks two or three days earlier. (Jackson Daily News, 6/3/64)

CANTON

CORE "Freedom House" had explosive hurled against building in pre-dawn hours. (Baton Rouge State Times, 6/8/64)

SUMMIT (Pike County)

Three white freelance writers reported being forced from their car at pistol point by three carloads of whites and beaten. (New York Times, 6/10/64)

CANTON

Early Friday, June 12, bombs shattered windows of a church used for civil rights meetings and of one nearby house. (New York Times, 6/15/64)

HATTIESBURG

Catholic parish meeting hall which had been used by Negroes destroyed by fire. (New York Times, 6/21/64)

PHILADELPHIA

James E. Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner reported missing, June 22. The three COFO workers had driven from Meridian to investigate church burning in Longdale community. Were arrested on a traffic charge near Philadelphia on June 21, held in jail for about five hours, and released. They reportedly departed in their station wagon, and then disappeared. (All papers, 6/23/64)

NESHOBA COUNTY

Station wagon belonging to the three missing students found burned on June 23 near Philadelphia. (Atlanta Constitution, 6/24/64)

PHILADELPHIA

Newsmen threatened June 23 at Neshoba County courthouse and told to leave the county. (New York Times, 6/24/64)

McCOMB

One home bombed on June 22 and attempts appeared to have been made to bomb two others. (New York Times, 6/24/64)

PHILADELPHIA

A six car caravan of Negroes, led by James Farmer (CORE), John Lewis (SNCC), and comedian Dick Gregory, arrived to join in search for missing three. Caravan halted by police at city limits, while leaders conferred at courthouse with state police; heavily armed guard kept whites away from courthouse during conference and escorted caravan back to Meridian. (Washington Post, 6/25/64)

MOSS POINT (Jackson County)

Two COFO volunteers, Howard Kirschenbaum and Ronald Ridenour, arrested shortly before midnight in a Negro settlement on vagrancy charges. Charges were dropped and they were released after twelve hours in protective custody. (Selma Times-Journal, 6/25/64)

JACKSON COUNTY

Two white youths were threatened by arresting officers. (New York Times, 6/26/64)

MOSS POINT

Hall used for civil rights meetings damaged by fire. (Birmingham World, 6/27/64)

CLINTON (Hinds County)

An attempt made on June 26 to burn Holy Ghost Baptist Church. Firemen extinguished blaze before major damage. Over the state, this was the fifth Negro church fire in less than two weeks. (New York Times, 6/27/64)

ITTA BENA (LeFlore County)

Three white men, on June 25, roughed up and threatened three COFO workers. On June 26, the attackers arrested by the F.B.I. (New York Times, 6/27/64)

THE DELTA

In a roundup of recent events, Times reports attempted fire-bombing of church used in Ruleville as voter registration headquarters; carloads of whites driving through Negro section of Ruleville throwing bottles; whites, some of them armed, preventing voter registration work in Drew; cars of magazine writers pursued by local whites from Ruleville. (New York Times, 6/27/64)

JACKSON

COFO workers beaten by fellow prisoners while in federal custody. Were being transferred from Canton jail, where they had been held since 5/29, to Jackson; cases had been removed to federal court. (New Orleans Times-Picayune, 6/28/64)

RULEVILLE

While Williams Chapel Baptist Church was the scene of mass meetings every night for a week, policemen took license plate numbers of cars parked outside and whites drove past church, shouted epithets, and threw molotov cocktail into church, causing some damage. (New York Times, 6/29/64)

PHILADELPHIA

According to one newsman, his car was deliberately rammed by a resident, and, when a cameraman tried to take a picture of the damage, the resident went for him with a knife. A state trooper stepped in and prevented injuries. But the newsman was arrested on a traffic charge and the resident was allowed to go free. Also, two other whites armed with a shotgun, in a car without license plates, trailed three reporters around town. (New York Times, 6/29/64)

RULEVILLE

Isaiah Taylor, Negro, shot and killed by highway patrolman, who claimed Taylor attacked with knife. No apparent civil rights issue. Coroner's jury ruled justifiable homicide. (New York Times, 6/29/64)

HATTIESBURG

Two whites fired shotguns into hoods and grills of student volunteers' two cars outside of civil rights headquarters in early morning of June 29. (New York Times, 6/30/64)

SOSO (Jones County)

The Greasy Spoon, combination Negro grocery and cafe, reported dynamited. (New York Times, 7/4/64)

STATEWIDE

"There has been considerable chasing of COFO cars since the arrival of students for the summer project...." (New York Times, 7/5/64)

PHILADELPHIA

Angry crowd gathers at county courthouse, July 6, while touring NAACP national leaders' confer inside. (New York Times, 7/7/64)

MOSS POINT

A shot from a passing car went through a church window and wounded in the chest a 19-year old Negro girl standing to sing at a rally of 300 on the night of July 6. Three Negroes followed the car of whites they believed had done the shooting to a service station, but retreated when the whites allegedly pointed a shotgun at one of them, who was then arrested for attempted assault and using profane language, and his companions were arrested on charges of possessing concealed weapons. (New York Times, 7/8/64)

McCOMB

Three explosions at approximately 3:00 a.m. ripped sashes and frames from 6 windows, splintered 2-by-6 inch timbers, shattered six feet of brick foundation, and injured two persons with flying glass in a home where 10 rights workers were sleeping. (New York Times, 7/9/64)

CLARKSDALE

A white Connecticut minister is one of three rights workers who report being told by police chief to get out of town. (New York Times, 7/10/64)

HATTIESBURG

Two white men attacked and beat a white rabbi and two white youths with iron and steel bars. (New York Times, 7/11/64)

BROWNING (LeFlore County)

Negro church destroyed by fire July 11. (New York Times, 7/12/64)

JACKSON

On July 12, a white man struck a Negro woman with an iron bar at an integrated bus station lunchcounter and fled before police arrived. The woman was arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace. A group of teenagers slashed tires of cars belonging to Negroes eating in a restaurant. (Atlanta Journal, 7/13/64)

CANTON

Fire bomb allegedly hurled on lawn of "Freedom House," extinguished without damage. (New York Times, 7/13/64)

CLARKSDALE

Police Chief Ben Collins sprayed with household deodorant Negro civil rights workers sitting in courtroom awaiting trial of one of their colleagues. (New York Times, 7/13/64)

KINGSTON (Adams County)

Two Negro churches destroyed in pre-dawn blazes July 13. Sheriff termed both fires definitely arson. (Atlanta Constitution, 7/14/64)

JACKSON

Two partial bodies, found in a river in Louisiana on July 12 and 13 have been brought to Jackson. Indications are that these are not the bodies of any of the three civil rights workers who disappeared in Neshoba County. Tentative identification has been made of one body as that of a student at Alcorn A. & M. College, near Lorman (Miss.), last seen with a Negro saw mill worker, also missing since late May. (Atlanta Constitution, 7/14/64)

III. THE GUILT OF LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENTS

The crimes set out above could not have been committed in this number and frequency without the indulgence, and in too many cases the cooperation, of local law enforcement authorities. There are undoubtedly some local officials in Mississippi who conscientously serve the law; Chief W. C. Burnley of Greenville and former Sheriff L. A. Ross of Coahoma County are examples. They are not numerous. The following comes from an editorial of the Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville) of April 22, 1964:

> With monotonous regularity, civil rights activists in Mississippi claim they have been beaten either by law officers or prisoners bribed by the officers to attack them in various jails. Some of these protests can be discounted as so much propaganda....
>
> But too many are not fabrications. Too many are simple truth. Even one would be too many; there have been far more than one. Again, we have personal knowledge of this.... The jackboot approach to law enforcement -- or to the preservation of the status quo -- can only result in the creation of a brutalized public as well as police....
>
> * * * *
>
> ....The midnight beating and the old-fashioned third-degree are still too prevalent, especially where Negroes and civil rights "outsiders" are concerned.
>
> ....And while all-white Mississippi juries have refused to convict lawmen in several trials involving beatings, the evidence has been incontrovertible that the beatings occurred....
>
> ....[It] is more than a coincidence that the only prisoners who are consistently coming out of

> jail with bruises and black eyes are civil rights activists. This isn't law. It is sadism hiding behind a badge.....

IV. THE CLIMATE OF OPINION

Nor would they have been committed, except in a climate of opinion which tolerates and encourages the brute.

Around the South in the years inaugurated by the call of Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia for "massive resistance" the voices came from high places trumpeting defiance and giving to more lowly men the signal for disorder. In most of the South, these voices have been stopped. Not so in Mississippi.

The present lieutenant-governor, at his inauguration only last January, called on all state officials to "wage a brave, determined and continuing battle against any invasion, from any source, from any group, of our heritage, sovereignty, constitutional rights and Southern way of life"; he was amply assured, he said, that "our people applaud our position." The present governor has the distinction of being the only southern governor to counsel disobedience to the federal public accommodations law. Former Governor Barnett, in April 1964, said of the Ole Miss riot: "Doesn't everyone know by now that Bobby Kennedy and the Federal government are responsible? The blood of those men is on their hands." Federal District Judge Harold Cox, from the bench in March 1964, referred repeatedly to Negro voter registration applicants as "a bunch of niggers," "acting

like a bunch of chimpanzees."

On the other and possibly promising side, note can be taken of the concerted action of the Jackson business community in support of compliance with the federal public accommodations law, despite the governor's counsel and despite strong pressure from the Citizens Council.

V. FEDERAL PROSECUTION

The contempt of official Mississippi for law is recognized by the federal government, which has since the late 1950's had to devote untold hours of attorneys' and FBI agents' time, and assuredly millions of dollars of taxpayers' funds, keeping Mississippi and its political sub-divisions and its officials at the bar. This is a frustrating business. Not yet, for example, has the federal government through its prosecution been able to end finally defiance of the I.C.C. ruling of 1961 regarding bus terminal segregation. And not yet have the voting cases made much of a breach in the wall of discrimination.

The cases filed by the federal government and embarked on their course of prolonged and disillusioning litigation are in themselves lucid documentation of the federal executive's own opinion and judgment regarding the low quality of law and order in Mississippi.

The voting cases alone, under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, number as follows:*

Section 1971a actions**
(discrimination in registration)

	Against	Filed
1.	Clarke Co.	7/6/61
2.	Forrest Co.	7/6/61
3.	Jefferson Davis Co.	8/3/61
4.	Walthall Co.	8/3/61
5.	Panola Co.	10/26/61
6.	Tallahatchie Co.	11/17/61
7.	George Co.	4/13/62
8.	State of Mississippi, plus Amite, Claiborne, Coahoma, LeFlore, Lowndes, and Pike Counties	8/28/62***
9.	Sunflower Co.	1/26/63
10.	Hinds Co.	7/13/63
11.	Oktibbeha Co.	12/16/63
12.	Chickasaw Co.	12/16/63
13.	Lauderdale Co.	12/17/63
14.	Copiah Co.	12/17/63
15.	Madison Co.	3/5/64

---

*Nearly all of these cases are, in some manner or at some stage, still before the federal courts. A number of them, including a few of the older ones, have not yet resulted in a decree.

**Some of the cases combine 1971a and 1971b charges.

***This case is the Department of Justice's frontal assault on the system of discrimination in Mississippi. It was not brought to a hearing until March 1964, and is now on appeal by the Department to the Supreme Court, from an adverse ruling by a three-judge court.

Section 1971b actions
(intimidation from voting or registering)

	Against	Filed
1.	Greene Co.	6/16/62
2.	Walthall Co.	12/31/62
3.	City of Greenwood	3/30/63
4.	Rankin Co.	5/6/63
5.	Holmes Co.	5/11/63
6.	LeFlore Co.	6/28/63

The Department of Justice has contended or is contending, therefore, that the State of Mississippi, one of its cities, and 23 of its counties are in adamant violation of statutes to implement a basic Constitutional right. And of Mississippi's 59 other counties, the Department is actively scrutinizing the voting records and practices of a number, in several cases after having fought through the courts for the privilege to do so.

VI. FEDERAL POLICY

It was to this kind of situation that the Notre Dame Conference on Congressional Civil Rights Legislation spoke in 1963:

> The evil of [voting] discrimination is confined.... to certain communities of the Deep South where the constitutional prohibition against voting discrimination is openly flouted and efforts to obtain or to exercise voting rights are met by acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence, sanctioned and sometimes even participated in by local authorities and law enforcement officers. These are, and should rationally be regarded as, outlaw communities....

* * * * *

> New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant disregard of rights. To contain and disarm lawlessness, a clear federal presence is required at the first outbreaks. We think the Attorney-General has the power, in the face of determined lawlessness supported by an acquiescent or conspiratorial community, to send federal marshals and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for on-the-spot protection of the exercise of federal rights. Such marshals and federal agents should be deployed in accordance with principles normally governing in law enforcement, in numbers and with authority adequate to deal with all anticipated exigencies, including authority and instructions to enforce compliance with federal law and to make arrests for violations.

* * * * *

> This condition does not pose an issue of federalism. Federalism is a system of divided power among governments, and governments are instruments whose whole purpose is to establish an order of law. In these outlaw communities where citizenship rights are flagrantly destroyed, there is no law to respect.

Much the same point was made on June 30, 1964 in a statement of 27 law professors of Columbia, Harvard, New York University, Pennsylvania, and Yale:

> Surely there is reason to believe that violence and combination are now so hindering the execution of the laws of Mississippi and of the United States as to deny to the Negroes of Mississippi rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States.... /There/ can be no question but that the provisions of /10 USCA 333/ subsection (2) fit the circumstances precisely. Violence, combination, and conspiracy in Mississippi are unquestionably obstructing the execution of the civil rights laws of the United States -- the provisions, that is of Sections 1981 and 1983 of Title 42 and the provisions of the

Acts of 1957 and 1960 with respect to voting rights.*

That the Department of Justice is inclining toward a similar view of the problem and of its powers was suggested by the F.B.I.'s arrest on June 26 of three white men for interfering with voter registration workers in Itta Bena; the arrests were made under Title 18, section 241 of the U. S. code. This marks the first such federal arrest, on complaint, anywhere in the South. If it truly represents a policy change in the Department of Justice, it is of momentous and heartening importance.

The law professors' statement continued by saying, with reference to the present situation in Mississippi:

> Doubtless some creditable considerations of expedience could be cited to support a decision against now taking vigorous presidential action under Section 333 in Mississippi. Surely, however, the Attorney General's position would be less misleading and therefore less perilous if he would acknowledge that the President today has power to act but believes that 'police action' under Section 333 of Title 10 is inadvisable.

The question of federal police intervention in Mississippi, and the extent and kind of it, is, in other words, not one of <u>power to act</u>, but of <u>policy</u>. This is precisely the position spelled out by President John F. Kennedy in his telegram of May 14, 1963 to Governor Wallace of Alabama:

---

*See appendix for text of 10 USCA 333 and certain other federal statutes.

> Under this section [10 USCA 333], which has been invoked by my immediate predecessor and other Presidents as well as myself on previous occasions, the Congress entrusts to the President all determinations as to (1) the necessity for action; (2) the means to be employed; and (3) the adequacy or inadequacy of the protection afforded by state authorities to the citizens of that state.

VII. FEDERAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE MISSISSIPPI SITUATION

The key to federal intervention is, therefore, the adequacy or inadequacy of state protection of its citizens. Where the state assumes, willingly or reluctantly, responsibility -- as did the state of Florida at a late point in the St. Augustine crisis -- federal policing would probably weaken or even erase whatever sense of local and state obligation exists.

There have been far too few and too nebulous signs that in Mississippi there is any active sense of obligation for the protection of people within its borders.

In January 1963, the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report dealing with denials of equal protection of the laws in the state. The Committee, composed of eminent citizens of the state, stated, in part, as follows:

> Findings
>
> 1. The first finding of this Committee is that justice under law is not guaranteed for the Negro in Mississippi in the way that it is for the white man. ....We find that terror hangs over the Negro in Mississippi and is an expectancy for those who refuse to accept their color as a badge of inferiority....

2. The second finding.... is that the State Government of Mississippi is not sufficiently concerned with the task of protecting the rights of all the citizens of Mississippi.... A firm position.... would reduce the tendency of lesser officials to abuse their authority and would enhance the respect of the people for the State Government.... /The/ attitude of the State Government, rather than being one of protection, has been one of obstruction....

3. ....The people of Mississippi are largely unaware of the extent of the problems of illegal official violence and the press is partly to blame....

4. The Committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens. The Department of Justice has acted in good faith, but the present interpretation of the function of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department is unduly and unwisely narrow and limited....

5. We also find that the Commission on Civil Rights itself continues to have an unfulfilled obligation.... It is our opinion that a formal civil rights hearing, such as only the Commission can conduct, is.... urgently needed in Mississippi.... Yet the Commission has never met in this State....

On April 16, 1963 the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights made an interim report to the President and Congress. The nature of the report is sufficiently indicated by the following paragraph:

> Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote. Since October, students have been fired upon, ministers have been assaulted and the home of the

> Vice Chairman of the State Advisory Committee to this Commission has been bombed. Another member and his wife were jailed on trumped up charges after their home had been defiled. Even children, at the brink of starvation, have been deprived of assistance by the callous and discriminatory acts of Mississippi officials administering Federal funds.

Much criticism from newspapers and high federal officials greeted the interim report's recommendation that cut-offs of federal funds to Mississippi be seriously considered by the President and Congress. In formulating this recommendation, intended to place federal authority in opposition to state lawlessness, the Commission cited the following facts:

-- in fiscal year 1962, the federal government received from all tax sources in Mississippi $270 million. In the same year, federal payments to the state, its counties, municipalities, and residents exceeded $650 million.

-- the National Aeronautics and Space Agency selected Mississippi for a $400 million moon rocket engine test center.

-- the Federal Aviation Agency granted $2,180,000 for construction of a jet airport in Jackson, without questioning the airport's plan to build separate eating and restroom facilities.

VIII. PROSPECTS FOR STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

The following statement comes from a Council field report, written by a senior staff member thoroughly acquainted with the state, after a lengthy visit in late June-early July, 1964:

The deteriorating situation with respect to the public peace in Mississippi makes it necessary to examine realistically the law-enforcement capability of that state in conditions of racial turmoil.

What are the possibilities of halting the burnings, bombings, floggings and occasional killings? In the event of a massive interracial clash, what reliance could be placed upon Mississippi police to restrain a white mob?

We need first to consider the Mississippi theory of law enforcement in the area of race relations. In Mississippi, "law enforcement" means control of Negroes. Protection of Negroes and restraint of their white attackers are not included in the concept.

Public tranquility is expected to be preserved by intimidating -- if not terrorizing -- Negroes. The state attorney general expressed the aim quite naturally when he said to me: "The Negroes have to be restrained so they won't provoke irresponsible whites." White outrages are deplored and the danger of anti-Negro mobs is feared -- at least at the highest official levels -- but they are to be prevented by keeping the Negroes from giving "provocation." The rigorous surveillance of Negroes by the Jackson police, for instance, is born of a deep fear, not of Negro excesses, but of a possible rampage by white fanatics whom Negroes might "provoke." Police brutality is condoned by much of the public if it is directed toward keeping the Negroes "restrained." When the Negro is subdued, there is peace. That is the philosophy of a large element of the state's political leadership; it is deeply ingrained in the law enforcement personnel.

* * * * *

To reinforce the official machinery for repression of the Negro minority, two secret vigilante organizations have recently grown to ominous proportions. The revived Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi claims a membership of 91,000, and it probably has more than half that number in fact. Estimates of the membership of the new Americans for the Preservation of the White Race are not available, but it is substantial and growing....

The state administration is plainly disturbed over the burgeoning vigilante movement, though the numbers involved induce caution from a political point of view. The governor has given the KKK and the APWR no encouragement; he has said that he believes their strength to have been exaggerated. But he avoids condemning them by name. He denounces "extremists on both sides." ...

* * * * *

Somewhat ironically the most outspoken attack upon the racist vigilantes -- and some of the healthiest advice to the public in the matter of public order -- has come from the State Sovereignty Commission....

* * * * *

The generally inflammatory Hederman newspapers have been surprisingly conciliatory in editorials about the Summer Freedom Project. The Mississippi Economic Council includes the state's leading corporation executives and, though over-cautious, this is the most powerful moderate influence in the state. Following a meeting of the MEC executive committee, June 18, its president issued the following statement:

> Within the next few weeks the patience and self-control of Mississippians will, no doubt, be taxed to an extreme degree by the unfriendly activities of many outside students and adults coming into our state.
>
> It is imperative that we conduct ourselves with dignity, poise, forbearance, and, if possible, even good humor. We should not gather into curious crowds or allow ourselves to be provoked into impulsive acts that would reflect discredit on our state. We should support the governor in his declarations that law and order will be maintained and leave law enforcement duties in the hands of those trained to handle these matters.

* * * *

The Jackson Daily News quoted the MEC statement on its editorial page, terming it "a timely and common-sense appeal," which "makes an excellent editorial in itself."

Governor Johnson, addressing a grocers' convention in Biloxi June 19th, warned that all must obey Mississippi's laws whether they are "black, white or spotted."

But all this is very little and very late.

* * * * *

The Summer Freedom Project has aroused fears in some quarters comparable to the ancient terror of a slave uprising....

What reliance can be placed on the individuals and organizations responsible for law enforcement to protect these civil rights workers and Mississippi Negroes generally? ....

The most reliable -- or the only reliable -- force is the Mississippi National Guard. The National Guard met the test of combat with white fanatics in the insurrection at "Ole Miss" and behaved admirably.... The discipline and integrity of the Mississippi National Guard are a safeguard in the type of situation in which the Guard might be used.

The State Highway Patrol has been made available for police functions, and its authorized strength has been increased from 275 to 475 men. Legislation was also enacted last spring to enable localities to merge their law-enforcement resources in time of crisis.... ....I am told .... that the governor had very much in mind the danger from white vigilantes and said as much privately to some leaders of the legislature.

The danger of Negro aggression in Mississippi being insignificant, the criterion of the effectiveness of any law enforcement agency must be the degree to which it can be relied upon to restrain whites. In this respect, the performance of the Highway Patrol at "Ole Miss," of course, was lamentable. Would these troopers again turn away from white rioters or fraternize with them?

/Mr. _____/ is deeply apprehensive over the outlook in Mississippi, and he speaks frankly to me. /He/ thinks that under clearer political direction the Patrol would have done better at "Ole Miss." He said that a nucleus of veteran Patrolmen is well-disciplined and reliable. Some of these had told him they were ashamed of what

happened at "Ole Miss." He said their commander, Col. T. B. Birdsong, is a capable officer, with a National Guard background and an instinctive sense of discipline and duty.

/Mr. _____/, with whom I discussed the whole matter of law enforcement, also spoke well of Birdsong, although the latter has been a political opponent. ....I asked.... flatly: "Would the Highway Patrol do its duty in the event of a massive white attack upon Negroes?" After some hesitation, he answered that it would -- if the governor's wishes were clearly expressed and if his orders were firm.

The Jackson city police force is notorious for its brutality in handling Negroes, and in many instances -- some of them well publicized -- policemen have stood idly by while Negroes were beaten and kicked by white hoodlums. The police force is, however, efficient, and it should have learned some discipline in the course of its intensive training.... Some Jackson financial magnates who feel that they are close to the mayor, say that, "when the time comes," he intends to use the police with all vigor against any white mob. But the Jackson police have had no psychological preparation for such a duty....

In some of the smaller cities local community leadership has brought about a relatively stable law-enforcement situation, as in Tupelo and Greenville. Other cities like McComb, Greenwood, Canton, etc., are festering sores. Incidentally, I am told that the "auxiliary police" in many of these cities is a liability and a menace in case of interracial turmoil.

Of all areas of law enforcement, it is in the rural counties that protection for Negroes is most alarmingly lacking.... The anti-Negro ruffian here is protected by the concealment of woods and swamps, by the sympathy of many of his neighbors, and by a paralysis of law enforcement.

The desperate need in Mississippi is not for more policemen, but for something far more difficult to secure -- a <u>reorientation</u> of law enforcement....

* * * * *

Many thoughtful people here can see no ray of light. My own pessimism is tempered by several hopeful considerations.

The FBI is popular in Mississippi as a symbol of anit-Communism. FBI agents are more acceptable than any other element of federal authority. Whatever their tangible accomplishment, their presence is a stimulus to proper police activity and a reminder of the meaning of even-handed law enforcement.

There is no element of clash between the state administration and the federal government in the present situation. Notwithstanding Paul Johnson's seconding of Barnett in the "Ole Miss" crisis of 1962, the posture of defiance of the federal government is foreign to Johnson's temperament and it has been absent from his performance as governor. There is no talk of resistance in the manner attempted on occasion by Barnett, Faubus, and Wallace. For all the fulminations and lamentations over civil rights agitation, the spirit precisely of defiance of the federal government has faded in this state, It has not been significantly present in this year's legislature....

IX. CONCLUSION

The primary responsibility for law enforcement in Mississippi belongs to the state of Mississippi, its political sub-divisions, and its people.

If that responsibility continues to be refused, the federal government has an inescapable obligation to assure the peace of the United States and to protect the safety of its citizens engaged in lawful exercise of their rights.

The federal government will be derelict in its obligations to its citizens if it is satisfied with police

performance which only protects lives while suppressing federal rights, as did the Jackson police during the Freedom Ride of 1961 or the Albany (Ga.) police in 1961 and 1962.

Recent action by the federal government encourages the hope that it is now prepared to fulfill its responsibilities. One of these actions has been the enlargement of the FBI force in Mississippi.

A second has been the arrest action of the FBI in Itta Bena on June 26, 1964.

Despite heavy involvement in Mississippi since 1960, the record of the Department of Justice has been characterized more by activity than by results. The Department has litigated endlessly, but most of its successes have been appellate rulings of little practical value to the Negroes of the state. The Department has refused to acknowledge a responsibility for furnishing protection, although a massive record of lawless invasion of personal rights has accumulated.

Not until June 1964 did it take the Itta Bena action. Prior to that, the most realistic remedy it had sought to apply was the case of U. S. v. Greenwood, which would have established the right of persons to be free from official harassment and arrest for exercising First Amendment rights of speech and assembly in connection with voter activity. After filing this case in the District

Court for the Northern District of Mississippi on March 30, 1963, the Department promptly abandoned it, and has never yet brought it to hearing. (Indeed, the Department's own chosen chief weapon against Mississippi's voter discrimination -- the case of U. S. v. Mississippi -- was not brought to trial for 18 crucial months after filing.) The Department has twice used its high authority to frustrate the Commission on Civil Rights from holding hearings in Mississippi, in fulfillment of its own statutory responsibilities.

Nor is it yet certain that the Department acknowledges the seriousness of the Mississippi problem. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, at his news conference in Jackson on July 10, declared that the F.B.I. does not "and will not give protection to civil rights workers. ....The protection of individual citizens.... is a matter for the local authorities. The F.B.I. will not participate in any such protection."

Of course it "is a matter for the local authorities." The sole question is whether such authority exists, and the record indicates a gloomy answer to that question. The federal goverment shares in the responsibility for the present situation in Mississippi because it has persistently in the past refused to recognize the dimensions of the problem. Mr. Hoover's public comments do not give reassurance that the federal government yet does.

The federal government, as well as opinion leaders throughout the country, have shown an understandable inability to believe in the reality of Mississippi. The summer of 1964 is a time for realism.

The failure of the Department's policies in Mississippi is revealed not only by the continued prevalence of defiant discrimination after years of legal onslaught, but also by the current widespread, and desperate call for dispatching troops to the state.

This would be an unpalatable solution under any circumstances. We do not believe that the Mississippi situation has deteriorated so badly that troops are yet necessary to police an American state.

Between the extreme alternatives of troops or the federal government's past policies, there are other alternatives. The most promising are those now being used; i.e., the enlargement of the FBI or other enforcement agents, and the apparent policy change, as indicated at Itta Bena, whereby the FBI is directed to make on-the-spot arrests for clear-cut interference with federal rights.

A vigorous use of these methods may establish law and order and respect for federal rights in Mississippi, and may also help induce state authorities to heed the pleas for responsible action coming to them from the federal executive. If these methods do not work, others may be necessary. It is not, after all, radical or extreme to affirm that anarchy is intolerable.

APPENDIX

PROVISIONS OF FEDERAL LAW

TITLE 10, Sec. 332.

Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal service such of the militia of any State, and use such of the armed forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion.

TITLE 10, Sec. 333.

The President, by using the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it

(1) so hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people is deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail, or refuse to protect that right, privilege or immunity, or to give that protection; or

(2) opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws.

In any situation covered by clause (1), the State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.

TITLE 18, Sec. 241.

If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise

or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or

If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured

They shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

TITLE 18, Sec. 242.

Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

TITLE 42, Sec. 1981.

All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefits of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other.

TITLE 42, Sec. 1983.

Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

TITLE 42, Sec. 1985(3)

If two or more persons in any State or Territory conspire or go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another, for the purpose of depriving, either directly or indirectly, any person or class of the equal protection of the laws, or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws; or for the purpose of preventing or hindering the constituted authorities of any State or Territory from giving or securing to all persons within such State or Territory the equal protection of the laws; or if two or more persons conspire to prevent by force, intimidation, or threat, any citizen who is lawfully entitled to vote, from giving his support or advocacy in a legal manner, toward or in favor of the election of any lawfully qualified person as an elector for President or Vice President, or as a Member of Congress of the United States; or to injure any citizen in person or property on account of such support or advocacy; in any case of conspiracy set forth in this section, if one or more persons engaged therein do, or cause to be done, any act in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, whereby another is injured in his person or property, or deprived of having and exercising any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, the party so injured or deprived may have an action for the recovery of damages occasioned by such injury or deprivation, against any one or more of the conspirators.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957

Sec. 131 (b)

No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives, Delegates or Commissioners from the Territories or possessions, at any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any such candidate.

Sec. 131 (c)

Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about

to engage in any act or practice which would deprive any other person of any right or privilege secured by subsection (a) or (b), the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proper proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order. In any proceeding hereunder the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960

Sec. 201 (a)

Whoever moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce with intent either (1) to avoid prosecution, or custody, or confinement after conviction, under the laws of the place from which he flees, for willfully attempting to or damaging or destroying by fire or explosive any building, structure, facility, vehicle, dwelling house, synagogue, church, religious center or eudcational institution, public or private, or (2) to avoid giving testimony in any criminal proceeding relating to any such offense shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960

Sec. 203 (b)

Whoever transports or aids and abets another in transporting in interstate or foreign commerce any explosive, with the knowledge or intent that it will be used to damage or destroy any building or other real or personal property for the purpose of interfering with its use for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives or of intimidating any person pursuing such objectives, shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $1,000, or both; and if personal injury results shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than ten years or a fine of not more than $10,000, or both; and if death results shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life, but the court may impose the death penalty if the jury so recommends.

Sec. 203 (c)

The possession of an explosive in such a manner as to evince an intent to use, or the use of, such explosive, to damage or destroy any building or other real or personal property used for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives or to intimidate any person pursuing such objectives, creates rebuttable presumptions that the explosive was transported in interstate or foreign commerce or caused to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce by the person so possessing or using it, or by a person aiding or abetting the person so possessing or using it: Provided, however, That no person may be convicted under this section unless there is evidence independent of the presumptions that this section has been violated.

Sec. 203 (d)

Whoever, through the use of the mail, telephone, telegraph, or other instrument of commerce, willfully imparts or conveys, or causes to be imparted or conveyed, any threat, or false information knowing the same to be false, concerning an attempt or alleged attempt being made, or to be made, to damage or destroy any building or other real or personal property for the purpose of interfering with its use for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives, or of intimidating any person pursuing such objectives, shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than one year or a fine of not more than $1,000, or both.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMPHIS

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

037

MEMPHIS

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

July 1964

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Memphis	Shelby County*	Memphis	Shelby County*
Total	396,000	482,393	497,524	627,019
Negro	147,141	180,002	184,320	227,445
Percent, Negro	37.2	37.3	37.0	36.3

General

In view of its heavy Negro population and its Deep South location, the progress of Memphis toward the elimination of race discrimination is remarkable. Memphis lies only eight miles north of the Mississippi line; it is the metropolis of a large northern section of that state. Memphis is the apex of a strip of country along the Mississippi River, with Vicksburg at its southern extremity, known as "The Delta." The Delta is one of the regions of deepest anti-Negro prejudice and most stubborn resistance to change in the South. Memphis State University, which, without

---

*The metropolitan area of Memphis comprises all of Shelby County.

incident, has enrolled 250 Negro students along with whites, is only 60 miles from stormy "Ole Miss."

Memphis has made conspicuous, though still token, strides toward desegregation and equality of treatment in schools and employment. In the desegregation of public cultural and recreational facilities, of places of amusement and of public accommodation, Memphis desegregation has gone well beyond the token stage. A dozen Negroes sit on official boards or hold other responsible positions in the city government. Furthermore, the movement toward equality of opportunity in Memphis is going forward with increasing momentum and with the support of the dominant white leadership and the approval of a large element of the white public.

The traditionally large Negro vote in Memphis, always present in the calculations of the political confraternity, has done much to lubricate the wheels of race-relations reform in that city. Negroes have been encouraged to vote in Memphis for many years. As a leading citizen remarked to the writer: "No one even thinks of interfering with Negro voting here." Today 82,000 Negroes are registered to vote in county and city out of a potential 119,000. This is a consideration which tends to liberalize all attitudes and decisions by public officials in matters affecting Negroes. Negro leaders are frequently consulted. Racist

demagoguery has been practically eliminated from Memphis politics.

A certain unity in the movement toward equal opportunities for Negroes, the prevailing policy of quiet, unsensational advance and rigorous, but generally fair law enforcement, have been mainly responsible for the accomplishments of the past three years. The turmoil in Little Rock and the damage to that city's economy in the late 1950's had a salutary effect upon the thinking of Memphians; Little Rock is only 139 miles away. A further helpful circumstance is the fact that Memphis, though lying in Tennessee's Deep South southwest corner, is in a state with a relatively liberal official attitude. Desegregation moves in Memphis run no risk of being repressed, but are rather encouraged by the state administration. Tennessee on January 1, 1964 established an official Commission on Human Relations, the only such body in any of the eleven former Confederate states.

Notable too is the high caliber of the leaders of the white community who are active in the Memphis movement. Former Mayor Edmund Orgill is conspicuous among them. E. B. LeMaster, president of the chamber of commerce when desegregation was getting under way, gave it strong support. Arthur W. McCain, president of the Union Planters Bank, now retired, and Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar,

have served successively as chairmen of the MCCR. George W. Grider, prominent attorney, now a candidate for Congress, is president of the Council on Human Relations; a former president of this group, Hunter Lane, is a member of the City Commission.

It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the most conspicuous white champions of racial justice in Memphis today, with a few exceptions, are over 50 years of age. Chairman Meeman is 74; many active leaders are in their 60's. Some who have retired from business or, like former Mayor Orgill, from politics are making a new career of furthering the city's peaceful transition to the new order. It is an interesting answer to those who fancy that liberalism is a monopoly of youth, and expect Southerners of the older generation to be chained to the traditions of the past.

Memphis has been free in recent years from organized segregationist activity of strength. A feeble Citizens' Council has an office and five so-called "chapters" in the city, with a not very prominent attorney, Richard T. Ely, as president. None of the higher echelons of business or community leaders are identified with it. It is making a rather furtive effort to embarrass integrated restaurants, but this campaign is making little impression on the general public. "The Citizens' Council doesn't amount to much here," is a common remark.

A recently-discovered Black Muslim temple in Memphis is generally regarded as a joke or a curiosity by both whites and Negroes. As many as 30 were reported to have attended one meeting in its small, shuttered, and tightly-guarded building at 364 Beale Street. Its leader, a young man calling himself "Nathaniel X," is voluble on the philosophy and theology of the group, but evasive as to practical details.

While Memphis has its full share of political controversy and rivalry, there is notable unity in the steady trend toward the elimination of discrimination against its Negro citizens. Motivations vary. A growing number support the change because "it is right." However, very many white people go along with it merely because "it is inevitable," and because it is better than having demonstrations or turmoil. There are differences of opinion as to the desirable tempo of change and on the question of race itself. But the city's course is set in a liberal direction and there is no strong effort in any quarter to bring the advance to a halt.

The mayor is gratified at the progress made and hopes it will continue. The press and the chamber of commerce are giving effective cooperation. The Restaurant Association, more than any other group, feels that it is "the sacrificial lamb" in the desegregation process and some of

its members are bitter, but for the most part they are anxious to hold the line for a united posture of non-discriminatory service. The Memphis Committee on Community Relations, whose leaders include some of the city's most respected citizens, is devoted to orderly adjustment to the new order. The Memphis Council on Human Relations, a biracial group, frankly committed to racial integration and working for interracial friendship and understanding, cooperates with the MCCR, and the two organizations have overlapping membership.

On the Negro side the unity is even more noteworthy. Only one of the principal action organizations is represented in Memphis and it completely dominates the field. White negotiators do not have to deal with rival Negro groups. When they have talked with the leaders of the NAACP, they "know where they stand" with the Negro community. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest NAACP membership of any southern city. It formulates the Negro objectives, prods the white community, and marshals the Negro advance. The MCCR is the body in which the NAACP objectives receive biracial consideration and, generally, support. The Urban League, a Community Chest organization, is closely linked with both the white and the Negro communities. It cooperates smoothly with both the NAACP and the MCCR with efficient, but more routine, service in the employment field.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations itself is preeminently an element of unity. The Chamber of Commerce, the churches, business and professional groups, civic organizations -- as well as the Council on Human Relations, the Urban League, and the NAACP -- are all strongly represented in it, and most public officials cooperate with it.

The Committee on Community Relations was established as early as 1958. Memphis Negroes, sharing the rising spirit of Negro militancy in the South, moved aggressively in agitation and demonstrations in 1960. But it was in 1961 that the walls of segregation began to crumble in a substantial way.

1960 and most of 1961 was a period of protest on the part of the Negro community, expressed in sit-ins, picketing, meetings, public statements, and law suits. Negroes protested their exclusion from the Memphis Automobile Show in a spirited meeting and urged a boycott of local automobile dealers. Since the annual Mid-South Fair was traditionally for whites only, the separate all-Negro Tri-State Fair was suspended "because of the spirit of the times." (The Automobile Show has since been discontinued, and the Mid-South Fair has been desegregated.) In a meeting with the City Commission in March, the Committee on Community Relations urged "constructive steps.... in the direction of desegregation" and the appointment of Negroes to various boards and agencies.

Meanwhile Negroes pressed in court litigation for desegregation of schools, buses, the municipal auditorium, museums, art galleries, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, parks, and boat docks. The school integration "breakthrough" was effected with surprising tranquility in October 1961, when 13 Negro children were admitted to previously all-white public schools without incident.

The "Freedom" movement, as it was designated by the NAACP, continued and reached a crescendo in early November 1961. Regular picket and sit-in schools were held. Picketing and sit-ins were being staged daily; "Freedom Marches" and "Neighborhood Freedom Rides," weekly. Then, on November 14, the NAACP announced the suspension of demonstrations -- "as a result of favorable negotiations with downtown merchants." Some desegregation of eating places occurred shortly afterward. Desegregation of public facilities and places of public accommodation continued, under persistent prodding, and improvement was made in the employment situation and other areas during the ensuing two and a half years. November 14, 1961 was a milestone date. Since then demonstrations have been rare; the progress has been made by negotiation and conference and broad community effort.

Negroes in Public Office and in Politics

Although no Negro has been elected to public office in Memphis, a number hold appointive public offices. A milestone

was passed in 1961, when A. Maceo Walker, a Negro insurance company executive, was appointed to the important three-member Memphis Transit Authority; he was succeeded by another Negro upon the expiration of his term of office. The present city commission, elected last November, has given official responsibilities to no less than ten Negroes, as follows:

T. H. Hayes, Jr., member Transit Authority.

S. A. Wilbun, Assistant City Attorney.

Robert Lewis, member Alcohol Licensing Commission.

A. A. Latting, member Civil Service Commission.

Harold Whalum, member Traffic Advisory Committee

Whittier A. Sengstacke, member Memphis-Arkansas Bridge Commission.

Hollis F. Price, member Inter-Agency Health Committee.

Mesdames Calverta Ishmael, Margaret Rivers, and Ophelia Byas, members City Beautiful Commission.

Among Negro officials serving by earlier appointment are B. L. Hooks, assistant public defender (county), and Charles L. Dinkins, a member of the Memphis Hospital Board.

(At lower levels of city employment in Memphis, although statistics are not available, Negroes are heavily represented. Negroes have served the city from time immemorial in manual-labor capacities. Garbage collection, for instance, is largely a Negro activity.)

Three of the Negro appointees listed above, Hayes, Wilbun, and Latting, were nominated by William B. Ingram, the new mayor. In Mayor Ingram's election last November he is said to have had the support of both the Citizens' Council and the Negroes! In his former position of city judge he had been little identified with the desegregation movement, and the Citizens' Council, which has difficulty in finding sympathy with its aims in any political leader, decided that Mr. Ingram was more congenial than either of the other two candidates. Negroes in the lower income brackets were impressed with Mr. Ingram's record as judge and gave him their votes. Most Negro leaders supported the other candidates.

Interviewed in his office in City Hall, the mayor expressed pride in Memphis's progress in race relations and praised the work of the MCCR, which he hoped would go on to greater accomplishments.

A number of Negroes have run for public office in Memphis. Two received record-breaking votes last November, but none was successful in winning election. Assistant Public Defender Ben L. Hooks, running for judge of the city court, Division 3, was endorsed by the Memphis Commercial Appeal. He received 41,948 votes to 43,209 for Ray W. Churchill, a white attorney, the remaining 30,000 votes being divided among seven other candidates for the position.

Another Negro candidate, Dr. Hollis F. Price, running for a seat on the public school board, was endorsed by the Memphis Press Scimitar. In this two-man race, Dr. Price received 40,518 votes to 61,019 for his opponent, a white man. Three other Negro candidates, one for commissioner of public works and two for school board seats, received each from 30,000 to 35,000 votes.

Dr. Price, who is president of LeMoyne College and highly respected in both white and Negro circles, is an astute observer of the Memphis scene. He did not conceal his gratification at recent civil rights progress in that city. "Many Negroes avoid saying that things have improved," he said, "because so much more needs to be done and we don't want anyone to feel that we can stop where we are. But everybody knows we have come a long way in three years. I don't mind telling you I think it's tremendous!"

In public accommodations he felt that the battle had been practically won. The greatest danger now was that some of the gains might be lost by default. He said few Negroes were patronizing the newly desegregated restaurants, and he feared that some restaurants might drop back to segregation again. He was seriously considering a program under which LeMoyne students would visit desegregated restaurants systematically during the summer. "It might cost $700 or $800," he said.

Dr. Price attributed the civil rights progress in Memphis to the large Negro vote and to an unusual unity in the movement in both its white and its Negro leadership. The white business community was supporting the social change; its cooperation had "helped enormously" in the areas of public accommodations and employment opportunity and in city government and police attitudes. The agencies and individuals propelling the movement worked smoothly together.

There was virtually no dissension among Memphis Negroes, he said. An ably led NAACP was the dominant, and, in fact, the only action organization and the Negro community was united behind it. CORE, SNCC,and SCLC were practically non-existent as local entities. In the Memphis Committee on Community Relations Negro leadership and white leadership joined in an effective partnership; the NAACP often found it effective to work through the MCCR in pursuing its objectives.

Individual clergymen, both white and colored, had worked valiantly in the movement, he said, but the ministerial association as such had been of little help. The National Conference of Christians and Jews in Memphis, which earlier concentrated entirely on religious tolerance, had moved into the field of interracial brotherhood, especially in

connection with religious worship. Negroes are included in its Memphis Round Table and are invited to its annual dinners. It is putting on Sunday afternoon TV programs, with Negro participants, emphasizing brotherhood.

Dr. Price expressed a high opinion of the Memphis Council on Human Relations, of which he is a member. The MCHR is overshadowed by the MCCR as a reform mechanism, but the members of the former are more frankly dedicated, not merely to community harmony, but to the cause of racial justice and brotherhood.

Dr. Price said he had "great respect" for Claude Armour, the Memphis police and fire commissioner, a public figure who looms large in all civil rights discussion.

Schools

Memphis has had token public school integration since the fall of 1961. This year, 287 Negro children are enrolled in the four first grades of 14 predominantly white schools. No notable disorder has attended the mingling of white and colored children in the schools.

A suit seeking desegregation of the Memphis public school system was filed in federal court in March 1960. In a ruling of April 1961 District Judge Marion S. Boyd refused to order the immediate desegregation of the entire system, noting that the school board had expressed a desire to integrate

the schools through compliance with the state pupil assignment law. The case was appealed; but without waiting for further court action the school board proceeded with the first admission of Negro children to predominantly white schools the following October.

The public school "breakthrough" was typical of the insistence upon quiet procedure and the avoidance of sensation which has characterized the advance of Memphis on the whole civil rights front. The operation was carried out with a minimum of preparation or previous notice to the public. During the previous month the cooperation of the city's political and civic leadership and of the press was quietly secured. Brief public statements conveyed the suggestion, but not a formal announcement, that some school desegregation might be in the offing. The news media were definitely informed at a briefing the evening before the event; the president of the school board made it clear that full news coverage was desired afterward, but secured a promise from the press to withhold announcement until the children had entered school. The plan went off without a hitch. Neither reporters nor spectators were allowed in the vicinity of the schools during the first few days, but, on the critical first day, a press headquarters, set up across the street from the school board offices, was relayed information as fast as it came in from school authorities and police.

On March 23, 1962, the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruled that the state assignment law could not serve as a desegregation plan, and the Supreme Court refused to review this decision. Judge Boyd then ordered the school board to submit a new plan, and the board came forward with one for biracial classes in the first three grades, which the court approved. The school board proceeded to put its plan into effect the following September, enrolling eleven Negroes in the first grade, 21 in the second, and twelve in the third in schools with whites, bringing the total of Negroes in formerly all-white schools to 53. Judge Boyd rejected a NAACP plan for the desegregation of all grades by 1965 and he refused to order faculty desegregation. An appeal by the Negro plaintiffs from this ruling is still pending before the Court of Appeals, but in 1963 the school board extended desegregation further in accordance with its plan.

In the Shelby County public schools, six Negro children were admitted to one previously all-white elementary school in September 1963. A suit had been filed in June seeking desegregation of the county's school system, including the teaching staff. In February 1964, the court approved a county school board plan for the desegregation of all twelve grades in all schools in the fall of this year, with limited transfer privileges. Judge Boyd rejected a proposal of the

NAACP to require a 68-32 racial balance in all the county's schools. The public school enrollment in Shelby consists of 28,084 white and 13,216 Negro pupils.

Memphis State University has 250 Negroes among its 8,215 students, having admitted its first Negro students (eight) in 1959. The city's two Roman Catholic Colleges, Christian Brothers and Siena, are both integrated, each with three Negro students in attendance. The Presbyterian Southwestern College in Memphis has announced that it will be integrated in the fall of 1964. The Memphis Technical School, for both adult and high school students, has one Negro along with whites in day classes and ten in night classes. The area Vocational School, with classes from 4 to 10 P. M., is integrated.

Approximately 8,000 Memphis and Shelby County children are enrolled in Catholic parochial schools, including 612 Negroes, most of them in two all-Negro schools. Four grades were desegregated in September 1963, as part of a four-step plan to extend biracial classes through the ninth grade in 1966.

The limited nature of integration at Memphis State University has been a constant source of complaint by the NAACP, which contends that Negroes are still excluded from some recreational and other extra-curricular activities.

Only in April 1964, were Negro students admitted to full participation in the university's athletic program. Dissatisfaction with the public school situation has also simmered; last September it produced the only Negro demonstrations that Memphis has seen for the part two years.

There is growing impatience with the slow pace of public school integration, which is under litigation. In addition to that a dispute arose over a double-shift schedule at five Negro schools and over other school board policies. Several hundred Negro pickets paraded around the school board office repeatedly over a nine-day period before a truce was reached. The school board,while continuing the double-shift schedule, made a slight revision for greater pupil convenience and agreed to study its policy of hiring Negro teachers, to add distributive education courses to the Negro high school curriculum, and to consider the employment of Negroes in administrative offices.

The Negro demonstrations last September were orderly. There was no violence -- due in the opinion of some, to a large deployment of police. It was reported that the demonstrations had cost the city $9,000 in overtime pay for patrolmen.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations is a voluntary and unofficial group of civic leaders, with no

office and no paid staff, but its prestige is such that it is almost as effective as an official human relations commission. It has, in fact, accomplished more than some so-called "Mayors' Committees."

Originally the MCCR was not devoted to civil rights; it was even regarded by some of its early members as a means of arresting the Negro advance. It sought to preserve order and interracial harmony in the city, and -- with an increasing recognition of the necessity for change -- that remains its stated purpose.

The evolution of the MCCR is an interesting study. Its forerunner was a "Race Relations Committee," set up, with prompting from several city officials, in 1956. This group was biracial in composition, but it is a commentary on the earlier interracial climate that some of its white members were unwilling to meet with Negroes! It became necessary to divide the Race Relations Committee into two subcommittees, which met separately and then negotiated through chosen delegates. The emissaries from the white and Negro subcommittees met frequently and gradually became the committee itself.

The Race Relations Committee had become sufficiently "moderate" to arouse suspicion in the emotional atmosphere of 1958. When a prominent banker became its chairman, he was threatened with dismissal by his board of directors and,

in the ensuing unpleasantness, the Committee itself dissolved. After only a brief lapse, however, the new and stronger Memphis Committee on Community Relations was formed. The purpose of the MCCR, as stated in its charter and constitution when it was incorporated on January 26, 1959, is "to provide a meeting place for calm discussion and such responsible action as may be agreed upon to preserve order, under law, as interpreted by courts of competent jurisdiction and the peace, happiness and continued progress of the great and growing city of Memphis and all of its people."

When the sit-in movement erupted around the South in early 1960, the executive committee of the MCCR arranged a meeting with the mayor and commissioners of Memphis. The nature of this Committee's activities was forecast better in a formal statement, presented to the city's governing body at that time. This said in part:

> During the past year committees from our membership have been studying various phases of our community relations and have held meetings of our members and the Board of Directors. Concerned about the recent outbreaks and sometimes violent occurrences in other southern cities, and convinced that some prompt, positive steps must be taken to forestall the probability of similar occurrences in Memphis, our Board of Directors met on March 10, 1960. This meeting by resolution instructed the Executive Committee to request this meeting with you, to say to you that as you seek solutions for community problems our organization is ready now and in the future to serve you in any way that it can within the limitation of its charter.

> The Committee believes that goodwill and understanding in our community can best be promoted by planned, voluntary and constructive change. It is the feeling of our Committee that steps should be voluntarily taken in Memphis in the direction of desegregation. We believe that this is necessary for the ultimate welfare of our community.
>
> Furthermore, we feel that the Negro segment of our population is inadequately represented in local government and toward the end of rectifying this condition we respectfully request that the City Commission give consideration to the appointment of qualified Negroes to membership on the various boards of agencies which operate under the jurisdiction of the Commission.
>
> We were also instructed to assure you that when such appointments are made our organization will not only give its own full support, but will also use its best efforts to explain to all the citizens of the community the desirability and wisdom of such action.

Lucius Burch, the MCCR's first chairman, and the Rev. Paul Tudor Jones, a Presbyterian minister, Arthur W. McCain, a retired banker, and Edward J. Meeman, the men who have followed Mr. Burch, are four of Memphis's most prominent civic leaders. Former Mayor Orgill has been an active worker, as have Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal, who is chairman of the subcommittee on public accommodations, and other outstanding citizens.

Mr. Meeman, the present chairman, is editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar, and he presides over the committee from his office in the Press Scimitar building. Rabbi James A. Wax, of Temple Israel, is the Committee's dedicated secretary. There are five vice-chairmen: former Mayor Orgill;

Mr. Ahlgren; Carl Carson, a businessman; Dr. Price; and Dr. Vasco Smith, Jr. The last two named are Negroes; Dr. Smith is also vice president of the NAACP.

Membership in the MCCR is open to all; approximately 150 members are now enrolled at a fee of one dollar a year. Meetings of the full membership are held only rarely and meetings of its board of directors are infrequent. An executive committee, meeting once a month, and various subcommittees do most of the Committee's work. There are, or have been, subcommittees on schools, libraries, hotels, restaurants, and employment. Meetings of these are held once a week or oftener while a project is under way, and are more or less suspended afterward. The employment subcommittee is now the most active, and it is permanent for the forseeable future. Approximately one-third of the 28 executive committee members are Negroes, and include both the president and the vice president of the NAACP.

The emphasis of the MCCR has been on quiet work behind the scenes. Many point to this fact as the secret of its success in the delicate matter of race relations. Much planning and negotiation take place without publicity. Substantial progress is often made in the fields of public accommodations and employment before the fact is generally known. This quietness of operation, of course, would not be possible without the cooperation of the news media, but

in Memphis the editors of the daily newspaper are leading exponents of the "quietness principle."

Mr. Meeman said that the Committee serves as an arena of compromise, with everyone speaking frankly. Once a decision is made, the group unites in the effort to put it into effect and the city and county governments usually cooperate.

He said also that firm and fair law enforcement and the absence of disorder had made everything easier. He had high praise for Police and Fire Commissioner Claude Armour.

In 1963 Mr. Meeman received the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In accepting the honor at a Memphis meeting, he said in part:

> We have come to the next phase in race relations in Memphis.
>
> We have already accomplished more difficult tasks. We have desegregated buses, schools, libraries, and the art gallery, a university, parks and playgrounds, restaurants; what is now our task is less of a break with our traditions.... Our task now is to widen the opportunities for employment of our Negro citizens... Everyone is now agreed that Negroes should have the opportunity to obtain an education as good as that which is available to whites. Having been prepared to hold good jobs by this training, they should not be shut out from the opportunity to get them.
>
> When we upgrade a large portion of our population, the South will raise its standard of living, improve the labor supply, become an area with greater attractions to industry and

> distributive commerce, and provide a greater prosperity for all of us who live here and the peace of mind that comes from friendship and cooperation between the races.

THE NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the spearhead of the Negro push. Though it works through the Committee on Community Relations in the pursuit of many of its objectives, it furnishes a constant and necessary spur to that organization. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest membership of any NAACP unit in the South. The figure for 1963 membership was 6,900; the initial success of the drive now under way suggests that the number will exceed 7,000 in 1964.

The Association's well-ordered Memphis office is run by Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary, with several clerical assistants. Mrs. Smith is the wife of Vice President Vasco Smith. It is the busy office of a busy organization.

In addition to steady pressure in the areas of public accommodations and employment, the branch's regular reports describe an endless variety of activities: continuing litigation over public recreational facilities, schools, etc.; complaints to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; voter registration drives; and intervention in innumerable incidents and situations involving discrimination

against Negroes. Letters of congratulation are regularly sent to individuals and agencies making favorable moves, such as the appointment of Negroes to responsible positions. When congratulations are not in order, communications of a different kind go forth; for example, the NAACP protested to the Social Security Administration the ommission of courtesy titles in dealing with Negroes at its Memphis office, leading to prompt corrective action. Complaints of police mistreatment of Negroes, numerous during the agitation of 1961, are still handled from time to time.

Even as the situation improves, lingering prejudice against Negroes is manifested in public functions and in many small incidents spotted by a vigilant NAACP. In 1962 a receptionist at the out-patient clinic of the John Gaston Hospital erased "Mrs." from the identification card of a Negro patient in her presence, politely explaining that this was necessary to distinguish her from white patients! When the NAACP reported the incident to the hospital chief of staff (whom it finds cooperative) the latter took immediate steps to have the practice stopped.

Officially, city hospitals are now operating on a nondiscriminatory basis, but the NAACP finds much still to be done in this area. It has secured the removal of "WHITE" and "COLORED" signs from hospital toilets, desegregation of cafeterias and nurses' rooms, and the upgrading of some Negro

hospital employees. Yet discrimination remains in ward segregation, nurse training, and higher-level employment. The NAACP reported in January 1964 that "segregation is still deeply entrenched in city hospitals."

The prestige of the NAACP among the public in Memphis, both white and colored, is enhanced by the personality and stature of its president, Jesse H. Turner. Mr. Turner is firm and militant in the Negro cause, and at the same time, courteous and understanding. White persons remark that Mr. Turner, who is president of Beale Street's Tri-State Bank, "knows the businessman's problems -- he's a man we can talk with." Even restaurant operators, many of them resentful of the pressures which they feel forced them to desegregate, find comfort in the attitude of the NAACP president. They say that Mr. Turner could be relied upon to make the change gradual and to see that judicious use was made of the desegregated facilities, protecting them from being overrun by irresponsible persons.

Mr. Turner concedes that Memphis has made unusual civil rights progress in comparison with other Deep South communities. He expresses admiration for various white leaders of the MCCR. But his emphasis is on the shortcomings, on the mass of prejudice and discrimination still to be overcome. He says that much of the desegregation that has taken place has been only token and halfhearted.

The 287 Negro children in school with whites are only a handful out of 54,407 Negroes in Memphis public schools. (NAACP lawyers are pressing in the federal courts for complete desegregation.) Hotel desegregation is limited to rooms and eating facilities, and "not too many Negroes at a time"; Negroes are still excluded from bars, ballrooms, etc. City swimming pools are still closed to prevent desegregation. (This matter is also under litigation in federal courts.) Negro advances were being made on the employment front, but a steady unremitting campaign was necessary in that area. In the situation as a whole there was still a long way to go, but Mr. Turner was prepared to keep on fighting every step of the way.

The Press

The daily newspapers, the morning Commercial Appeal and the afternoon Memphis Press Scimitar, are not unqualified champions of civil rights. Both are opposed to the civil rights bill, although the Press Scimitar favors some kind of federal legislation in this field. (The latter applauded the Supreme Court decision denying jury trial to Mississippi's former governor and lieutenant governor.) On the local scene the two papers -- both in their editorials and in their news coverage -- have followed a policy of constant cooperation and of skillful encouragement in the campaign against race prejudice and discrimination.

Mr. Meeman described the press policy as one of keeping the public fully informed, but discreetly, without sensational reporting and with judicious timing of some announcements. Negotiations to secure the desegregation of places of public accommodation were not embarrassed by premature news of each individual move; likewise the opening of employment in one establishment is not made public while negotiations with a group in the same business are in progress. Instead, articles are published from time to time giving summaries of desegregation, and these are presented in language tending to make the public proud of the progress Memphis is making.

An article which appeared in the Commercial Appeal of May 21, 1963 is an example of this kind of reporting. Headed "Memphis Group Quietly Widens Negro Horizons," it said in part:

> Quietly during the last few months there has been a gradual increase in the number of job opportunities available to Negroes here, as well as a general upgrading in Negro employment.
>
> Without fanfare, Memphis' Committee on Community Relations has been holding conciliatory talks between white and Negro leaders, securing additional employment for Negroes in sales and other areas in large retail and specialty stores; in bread, soft drink, and beer distributing firms, and in similar fields of work.
>
> The new employment positions are in addition to a general increase in the status of Negro workers in areas in which they have long held jobs.
>
> There are now 16 Negro bus drivers employed by the Memphis Transit Authority. The Memphis

Police Department has 28 Negro officers, and interviews will be held tomorrow to select members of a training class expected to furnish 25 more.

The Sheriff's Department has three Negro deputies, and others are being added from time to time. Other agencies of city, county, and state governments are constantly upgrading employment opportunities for Negroes.

These changes in the community social structure have been achieved without incident, a major contrast with other Southern cities such as Birmingham and Nashville.

The following (May 20, 1963) is typical of the helpful reporting in the Press Scimitar.

Memphis has been outstanding in its peaceful desegregation.

The latest development in the peaceful change in Memphis, improvement in job opportunities, was preceded by gradual desegregation of public facilities, step by step, without discussion or violence.

Downtown theaters have been desegregated this year, quietly and smoothly. Patrons now see Negroes sitting where they wish in theaters and seem to think nothing of it. Negroes sat with whites when the Metropolitan Opera came to the Auditorium recently.

The Memphis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been strong in desegregation demands, but also reasonable. There have not been many demonstrations, and these were done peacefully. There have been none recently, despite demonstrations in Birmingham and other Southern cities. ....Among the first facilities to be desegregated in Memphis were the two railroad stations. This was done on federal order. It was done smoothly, and there are no longer separate waiting rooms or eating places. This dates back to 1955.

> There has been much desegregation since:.... The bus stations.... city passenger bus service.... Some city schools, libraries, the zoo, some public golf courses and other recreational facilities.... Many downtown eating places....
>
> A number of citizens have given and are still giving their time to help Memphis desegregate peacefully.
>
> This has helped make Memphis a model in peaceful desegregation.

Some events call for prompt reporting. Mr. Meeman recalled, for instance, that, when the city buses were desegregated, it was necessary to advise the public at once that the change had been officially made; otherwise the spectacle of Negroes suddenly taking seats where they had not been allowed before could easily have led to serious interracial disorder.

On the other hand, when the theaters were desegregated, the fact was not mentioned in the press until long afterward. The downtown theaters merely agreed privately to cease excluding Negroes; when the next Negroes applied they were to be sold tickets and admitted without discrimination. A few Negro leaders were quietly informed and Negroes began gradually to attend the theaters that had been previously barred to them.

Two Negro newspapers, the Tri-State Defender and the Memphis World, serve the Negro community. Edited respectively by Thaddeus T. Stokes and J. A. Beauchamp, they are staunch

supporters of the NAACP and the civil-rights cause.

Municipal Facilities and Public Accommodations

Federal court rulings impelled most of the earlier desegregation in Memphis, reflecting aggressive work on the part of the NAACP. Railway, airline, and bus terminal facilities, municipal parks, and other city-operated recreational facilities were desegregated in compliance with court orders. Public schools were desegregated in the shadow of federal court litigation in which NAACP lawyers were asking, and are still asking, for more extensive action.

In the matter of municipal facilities the Memphis litigation drew from the Supreme Court on May 27, 1963, a somewhat famous opinion, expressing impatience with the slow response generally to the condemnation of segregation in its 1954 Brown decision. In Watson v. Memphis the high court recalled that "it was almost eight years ago -- in 1955, the year after the decision on the merits in Brown -- that the constitutional proscription of state enforced racial segregation was found to apply to public recreational facilities." (Dawson v. Baltimore)

A suit was filed in May 1960, seeking desegregation of the city's auditorium, museums, art galleries, parks, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, boat docks, and other recreational facilities. Some desegregation in this area

had already taken place at the time and the city authorities indicated an intention to continue the process over a period of years, at the slow pace it considered necessary to prevent public turmoil. More progress had been made by the time the Supreme Court dealt with the case in 1963.

The high court noted in its ruling:

> ....Memphis owns 131 parks, all of which are operated by the Memphis Park Commission. Of these, only 25 were at the time of trial open to use without regard to race; 58 were restricted to use by whites and 25 to use by Negroes; the remaining 23 parks were undeveloped raw land. Subject to exceptions, neighborhood parks were generally segregated according to the racial character of the area in which located. The City Park Commission also operated a number of additional recreational facilities, by far the largest share of which were found to be racially segregated. Though a zoo, an art gallery and certain boating and other facilities are now desegregated, about two-thirds (40) of the 61 city-owned playgrounds were at the time of the trial reserved for whites only, and the remainder were set aside for Negro use. Thirty of the 56 playgrounds and other facilities operated by the municipal Park Commission on property owned by churches, private groups, or the school board were set aside for the exclusive use of whites, while 26 were reserved for Negroes. All 12 of the municipal community centers were segregated, 8 being available only to whites and 4 to Negroes. Only 2 of the 7 city golf courses were open to Negroes; play on the remaining 5 was limited to whites....

The case was remanded to the District Court for appropriate action, and all of the public facilities mentioned above have now been desegregated. There was no turmoil or disorder. Only municipal swimming pools were closed; the constitutionality of that action is being challenged in federal court.

Incidentally, the Supreme Court uttered a reproof heard widely across the South: "Brown never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions."

Restaurants at railway, bus, and airline terminals were also desegregated under federal court orders, but for the most part privately operated facilities in Memphis -- theaters, hotels, restaurants, etc. -- were desegregated as a result of Negro pressure and the work of the MCCR and other liberal groups. After 18 months of sit-ins, etc., and the negotiations of November 1961, racial barriers were dropped at 28 lunch counters in various branches of ten department stores in February 1962. Prodding continued, and the targets broadened to include hotels, restaurants, and theaters. 1963 saw a wave of desegregation of such places.

The theater problem was approached in a spirit of general good will on the part of theater operators, but with great wariness of white protest and possible disorder. The NAACP addressed letters to the theaters in September 1962, asking them to cease barring Negroes. The theaters referred the matter to the MCCR and indicated a willingness to negotiate. All of this was handled discreetly, and a satisfactory agreement was reached.

Desegregation began in January, four theaters at first and then others, on an unpublicized "controlled" basis. The NAACP undertook to control the attendance of Negroes; it was asked to send a designated number to a designated theater at a designated time. No unpleasantness occurred; little attention was paid to the Negroes in the theaters, and the operation expanded. By February 25, Negroes were completely at home in ten downtown theaters which they had previously been forbidden to enter. The principal downtown hotels and motels removed racial barriers (though some of their facilities are still closed to Negroes) in concert, following an agreement negotiated under the auspices of the MCCR.

Restaurants began to desegregate slowly, only a handful at first. A long struggle and much controversy developed in this area, not only between the restaurants and the NAACP, but among the restaurant operators themselves. Each of these feared that upon opening his doors to Negro customers he would suffer from competition with the establishments which continued to serve whites exclusively. The dissension within the Memphis Restaurant Association reached such a point that by the end of 1963 the Association decided to have nothing more to do with the matter. But by then the battle for desegregation had been practically won. Forty

previously all-white establishments had opened their doors to Negroes. Five more restaurants took the step during the next two months and 30 moved simultaneously on February 27, 1964 bringing the total of desegregated restaurants to 75. By April the number had reached 100.

Few restaurant operators made the change cheerfully. In spite of an unmistakable trend toward a more liberal attitude toward civil rights in Memphis, many businessmen are supporting the trend because they consider it better than racial turmoil and because they do not want to resist a very respectable civic movement. Most restaurant operators are serving Negroes merely as a "lesser evil" than harassment from civil rights agitators and out of a sense of solidarity with their associates.

A prime example of this is Harlon Fields, proprietor of The Flame and The Pancake Man and president of the Memphis Restaurant Association. Mr. Fields expressed strong disapproval of restaurant integration in principle; he said "every one" of the Association's members was against it. Yet he had worked energetically to bring about united action in opening Memphis restaurants to Negroes. The Association had made a survey last year of a representative group of restaurants, and the study had led to a realistic conclusion that the loss of trade caused by Negro demonstrators was greater than the loss which could be expected to result

from removing racial barriers. It was a matter of dollars and cents.

The restaurants have also been under pressure from the Memphis Chamber of Commerce and, of course, from the influential Memphis Committee on Community Relations. As Mr. Fields saw it, "it was the people who had nothing to lose" who were pressing for restaurant desegregation.

The restaurants have lost money -- "all of them," he said -- both by exposure to demonstrations and by integration, and he added: "It is hurting business now." The damage was only slight in many cases -- a white customer walking out in a huff now and then; in other cases, he said, white trade had fallen off considerably and the loss had not been offset by Negro trade. According to Mr. Fields, "a well-dressed Negro alone" or mixed white and Negro parties did not matter, but the sight of a party of a dozen Negroes was sure to alienate white customers.

However, Mr. Fields found the influence of Jesse H. Turner, the NAACP president, effective and Mr. Turner cooperative. He said you could depend on Mr. Turner to "regulate the thing," if he was informed in advance.

Mr. Fields' main concern was the effort to secure united action by the Memphis restaurants. All, he felt, should be "in the same boat." It was unfair for a few restaurants to

profit at the expense of others by clinging to the white-only policy. The "hold-outs" in restaurant desegregation seemed to arouse his wrath as much as the civil rights movement.

He was also disturbed over the action of the Memphis Citizens' Council in circulating lists of still segregated restaurants. He had heard that it was preparing to distribute lists of the desegregated places also. He only hoped they hadn't enough money to give these lists wide circulation!

In other quarters there was little mention of the Citizens' Council restaurant guides; they did not appear to have had much impact. Restaurant integration seemed to be going much more smoothly than Mr. Fields indicated and was being increasingly accepted by the Memphis public.

Employment

Comprehensive data registering progress in the field of equal employment opportunity in Memphis are not available, but the progress has been large. Many business and industrial establishments have hired their first Negroes, or placed their first Negroes in superior positions, during the past several years. Most of this has happened during the past twelve months, and the opening of new employment opportunities for Negroes is still going on with increasing momentum.

This phase of desegregation businessmen like. Many employers, who were nervous and apprehensive of white

reaction at first, nevertheless welcomed the systematic effort to open jobs to Negroes in their industries. Those who have employed or upgraded Negroes are almost invariably pleased with the result.

Under the headline, "MEMPHIS PROVIDES MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR NEGROES," the Memphis Press Scimitar reported on May 20, 1963:

> Increased employment opportunities are being given Memphis Negroes through action taken by many employers throughout the city.
>
> This includes upgrading of Negroes already employed and making jobs available that generally were not given Negroes in the past.
>
> The employment committee of the Memphis Committee on Community Relations has been working on this problem for more than a year, and the rate of increased employment has been stepped up recently.
>
> Most downtown stores have given better jobs to Negroes, including jobs as sales personnel. Some 25 to 30 stores are already participating, doing more than 60 per cent of retail business, a spokesman for the committee said.
>
> A number of other businesses, including soft drink bottlers, bakeries, supermarket groups and others are participating. The spokesman said more than 100 firms are participating, and already several hundred Negroes have received new jobs or been promoted in jobs previously not available to Negroes.
>
> The spokesman said that almost all firms are employing on a basis of character, aptitude and ability regardless of race. He said a check with participating firms reveals that they plan to add more Negro employees, and that they

are well pleased with Negro employees so far. He said the companies have had few complaints about Negro employees.

It was a surprise to the employment committee to find out that a number of firms had already started upgrading Negroes, before they were asked to do so by the committee. Some already had Negroes in supervisory capacities.

The upgrading is expected to continue gradually, and expand until Negroes are giving their fair share of jobs for which they are qualified.

An example of employment of Negroes is at the city-owned bus service, which put on one Negro bus driver two years ago, and now has 16, all doing satisfactory work.

There are now approximately 25 Negro bus drivers. In industrial plants, International Harvester, Otis Elevator, Southern Bell Telephone and other corporations have opened new positions to Negroes. Banks have employed a Negro here and there in a clerical capacity; the Memphis branch of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank has two Negro clerks. American Airlines now has a Negro young lady at its ticket counter. A recent Retail Merchants Association survey showed these stores with Negro sales clerks: Graysons (1); Three Sisters (1); Perel and Lowenstein (4); Goldsmith's (9); Sam Shainberg Co. stores (9); and Pantage Drug Stores (14). These are in addition to Katz, Woolworth, and other variety stores. (A NAACP survey at the beginning of 1963 had found that Negro employment in such stores was almost completely confined to janitorial and related jobs.)

The Rev. J. A. McDaniel, who combines the duties of pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church with those of executive director of the Memphis Urban League, is one of the Negroes who is frankly elated over the progress being made. The change in the employment picture is particularly impressive when viewed from an office which had struggled for so long for small Negro gains. Mr. McDaniel finds that "things are moving now."

"I lost my secretary yesterday to the American Airlines," he remarked. "Of course I was glad. She will earn twice as much there, and it is a breakthrough for American Airlines."

The Urban League has a spacious office in a former residence on Beale Street, where Mr. McDaniel is assisted by Mack Arnold, assistant director, and Mrs. S. A. Owens, Jr., secretary. Mr. McDaniel is enthusiastic about the NAACP - MCCR - Urban League team work. He had high praise for the white leaders in the movement, who are heavily represented on the Urban League Board. "Seven or eight members of our board are members of the MCCR, including Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR employment subcommittee," he said.

Incidentally, Mr. McDaniel praised the Memphis police: "They don't use dogs or firehose here." Referring to Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner, he

said: "Claude has gained the respect of both races; he relies on the Negro vote, and he gets it." However, he added: "White and Negro leaders have worked together, so we haven't needed police too much."

Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR's employment subcommittee, is at the center of the busiest and most fruitful phase of the movement for equal opportunity in Memphis now. He is the head of several Carson companies in the automobile rental field, and he begins with heavy employment of Negroes at all levels in his own enterprises. "Every one of them," he said, "is doing a bang-up job. You see that fellow at the counter? I can go away and leave him in charge." He said he had had some fear at first of losing white customers, that "some customer might walk out rather than do business with a Negro clerk." But he had lost very little business on account of his Negro employees at any time, loses none now.

Mr. Carson uses the hard-headed business approach in his persuasion of other employers. He emphasizes the advantages of interracial harmony in the community and the efficiency of Negro personnel. But his own motivation is on the basis of conscience and morality. A deeply religious person, he loves his fellow man and he joys in the crusade to break down the racial barriers which prevent Negroes from working in the capacities for which they are qualified.

The colored Carson employee who drove me back from his office to my hotel obviously idolized his boss. I remarked that Mr. Carson was a "fine man." "Whoo-e-e-e!" he exclaimed, as if he had no words to fit his own sentiment. "You think so too?"

Mr. Carson likened Memphis acceptance of racial integration to customer acceptance of mechanical improvements in earlier years of the automobile. He remembered when many customers refused to pay the extra charge for cars with self-starters; they thought "any able-bodied man ought to be willing to crank his own machine!" People are afraid of change, but they often liked it when they got used to it. He said employers who hired Negroes were almost invariably glad afterward that they had done so.

Mr. Carson said his committee occasionally meets with unpleasantness on the part of one or two "hold-outs" in a particular line of business after general agreement has been reached. These were sometimes angry at "all the pressure." Then a few weeks later one of them would call him up and ask if he could come and talk about hiring some Negroes!

The employment subcommittee approaches its problem systematically, with constant adherence to the principle of united action. Individual establishments are not approached at random but through negotiation, industry by

industry. Mr. Carson's committee concentrated first, for example, on the soft drink bottling industry, and a conference was held with representatives of all of the bottling firms. Similarly the milk dealers, bread suppliers, chain stores, etc., were tackled, each group in turn. Mr. Carson found that this plan works wonders. The employer is much readier to hire Negroes when he knows that the policy is being adopted at the same time by all his associates in the same line of business.

The Police

In a summing-up of civil rights progress in Memphis, the Press Scimitar aptly displayed as photos of the three key figures those of Arthur W. McCain, then president of the MCCR, Jess H. Turner, president of the NAACP, and Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner. Commissioner Armour and law enforcement, which he directs and symbolizes, have had an extraordinary part in Memphis's adjustment to the new order in race relations.

In some cities the police have won notoriety by the mischief which their brutality and ineptitude have caused. In Memphis the police and their commissioner have achieved distinction of a different kind. In few cities have the police been so largely and so favorably identified with the civil rights advance. Public order has been maintained in Memphis -- tranquility in which negotiations could quietly

proceed and insurance against disorder which enabled desegregation steps to be confidently taken. With small exceptions, police brutality, which is incompatible with any durable public order, has been absent, but the police "mean business," and the public knows it.

Nearly everybody likes this. Segregationists say approvingly that Armour has kept the Negroes from getting out of hand. Negroes feel that he has protected them from racist fanatics. There are no bombings or cross-burnings in Memphis. Negro demonstrators are kept within bounds, but they are not harassed by white hoodlums.

Mr. Armour is a "tough guy." Again and again at signs of unusual agitation or of impending disturbance the police commissioner has sounded the stern warning:

"No law-breaking or violence will be tolerated. Anyone who attempts it, white or colored, will be arrested."

Memphis has learned that Mr. Armour means what he says, and would-be trouble-makers abstain. Incidentally, the commissioner takes no chances. He deploys police in numbers that some consider excessive. One hundred and sixty patrolmen were assigned as a precaution against interference with public school desegregation in 1961.

Some Negroes were handled roughly during the sit-ins of that year. Mr. Meeman recalled that the Negroes were not so fond of Armour then. There have been cases subsequently in which the treatment of Negroes by individual policemen

has aroused complaint. Editor Stokes cites instance after instance of "police brutality" from the files of the Tri-State Defender. But Mr. Stokes thought Commissioner Armour was "doing a good job" on the whole and that Memphis Negroes were fortunate in having him for police commissioner. NAACP President Turner -- in the midst of some argument with the commissioner -- was "not sure Negroes will support him again," but he believed that police behavior had been better in Memphis than elsewhere in the Deep South. Negroes generally express "respect" for the police commissioner and find no cause for complaint.

Paradoxically, this man, to whom the civil rights movement appears to owe so much in Memphis, may not be in sympathy with it. Some who know him say that he is privately opposed to racial integration (though the police force is integrated). His conversation throws no light on this point. He sums up his philosophy in the simple statement:

"I am a policeman."

And that is all that is necessary. For is it not the policeman, in the highest sense of the word, who makes all progress possible?

"I don't necessarily believe in this stuff," he told this writer. "But that doesn't make any difference. I'm a policeman." And a policeman he is, every inch of him. He has never been anything else. He entered the force as a patrolman in 1941, rose through various ranks to be chief of

police in 1949, at the age of 29. He was elected police and fire commissioner in 1950 and has been regularly re-elected since. Now he is also vice-mayor.

The sit-ins of 1960-1961 raised some new police and legal problems. Incidentally, those demonstrations were larger and more disruptive than many realized -- owing to the policy of the Memphis press of minimizing the publicity. Some say that Memphis had more sit-ins than any other southern city. Police action was harsh. Hundreds of Negroes were arrested, though nearly all of their cases were ultimately dismissed. In 318 cases in city court, 163 defendents were convicted and 155 of the cases were dismissed; 119 more of these cases were dismissed on appeal to the circuit court. Of 123 cases with state charges, 93 were dismissed.

Many Negroes, despite their kindly feelings toward Commissioner Armour now, look back upon his performance during the sit-in agitation with resentment. Some observers say that the commissioner's attitude toward Negroes has changed since. The attitude of many white leaders has changed during the past three catalytic years. Mr. Armour said that sit-in demonstrators were arrested only on warrant from the proprietors of affected business establishments. He was not quite clear on the legal points involved.

He expressed relief that "the police don't have this problem any more, because nearly all of the places are integrated."

The largest single mobilization of police was directed against possible white trouble-makers -- at the time of the initial public school desegregation in October 1961. Mr. Armour recalled that in a preparatory lecture to the 160-man detachment he directed them to arrest anyone who "gets out of line -- I don't care who it is." Speaking to men most of whom were themselves probably opposed to school integration, he added sternly: "Anyone who can't carry out this assignment, can hand in his badge." Public school desegregation was carried out with exemplary order and tranquility.

Incidentally, Mr. Armour remarked that three United States marshals appeared in his office the day before the event. He told them they would not be needed, and added: "If ever I ask for federal marshals, don't send me three, send me 300!"

The commissioner objected to "so much talk about race. To us," he said, "people are just violators or law-abiding citizens." Conversation with the assistant chief of police in charge of personnel and with several other officials confirmed the impression that the Memphis police department is permeated with the spirit of rigorous but even-handed law

enforcement. There is no instruction in race problems as such, only in the various types of disorder and the policeman's duty in the circumstances, whoever the offenders may be.

Referring to the MCCR, Mr. Armour said he cooperated constantly with it; he had helped to set up its forerunner, the Race Relations Committee. But he was careful to point out that his encouragement of negotiation was not because of any personal feeling about the race issue. It was because negotiation lessened the police problem.

The Memphis department has ten police dogs, none of which has ever been used in a civil rights disturbance. Mr. Armour did not say that none ever would be used in such situations, but that they would be used only as a "last resort." He told of a case when dogs were used to beat off Negroes who were trying to prevent police from arresting one of their number in a drunken brawl. (But most Negroes seem unaware the police dogs are ever used.) There have been Negro policemen in Memphis for the past 16 years; there are now 42 on the 900-man force.

The Press Scimitar in reviewing civil rights progress in Memphis said: "The conferences of citizens and officials were indispensable and invaluable to keep peace and order in a time of inevitable change, but these conferences could not have been enough. We had to have a police commissioner who would not play the demagogue but would enforce

the law without fear or favor. We had it...."

Approximately 1,000 persons attended a "Claude A. Armour Recognition Dinner" on April 30, 1964. The organizations working for race relations progress were heavily represented on the sponsoring committee which aimed at an attendance of 1,000. Former Tennessee Governor Buford Ellington was among the speakers for the occasion, who included also the president and the secretary of the MCCR and Negro leader A. Maceo Walker.

Memphis has not gotten around to the housing problem, though housing is becoming more segregated every day. Dr. Price remarked: "We haven't touched the housing problem. Nothing whatever is being done about that." White and Negro firemen serve in separate companies. Bowling lanes are segregated. There are imperfections in all phases of desegregation. The civil rights advance is still far short of the open society. But Memphis nonetheless has begun to shine as a beacon of reason and decency for the Deep South.

The cotton capital of song and story, the great port of "Ole Man River," is moving into the new era in race relations irrevocably and with a speed which almost startles anyone returning to the city after a lapse of years. The change in three years has been striking, that in 20 years almost unbelievable. Among the letters to the editor of the Commercial Appeal of April 12, 1964, was one from an Ohio lady which said in part:

My last trip to Memphis was in 1945, when I flew in as a hostess with Eastern Airlines. I cannot believe that the same people who lived there then, live there now....

I travel with my husband and as a stranger in town you can become aware of the underlying 'tone' of the town....

Although the Negro population surrounding the activities of the hotel bespeak a passing generation, the young generation of Negroes display the eager excitement of their new life.

Congratulations! Your city is beautiful, your buildings are exciting and your high moral conduct is apparent.

At Goldsmith's I tried on a hat. Sitting next to me was a beautiful Negro lady, trying on hats also. I laughed at my image in a strange piece of headgear that I had tried on. Simultaneously she placed a hat of strange proportions on her head and she laughed at her image in the mirror. We looked at each other and understood the reason for the laughter and we laughed together....

- END -

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

B R U N S W I C K

BY

PAT WATTERS

B R U N S W I C K

BY

PAT WATTERS

SEPTEMBER, 1964

This is the fourth in a series of Special Reports that seek to give an accurate view of southern cities in transition from segregation to a new kind of community living. Each report is about a city which has confronted its problems with realism and honest purpose, and which has sought to overcome them.

Earlier reports in the series were:

Charlotte, by Pat Watters (June, 1964)

Louisville, by Benjamin Muse (June, 1964)

Memphis, by Benjamin Muse (July, 1964)

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Brunswick	Glynn County	Brunswick	Glynn County
Total	17,954	29,046	21,703	41,899
Negro	6,994	9,288	8,909	11,648
Per Cent Negro	39	32	41	28

Brunswick, Georgia, is a coastal city of the Deep South, as ancient in flavor in many ways as its many fat-trunked live oak trees, draped funereally with gray Spanish moss, and as modern in spirit, often, as its great hope that Thiokol Chemical Corp. will establish there a huge plant to build and test solid-fuel rocket boosters, aiming for the planets.

Brunswick is 174 miles from Albany, Georgia, and in many ways partakes of the same general south Georgia culture. Brunswick is 81 miles below Savannah

on the coast, and the two cities are much akin in age and history and culture. While Albany shamed America before the world by marching thousands of Negroes protesting intolerable conditions to jail in the sullen summer of 1962, Brunswick was quietly negotiating the desegregation of its lunch counters. While Savannah's race relations unfortunately, and perhaps unnecessarily, detoured from progressive change to explode in the streets in the summer of 1963, Brunswick was quietly desegregating city and county recreational facilities, and negotiating one of the first voluntary school desegregation actions in the Deep South. As much of the rest of the nation faced the turning-point spring and summer of 1964 with guilty fear about its Negro population, as Negroes rioted in Jacksonville, Florida, 78 miles down the coast, and as St. Augustine, 30 miles farther, writhed in Klan notoriety, Brunswick leaders of both races were making headway on civil rights law compliance, including hospital desegregation.

More importantly, the leadership and public and business agencies of the city were moving with some efficacy toward undoing the damages of discrimination in housing, education, and job opportunities for Negroes -- a steadier beginning than in most of America on the difficult and mostly underexplored problems of the culture of poverty.

Brunswick achieved its racial rapproachments before the summer of 1964 without a single street demonstration or boycott, and without a law suit instigated by Negroes. (A suit was brought unsuccessfully by white segregationist attempting to block school desegregation; it was answered by Negroes. A suit was brought by Negroes to compel desegregation of facilities on the nearby state-owned resort, Jekyll Island.)

All of this is not to say that down there in the salt air and vivid white, blue, and green seascape, with the twistings and twinings of the streams of the beautiful marshes of Glynn, there is an island of pure democracy where the idealism and the practices of American society are finally met. Efforts of persons of good-will, motivated by idealism in its true sense, have been important. But much that has been accomplished has been in a pattern increasingly becoming clear as one (if not the only) practical and hopeful way out of America's most paralyzing dilemma: a realistic recognition on both sides of enmities and prejudices, an awareness of the business and social (if not humanitarian) desirability of reconciliation, and the establishment of machinery for negotiation and mediation of opposed viewpoints and goals.

"Let me tell you something," said Dr. Joseph B. Mercer, the mayor of Brunswick, describing what he

tells Negro leaders "I was born in the South. I was reared on a big old peach orchard plantation in middle Georgia. So everything that you start talking about -- doing this and doing that -- in the first place, I've got to go against my rearing to do it."

"This thing of getting that which is due you -- that's a lifetime work," said the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope, president of the Brunswick Branch NAACP and architect of Negro strategy and goals. "I think we need to continue to push in all of these areas..."

Brunswick's success in reconciling these and other conflicting mental sets has been attributable to three things specifically: (1) an unshakable desire that notoriety in race relations be avoided; (2) the existence of a biracial committee through which change might be effectively and acceptably channeled; and (3) the pushing by the Rev. Mr. Hope and associated Negro leaders of aspirations through a concerted strategy which keeps demonstrations, boycotts, court suits, and the like poised -- like military force in a nation's diplomacy -- ready for use.

How and why and what in the permutations of time, events, personality, place, and history allows Brunswick to achieve something -- not a perfect solution,

but what looks like a workable path to it -- that other similar small communities all around it have missed?

What answers there are to this are to be found mainly in the people of the place, in how they view what has happened, what is happening, what is likely to happen. Paradoxically, one of the easiest things to hear from them is that, for all its dependence upon open lines of communication, Brunswick needs perhaps even desperately a better and more forthright communication between the races.

The struggles of civilization date far back in Brunswick. The Spanish came in 1563 and built their missions out of a pastel white amalgam of sea sheels and mud called tabby, whose formula is lost. In 1736, General James Edward Oglethorpe built Fort Frederica on nearby St. Simons Island, among the earliest outposts of England in Georgia. From it, in a comic-opera little battle at Bloody Marsh a few years later, the English drove the Spanish out and in discouragement away from all the dominion of southeast America. In 1771, General Oglethorpe on orders of a Colonial Council, soon to be caught up in the American Revolution, established the town of Brunswick.

It occupies a peninsula surrounded by rivers, creeks, and marshland to the east, south, and west. (The city limits extend a mile or so into the Atlantic Ocean.)

A natural harbor with a channel 30 to 36 feet deep in the Brunswick River supports a state-financed dock that can't seem to prosper, and a variety of industries, from seafood picking and packing houses to plants processing paper and building materials to the big smoke stacks of the Hercules Powder Company.

Across the marsh and causeways are St. Simons, a middle-class, unpretentious, and mostly unspoiled resort (with jungles of virgin timber blessedly preserved), long favored by middle-class Georgians; Sea Island, long a spa reserved for the non-Semitic wealthy, and Jekyll Island, once the private preserve of the richest robber barons of the Nineteenth Century and now a state-owned park with luxury-high prices. These three islands combine to form the most lucrative industry -- tourism.

The Glynco Naval Base exerts economic and social influence (and blocks from the north the only avenue of territorial growth). And Thiokol has its pilot force (300 families) on hand laying the foundations for a hoped-for Defense contract that could mean 8,000 jobs for the area, according to City Planner Fred Bell.

Negro population increased more rapidly, proportionately, than the total population within the city limits of Brunswick between 1950 and 1960, but less rapidly, proportionately, than the total population outside the

city limits -- which tells a familiar story about suburbia. Normal growth (without Thiokol) would mean a population of 26,000 in Brunswick by 1970, and 62,000 in Glynn County -- with 11,180, or 43% of the population in the city Negro.

A 1962 publication of the city on its Perry Park Urban Renewal project, from which most of the above figures are taken, makes much of a comparison of the economic status of Brunswick's Negro population with that of nearby Georgia cities. Mean family income for Negroes is $2,744 per year, an increase of 41% since 1950, and higher than all other cities in Georgia except Atlanta and environs and Warner Robins, site of a large military complex. That this is a commentary on the economic plight of Negroes in Georgia more than any cause for self-congratulation or celebration in Brunswick is indicated by another statistic -- the median family income for all citizens of Brunswick: $5,044. In comparison with other Negro communities of Georgia, Brunswick Negroes are slightly better off in such matters as employment and housing.

All of these things are important and have a bearing. So do such character traits of a city as the attitude about the trees. The wonderful old oaks, with limbs twisting and roots spreading in colonizing growths, are everywhere, even all of a sudden, to the astonishment

of out-of-town motorists, in the middle of a street, including some of the downtown streets. Unwary cars occasionally bang into them. No one may cut down a tree without permission of the city's park commission, which in Brunswick is called the City Park and Tree Commission.

Surely, too, an influence is exerted by the visual impact of nature in Brunswick -- a common and everyday thing to those who live there, a pleasant shock each time he looks up for the visitor -- a vividness of color (not as dazzling as farther south in Florida, more soothing), with tropical fecundity and form of the trees and flowers, long reaches of marshland and sky and sea, blue and green everywhere, and a limitlessness to the horizon -- stretching flat planes, with salt in the air and the rich, overripe, pungent smell of the marsh in the wind (when the wind does not bring the chemical stench of paper mills). It is landscape and light for an artist, and in it symbols abound for such a writer as Georgia's lyrical poet of the Nineteenth Century, Sidney Lanier.

Away from the "length and the breadth of the marvelous marshes of Glynn," out on St. Simons, a more modern symbol may be seen. Once the beach was perfect, wide and hard-packed, a fine playground even at high tide. Now parts of it have washed badly, so that at high tides

the waters come up to sea walls, and over them into yards, pushing farther back the lines of summer cabins and beach homes over the years. Somehow the dunes shifted or were by man destroyed, and the natural order of things put out of kilter. Now men, in an effort to set things aright, to regain something lost, beautiful and precious, pile rock and cement in great jagged chunks to keep the onrushing tides from encroaching further and destroying. These desperate impromptu sea walls, tumbling and jagged-edged, have no beauty and are in contrast with the majesty of the sea, a grotesquery; but eventually, it is hoped, they may do their work, and restore a harmony and a balance to the beach intended by nature.

It is in the mood of this eternal process of destruction and waste, and the instinct to build back and restore, that one seeks something of the full story of Brunswick's achievement, something more than a dry case study, and for it turn to the voices of the people there, telling, as all the truth of human stories is, something richly complex, full of subtlety and nuances, like the sound of the sea.

THE STORY IN GENERAL

There was, first, the Biracial Committee, an unofficial, highly secretive agency for mediation and trouble-shooting in racial disputes. It was formed in 1960, but did little until confronted with the catalyst of a militant Negro civil rights organization.

This was the NAACP. Under new leadership of the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope, who came to Brunswick in 1959, it was transformed from an almost extinct organization of older people into a vibrant, modern Negro movement, well versed in all the techniques and aspirations of direct action.

By 1962, the NAACP was able to present itself in negotiations as a formidable force. The Biracial Committee was there as the agency through which negotiations could be funneled, and decisions filtered.

The 1962 breakthrough was on desegregation of lunch counters. There were three negotiating sessions between the NAACP and the Brunswick Merchants Association.

There had been three demands: removal of discriminatory signs; desegregation of counters; desegregation of jobs. There was acquiesence on the first two, postponement on the third.

A two-week trial period was set up on the lunch counters. Members of the NAACP agreed to appear at certain times, not rush hours, at four stores. They had agreed to leave immediately if there were any trouble. White members of the Glynn Council on Human Relations sat quietly as observers. When there was no trouble during the trial period, the counters were desegregated for good. But there was no announcement of this. People found out about it gradually. This was the pattern Brunswick fell upon as the safest and surest.

"It was kept out of the news media," said Sam Altman, president of the merchants association. "We figured the less bragging we did, the less noise they made, the better it would work."

Mrs. J. C. Wilkes and her husband, a dentist, are among outstanding Negro leaders. She told a story to illustrate that the lunch counter desegregation worked out "real fine." A friendly white person had told her that she was at one of the lunch counters when Negroes came in, and another white person there looked up and said: "Oh,

Negroes are eating here now. Well it's about time."

The Rev. Mr. Hope described the trial period this way: "We had a certain number of people who were trained in non-violence -- this kind of a thing -- to go to the counters and get served and leave by a certain time, and this kind of a thing. At a certain time we would go to the counters. We would sit down. There were whites, but it was calm. We would sit down just like nothing was happening. They were looking and staring. They didn't say anything. There were a few who would get up. But all in all, it was a very pleasing situation. We got service. But some places, we got better service. This can be expected."

It was the following summer, 1963, before the next breakthroughs. Recreational facilities -- city and county parks, including a pavilion at St. Simons, but not swimming pools -- were desegregated. The same procedure was used: negotiation, this time with the two governments, and a plan approved by the Biracial Committee for a test period. When it was successful, they were opened, again without any public announcement.

(The federal court suit against segregation at another set of recreational facilities -- on state-owned Jekyll Island -- was pending at the time of the interviews

for this report. Subsequently a federal District Court ruled that facilities operated by the state -- the golf courses, bathing beaches and bathhouses, swimming pools, and the like -- had to be desegregated. The ruling did not cover facilities leased by the state to private operators. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, does.)

Here is how the Rev. Mr. Hope described desegregation of the recreational facilities: "We had no incidents whatsoever. Whites and Negroes from the very first night skated together ... no incidents ... bowled together ... no incidents ... played tennis together ... no incidents. They were very cordial. For instance, you would knock a ball over in their court. They would stop and throw your ball back. I'd say thank you. Just -- just like a normal game."

Edward T. Rogers, co-chairman of the Glynn County Council on Human Relations, and Mrs. Rogers, also active in the Council, were among white members who observed at the St. Simons casino during the two-week trial period.

He said: "I did not hear one word of complaint. I saw a few surprised looks when they came in. When it first started the Negroes were bowling here, and the white people would go 'way over to the other side in the farthest lane. But by the end of the week, they were bowling lane by lane. They brought little kids over to ride the

merry-go-round, and -- aw, they were just having a ball."

At the time of these interviews, pools had not yet opened for the summer of 1964, and there was apprehension about whether they would be. Negro leaders, including the Rev. Mr. Hope, said they had been promised that if they would not push for this in 1963, it would be done in 1964. "We actually compromised at that point," said the Rev. Mr. Hope.

But Dr. Joseph B. Mercer, mayor of Brunswick, said a couple of months before the time for decision: "In this matter we just get down to basic economics. If the time comes for the pools to be integrated, and they say this is the year, then strictly on the basis not of race but of economics, these pools will close." He said attendance of the whites would be drastically cut. "If integration comes, the pools go." That was, in fact, what happened.

Mrs. Rogers said in the spring of 1964: "The children -- the colored children here [on St. Simons], they can't even go to the beach. There's not one swimming place they can go." (Since then, beaches have been desegregated.)

The Rev. Mr. Hope said that requests had been renewed early in 1964 to the city and county for desegregation

of the pools. "See, we don't let them wait until that time comes and say, 'We haven't had time to work it out.'" What if they were closed? "If they want to close the pools and nobody swim in them, we would go along with that. We're just asking for the same thing that our money is paying for. We're not asking for anything special."

An inevitable question in such a place as Brunswick is how well and how much have Negroes used facilities that have been desegregated. Dr. Wilkes said those who can afford it have. Mrs. Wilkes said, "The main thing is that you want to be able to go." Dr. Wilkes pointed out that adjusting to desegregation is as much a change for the average Negro as white person. But "once he passes through this, then he begins to recognize, "Well I am a first class citizen. I am going to do something about it.' Then you begin to uplift, which is as it should be."

The city's Negro general practitioner, Dr. James S. Ray, was asked if there was awareness of the new opportunities among the general run of Negro people he sees. He said, "It works two ways at the same time. Say I work for Mrs. Jones, see? If I go to Woolworth's store, and sit and eat there, Mrs. Jones will get rid of me. That's a kind of awareness there is. She gets it over to him that if you go there it means your job. Certainly there's awareness. All of the kids on the street are aware of it. But

the person who has the most to lose is not going to go against things."

Referring specifically to use of lunch counters, the Rev. Mr. Hope said: "It has been good. What we must understand is that Negroes have been accustomed to what they have been doing for hundreds of years. And I think when the white man understands that when they open these places, there won't be a whole lot of Negroes going in, things will be better. A lot of people say Negroes are not ready. Not all of them are. All of the white folks are not ready. All the nobody's are not ready. But there are some who are ready. Why leave them back?"

While the recreational facilities were being desegregated, negotiations were begun through the Biracial Committee with the school board on compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision. The NAACP let board members know that it had a suit drawn up, but not yet filed. The board realized that the suit would have meant dictation of terms. Voluntary action, as Dr. Wilkes put it, "would be to the board's advantage because it could set the pace."

Mrs. Wilkes said some of the board members were "quite receptive," others "not too pleased." Two later resigned.

W. A. Whittle, chairman of the board of education, a gray-haired, erect man of the older generation, recalled the "momentous decision" that came out of the negotiations. The board decided that it would be "best for the community, the school system and the people to start in a small way, believing that if they did, there would be probably less discord."

Six students, three boys, three girls, from the Negro high school (Risley High) were finally selected to attend all-white Glynn Academy -- two in the eleventh grade, four in the twelfth.

This time, the decision had to be announced, and, as Mr. Whittle said, it was publicised in the local paper and on radio, and "even on television -- Channel Four in Jacksonville." An organization not there-to-fore heard of, the Glynn Society, promptly placed ads on local radio against the decision. (Of the society Mrs. Wilkes said: "They're not leading people. A member of the Human Relations Council attended a Glynn Society meeting and didn't recognize anybody there.")

A more serious reaction was the filing of a suit in Federal court, by parents of white children. The Glynn Society was thought to be behind the suit, filed the day before school was to open. Federal Judge

Frank M. Scarlett, an avowed segregationist, enjoined the desegregation immediately, and school opened without the Negro children. The NAACP immediately appealed the decision, asking not only that the plan for the six students be allowed to operate immediately, but also that the entire school system be desegregated.

Thus, Brunswick was in the upside down position of having a federal court order it not to desegregate, and the local board appearing in appeals court to defend its right to do so. The board, however, opposed the NAACP demand for total integration of the system. Judge Scarlett's injunction was overturned quickly by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, and the Negro youngsters went into the school two weeks late. (Not until the summer of 1964 did the Court rule on the plea for total integration.)

"We had believed we would not have to have court suits," said Mr. Whittle. "If only they had left us alone."

Mr. Whittle said the leadership in the situation had represented a cross-section of the community, "a high type people" who wanted to "handle the situation in a way that promotes peace and accord."

One of the few white leaders in the city who had agreed readily to an interview, Mr. Whittle smiled gently and indicated courteously after going over all the facts

that he had said all that he had planned, apparently with some care, to say.

Carolyn Harris, 16, is one of the six Negro students. In that somewhat formal atmosphere of the middle-class living room of her wooden frame home near the center of town, she answered questions, often with a word or one sentence, about the first year, then drawing to its end.

Was she selected by Negro leaders or did she apply on her own? "I applied to go." The two-week delay starting school meant that "it was a little difficult at first because we had missed three or four chapters in some classes. We had to catch up. The teachers were very nice. They helped us."

What about the students? "When we first entered, most of the students -- they wanted to be friendly, but because of a few of the students there, they didn't speak to us. There were a few who wanted to speak, but they thought the other students would ridicule them. The first day one of the boys spoke to one of the boys there, and there was a kind of scrape there. But there was nothing else. The ridicule stopped altogether. After about a month everyone was speaking. Things are working out just fine. The students accept us in class. They want us in their group discussions."

Carolyn said courses at her old school and the new one are "basically the same." But the equipment at the new one is better. She said she had done about the same amount of studying in the new situation, once she caught up.

She is not a member of the NAACP Youth Council, she said, and her interest in going to Glynn was educational, rather than for the cause. "I've always wanted to go to Glynn -- especially after they got the new Science Building. I'm very interested in science; in fact, I'm majoring in it. I was just fascinated by the Science Building, and all the equipment it had in it. I wanted to work with it." She plans to be a biologist, and to go to Ohio State University.

What of extracurricular activities? Miss Harris said she was a member of the Science Club, Math Club, and Glee Club. And she was able to keep up with social activities in the Negro community. What about at Glynn? "We haven't participated in any yet. As I said, "I'm a member of the Math Club, and they're having a banquet on the tenth. And I'm going."

She entered a biology project in the school's science fair. It won second place, which meant a trip to the State Science Fair in Athens, Georgia. What was her

project?" "It has to do with decreasing cell activity to extend the life of man."

"I'm in an honor class in chemistry," she said. "That's an awfully good class." She praised the chemistry instructor, Herbert Handley, saying he "stands out brightest" among faculty members, all of whom are good. "He made us feel at home. He told us not to be nervous about anything. He really kept our spirits up that first couple of weeks."

What had she learned from the experience? "Besides education, I think I have learned about how people react. You can't judge people by what a minority says. You have to see the whole group. I have several friends. We help each other with all our things. I help them. We have a lot of conversations."

One of these friendships started in music class. It was with the girl who sat next to her. "I didn't have a copy of the music one day and she asked me if I would like to look on, so I told her yes. And then we started talking, and she takes geometry with me also, and when we would come in, we'd talk about the geometry, various ideas of how to work different problems."

Miss Harris said she made straight A's at Glynn except for a B in geometry. This made her an honor student, which, along with having an entry in the science fair, made

her a member of the Georgia Junior Adademy of Science.

Her other courses include English and history. She was studying modern literature. She prefers Hemingway to Faulkner. His "ideas are more realistic." Does Faulkner's South sound like anything she knows?" "No, it really doesn't. But I know it did exist once."

She said her school life had become quite normal. "I go to school in the morning, go to class, speak to other students. Everything goes nonchalant."

"Brunswick is wonderful. The people in it are wonderful, also."

Dr. and Mrs. Wilkes are active in the NAACP and the Glynn County Council on Human Relations, and are prominent in Negro civic and social affairs. He is originally from Pennsylvania, articulate and extroverted, with a ready laugh; she is from Savannah, pretty, vivacious, stylish, happy-voiced. They talked in an office of his dental clinic, in the spring of 1964. Outside at dusk, children shrilled and occasionally shrieked some great game in a dirt alley; a train with its own noise and shrill shrieks went by; doors slammed; dogs barked.

Why in their opinion had so much progress been made? "If you ask me if any of this would have come about without the NAACP," said Dr. Wilkes, "I would say almost unequivocally no."

He went on: "We didn't want to arouse the community in terms of victory and defeat. It had to be and still has to be careful counseling. The Glynn County Council on Human Relations has been invaluable on this counseling thing in terms of readying ourselves, because we had people with knowledge of the mechanics, so to speak, of the community. We have thus far been able to carry on our activities without outside interference... and I think this is the way it should be done. But don't think for a minute that we would offer any hesitancy about calling for additional help -- whether it comes from inside or outside -- if we needed it."

In any listing by whites and Negroes of those whose influence has been for the good of Brunswick race relations, the name of city manager Bruce Lovvern always came high. He is soft spoken, casual, with a slight mountain (North Georgia) twang to his southern drawl.

(His office is in the city hall. This is a formidable, narrow and tall, old-brick building, constructed in 1899. Some of its fine high ceilings have been lowered to modern, cramping standards to save on winter's fuel bills, only to make newly necessary the extra cost of air-conditioning in the longer, more severe summers. On each of the two ornate, iron staircases which climb steeply from

the first floor lobby to meet at a second floor landing, are fine little two-foot high, iron statues of cavaliers in their boots and feathered hats. In Mr. Lovvern's office is a council table, ancient and scarred, with similarly seasoned chairs of graceful, frail, and curving lines.)

Like many of the white leaders, he was reluctant to grant an interview. This was because of early agreements, involving the Biracial Committee, to avoid all publicity on racial progress. There were apparently several theoretical grounds -- that publicity itself becomes an annoying factor, that some things might better be learned slowly rather than breathtakingly in a headline, and that publicity might attract "outsiders" of both segregationist and integrationist persuasion. (It was not certain at the outset if any city officials would grant interviews. County ones never would. Finally Mayor Mercer did.) Mr. Lovvern talked freely and frankly for the record when he, too, finally agreed to an interview.

"In Brunswick," he said, "it's simply this: The leadership on both sides is willing to communicate with each other about these problems. The talk is frank and above board. It didn't just happen. It came about with time."

The first Biracial Committee meetings were cold.

Trust built up gradually and out of "being able to solve a problem or two along the line."

There is "a problem with Negroes on the committee. Some glory seekers say they are not representative Negroes."

Asked if by glory seekers he meant the Rev. Mr. Hope, he said he had a better opinion of him than some. "He has come to us before any step and told us his intentions." Thus, there have always been warnings of when, how, and why a demonstration might come, and this gives the Biracial Committee time to work out a solution. Mr. Lovvern said he told politicians Brunswick could be in much worse shape along thses lines.

He said the Rev. Mr. Hope had started out antagonistic to the Biracial Committee. He came in time to a willingness to work with it.

Why was Brunswick as early as 1960 able to form such a committee? Mr. Lovvern cited elements which make the city different from most in the area: a sizeable Jewish population; a colony of Portuguese people, descendents of fishermen attracted to the shrimp-rich South Georgia shores; a Catholic influence; in sum, a seaport, cosmopolitan flavor giving people experience in tolerance toward those different from themselves.

He mentioned as another factor the pattern of

Negroes and whites living close together. On a spring drive through the old city, with azaleas in bloom, a flow of soft lavender and red in yards, he pointed out white and Negro residents sitting on porches of simple, square-shaped wooden houses, side-by-side in close-together rows. A fine residential street of wide yards and many of the big old moss-hung trees ended abruptly at a dirt road with rows of shacks occupied by Negroes.

(The drive showed other ways that chance and nature have blessed Brunswick, making it in many ways what modern planners recommend a city should be. There is the abundance of marsh and water. The shortage of land has resulted in a minimum of the evils of suburbia -- although they are spreading in treeless fields north of town -- and it has forced a remarkable diversity in land use, a healthful intermingling not just of races in neighborhoods, but of age and economic groups, and of residences and industries, amicably. The fascinating and not unlovely shapes and white-sand color and textures of a gypsum factory are the view out of picture windows in a fashionable neighborhood, and a child in the night through most of the town stirs to the grand sound of ship horns in the harbor.)

Mr. Lovvern said that of all the influences for racial progress, economics was the greatest. "The merchants

aren't fools." They know that Negroes comprise 40% of the population, that they make a large if not commensurate contribution to the economy, and that it would be costly to alienate them. "They had read and heard about boycotts."

At about the time of the 1962 negotiations on lunch counters, the Glynco Naval Base began to exert an influence on race relations, he said. Orders and policies had begun to filter down -- things like not allowing personnel to participate in segregated recreation programs. There had been investigations of community attitudes, and the power structure knew it. "They feared the Navy would close Glynco or cut it back."

A visit to the straight-street, military otherworld of Glynco confirmed the impression of by-the-numbers correctness of attitude, and a certain tactfulness about it. There are apparently sincere efforts toward equal employment. Base personnel participate in the Biracial Committee, and one man attends meetings of the Council on Human Relations, but has not joined.

Thiokol, Mr. Lovvern said, had more to do with school desegregation than anything else. With the main office established, and the 300 families of the firm in the area, and a government contract being sought, the Biracial Committee

and school board knew they couldn't afford to let anything upset normalcy.

A problem in continuing race relations negotiations, Mr. Lovvern said, is a misconception on the part of some Negro members of the Biracial Committee about its real function. They tend to want to use it to say who will be hired or appointed to positions -- rather than to assure merely that Negroes are. They resemble ward-heeling politicians of the turn of the century seeking patronage, he said.

There was more resistance in 1964 to racial changes than two years before. He cited the influence of the Glynn Society, describing it as from the middle-low income grouping, "good honest Georgians who feel strongly." Somewhere behind them, he said, was power and money. "You don't hire attorneys like they had in the school suit for peanuts."

It would take harder work in the future to avoid "drawing the lines" -- getting a racial alignment over the issues affecting Negroes. He said he didn't think the Rev. Mr. Hope wanted to draw the lines, that in the past he had gotten good advice "somewhere, from people behind the scenes."

Mr. Lovvern was one of the few of either race interviewed who had a good word to say about the local newspaper, the Brunswick News. He said it had done a good

job, a very careful one, of not "blowing things out of proportion."

Summing up, City Manager Lovvern said: "A political decision has to be made on any racial problem. It would be very easy to choose a path of total resistance. We are fortunate that the political bodies of Brunswick and Glynn County made a decision in 1962 that they would try to work things out, try to keep communications open. This is necessary. Communities who don't do it live to regret it."

He pointed out that a study of what was happening in Albany in 1961 and 1962 (the study was made by him) was instrumental in Brunswick's decision to do otherwise. "It will end the same," he said. "In this country, Albany can't win."

Both Dr. Wilkes and Mrs. Wilkes had expressed hope about the changing quality of white opinion. "Everybody knows now," said Mrs. Wilkes, "that we do want to integrate. It's not such a bad word now. In fact some white citizens take pride in saying there is no segregation."

Mrs. Wilkes told another of the stories she seems to cherish about what one white person said to another. One white woman said to another she didn't believe in forcing integration. The other replied that if she hadn't been forced

once to attend an integrated meeting, her attitude never would have changed. "But by forced integration, an entire new world had opened to her. She sees Negroes in a completely different light, and she's just so happy."

Dr. Wilkes said that for such reasons, he had no regrets about coming South to live. "I was a little disturbed the first couple of years because I didn't have the freedom I thought I should have. But it's done now. It gives a certain amount of pride and respect to know that since I've been in Brunswick I've been able to contribute to something that should go down in history. It makes me feel good. It makes me feel part of the community and this is what I think the Negro should be. He can't be if he's going to be restrained and neglected, and this, that, and the other.

"I'm proud of our county and what has happened, and we're looking for even greater things."

BRUNSWICK AT THE TIME OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

The following sketch shows how far Brunswick had been able to move through neighborly patterns of unforced change before federal law came with its commands.

A Howard Johnson restaurant was desegregated. No other restaurants were, and no motels were.

Few non-traditional jobs were open. Some of the large plants were advertising for help on a non-discriminatory basis, but considered few Negroes qualified. The chief project of the NAACP was an effort to get Negroes hired as cashiers and clerks in downtown stores; a training school was being conducted, with instructors from the National Cash Register Co. Another goal was municipal jobs: meter readers, firemen, and the like. According to Mr. Lovvern, the city "had to screen 40 to 50 people to get one Negro cop;" credit records were the main problem here. The city's Urban Renewal Department had one Negro typist; she worked for the one Negro professional in the department.

There were no problems with voting or voter registration. White politicians even urged it. The Rev. Mr. Hope had run for City Council in the last election, and was defeated, getting only part of the Negro vote. (This effort opened sore questions which were much discussed at the time of these interviews.)

A Negro, an aged man, had been appointed to the Park and Tree Commission.

The Glynn-Brunswick Memorial Hospital had an "open" policy, "not segregated or integrated, but open." Mrs. Wilkes, expecting a baby, had applied to be confined in the white maternity section. "They say we are having this baby just to integrate the hospital." The hospital had integrated its staff, with two Negro physicians, one a surgeon, and a dentist (Dr. Wilkes), and Negro nurses, including surgical nurses. Surgical suites were desegregated.

The schools had begun token desegregation, and lunch counters and most public recreation (except swimming) were, as has been noted, open. The library was desegregated, and so were most community service agencies.

In the other large area of people's hopes and needs -- housing -- Negroes and whites do as they typically do in a coastal city, live on the same streets, often side-by-side in the older sections. But in the newer suburbs, all is white.

TWO LEADERS
(AND SOME CONCERNS OF THE DAY)

"No publicity," said Mayor Mercer. "I think it's been the answer. Every time you heard much of a furor, what the furor was about did not get done. And yet the things you didn't hear about, gradually people began to talk about, 'Well did you know this had been done and this was being done?' Whenever a great hullabaloo was made, that just killed it. So it became obvious that the Biracial Committee had very wisely taken the stand that they could get more done by trying to act [in secret]."

Mayor Mercer is a medical doctor, middle-aged, big, robust, full of energy, although his voice is slow and quiet, sounding deceptively older than he is, and sometimes sounding, especially in his complaints about things, sing-song querulous. When he finally agreed to talk, the interview was near midnight, the only time he had open all week. It was at his offices, new and big and elaborately equipped, near the city hospital.

He began: "This friend of mine said, 'You know,

Joe, the funniest thing is Brunswick needs you like a constipated man needs a good dose of castor oil. One good dose, and get it done with, but never again."

He said he hadn't been involved in any of the race relations matters until he was elected to the city commission in February, 1963 -- 14 months before. He wasn't involved in the lunch counter or parks breakthroughs. "I was not actually involved in the schools except to voice an opinion. Having run for office and having been elected by the people with the opposition of the majority of city commissioners, the majority of the county commission, with all the political powers that be opposed to me, and having won with an overwhelming majority, nearly a thousand I believe, better than two to one, I felt that I had a responsibility to speak. I felt that I could have some effect on their taking a moderate approach."

Of other racial matters, he said he wrote the constitution and bylaws of the hospital, "and in this field we made sure every doctor got equal standing from the beginning." Negro regular nurses are on the same level in everything as white ones, he went on. "The girl we thought would give them the most trouble was the one who invited Negro nurses to use the nurse's dressing room."

He said, "At the hospital we do things on the basis of what is right. Every premature Negro baby born there is carried right into the white nursery, on the basis of rendering a service to human beings."

In March 1964, when this interview was conducted, the most talked-about event in town was a one-day job walkout of the hospital's Negro employees. Although Negro leaders such as the Rev. Mr. Hope and the Wilkes were intently making the point that the walkout was strictly economic, had nothing to do with race relations, and had nothing, in fact, to do with the NAACP, Brunswick properly regarded it as another part of the civil rights drive, and it had been referred to the Biracial Committee.

Mayor Mercer had much to say about the walkout, but for background to his remarks here is, first, what was said about it by the Rev. Frank Nalls, chairman of the hospital authority. He is also superintendent of Epworth by the Sea, a Methodist Church hostel and meeting place on St. Simons. His office there has glass walls and rich, subdued modern furnishings, with a drawing of a planned new hospital and five Boy Scout certificates and plaques on a wall. His face, broad and tanned under gray hair, was troubled. He had, he said, just received word from Washington that a representative of the federal government would be in town the next week to investigate a complaint of discrimination at the hospital.

He made no comment on this for the moment, but talked instead of how the walkout had come "without notice," preceded only by a letter from employees requesting increased pay. The walkout lasted 24 hours. "As one man put it,"

he said, "how inhuman can you get, to leave sick patients in their beds?"

He lifted his hands and let them fall hard on his desk. "I felt we were coming along pretty well; this is the tragedy of it." There is, he said, no racial difference in pay scales; the walkout was by the lowest paid help, maids and janitors, all of whom are Negroes. It came after a change from weekly to bi-weekly pay. What they were asking for, the Rev. Mr. Nalls said, was the minimum wage. No hospital pays it. To do so would mean exorbitant room rents, he said. "I'm convinced [the walkout] was all planned by the NAACP."

He said the walkout endangered the moderate leadership in race relations, of whom he counted himself one. "I have a feeling of betrayal. They've betrayed all those who have worked to help them. I feel most reluctant to do anything further. Any concessions that are made are looked upon as weaknesses to be seized on and exploited, rather than as..."

He didn't finish the sentence. Then: "This is a place that prided itself on the advances made. Some of us were ready to accept the criticism we knew would come to us, for the sake of peace. And now, to have that peace threatened."

He said the request by Mrs. Wilkes for admission to "the regular obstetrics suite, with the hospital in a terribly crowded condition" had created resentment, criticism of me." When she was accepted, "it was shouted to the housetops." He said, "I doubt if she can stand the martyrdom this will cause her, and she can't back down."

And now the complaint to the federal government had been made. He said he didn't know who did it. "I'm afraid they've lost ground. Regardless of law, it's bad when you get the white citizens' backs up."

His whole posture, tone, and voice expressed indignation and hurt. Here was the voice of moderation in such a place as Brunswick under extreme pressure, with what it considered much provocation to anger.

"We have sacrificed friendships, subjected ourselves to criticisms needlessly, all of us. The biggest thing lacking in the Negro is a sense of appreciation."

Then with no question prompting it, he gave the rationale of his actions in race relations: "The Supreme Court is the law of the land. I feel that its members have violated their trust, and perjured themselves. Yet I feel that until what they have done is corrected -- and I believe it will be -- their rulings are the law. If I were a Hindu and if contempt for the Supreme Court were a

crime, I would spend the next three incarnations in jail. But I am still bound by its rulings." He said he felt the 1954 school decision had "ruined" all that Negroes "on their own merits" had earned for themselves.

His thoughts turned again to Mrs. Wilkes. "She's a fine woman. Her skin is lighter than mine. She is a college graduate. If anybody could break the ice, she's the perfect one. Yet now, if she does, it's going to create a hardship on her, a scar. Thousands of people could personally abuse her. Not physically. But she's such a cheerful person. It could poison her.

"People like her and me..." He was silent. Then: "The Lord help us if we don't keep the middle of the road in power."

Mayor Mercer's views were in somewhat different tone. He thought there had been "poor handling" by the hospital administrator. Doctors had been trying to work out solutions to some of the problems. The pay is low compared with national standards, he said, but quite high compared with, say, Waycross, Georgia. But one thing, he said, was "most disturbing." If the walkout was just purely a matter of economics, why hadn't the Negroes come to him and other white doctors first, as they often had in the past with problems?

He cited instances where the hospital administrator had discharged Negroes for absenteeism in cases of genuine illness. One of these was the case of Missy. "Of course, Missy came back to the doctors [for help] because she was a favorite of all of us. She was a typical Aunt Jemima, a little old five-by-five, just as sweet and nice and everybody just dearly loved her, and so we jumped him right away and he was very adamant about it. He asked me what would I do, and I said I would put her back on the payroll whether she worked or not, to show my personnel that loyalty was going to be rewarded. A niece of hers had died and left many children, and she had gone up and brought 'em all back, and was trying to feed and clothe these children. And here she was about to die herself... He relented." He said he had told the administrator: "You educate yourself. Try to think as these people think. Try to see their problems."

Dr. Mercer said another thing that bothered him was that the Negroes knew how strongly he and other doctors felt about duty to patients. He said he "preached it" to them in orientation lectures. "What's the motive?" asked Dr. Mercer. "What are they after? Is it the NAACP? I don't know."

Mayor Mercer also talked about politics. He had

been first elected to the city council in February 1963, to fill the unexpired term of J. Russell Tuten, who had just been elected to Congress. He was then elected mayor in October 1963, for a full term. In this election, he had been opposed by the Negro leadership.

"The fact that made me feel good about all the problems of the last election was that Negroes called me and said, 'Doctor, they're telling a lot of lies about you. But you've been in my house at three in the morning and I didn't have a penny in my pocket and you took care of my child. I know you better than this.' How could the NAACP put out a letter to the Negro people saying that if they voted for me they were committing murder?"

He also commented that former Mayor Tuten "had probably in his own quiet country way done more in this town that he never got credit for than anybody."

Dr. Mercer had full Negro support in his first race. He had met with a group of Negro leaders. "They asked me what I stood for. I said that insofar as lunch counter desegregation was concerned, I was with them because I do not feel it is right for a man to have 21 counters in his store and say, 'I'll sell to you from 20 but you can't buy from the twenty-first one.' But I said let me make my position clear. I feel that any man who wants to go out here on Glenn Avenue and open up a business and hang

a sign over his door and say, 'I will sell only to one-eyed, one-armed Indians from Arizona,' who is that big a fool that he can sit there and wait for this, I defend his right to do it. Because it's his money made by the sweat of his brow and therefore, it's his right."

He said he told them he thought desegregation of public owned facilities was right "but when it came to private, this was something that had to be approached on the basics of economics and not on the basis of government, and I want it clearly understood." Everyone there, he said, including Dr. Wilkes, said all right, they understood. They might not agree, but they understood.

"I told 'em this," he went on. "I said I want to tell you something. It has generally been stated that Negroes vote in a bloc. It's been generally stated that in Brunswick -- the reason I said it was because there were one or two people sitting in that room -- it's been generally stated that if the right money got into the right hands that the Negro vote would be delivered. I want to tell you here and now that when you work for me it will be a labor of love. I have no money to spend and I will spend no money. One man got up and left the meeting that night and went straight to the opposition. This man is now shown up.

"Dr. Wilkes said: 'Doctor, we don't want any Negro

to take one dime for working for you in this election. We want 'em to work according to good government principles and this is what we are trying to do.'"

When he ran for re-election, he said, "I stated that I was going to do what I thought was right for all races; that probably some Negroes would want me to go 75 miles per hour; there were going to be some white ones were going to want me to go into reverse; and I was probably going about 25 to 30 miles per hour on a road that I thought was right because my aim was to take the majority of people with me.

"I also made the statement that I thought they could legislate half a mile, they could carry through co-operative work three quarters of a mile, and I said it's up to God-a-mighty that last quarter, and I don't know what can ever be done about that."

Word went around, he said, that the Rev. Mr. Hope would run for the city council in that race. "I said if that J. C. in his name stood for Jesus Christ, he could not get anything done with the way things stood. This is not the time." He said he called Dr. Wilkes, thinking at the time he was secretary of the NAACP. He said he told him: "I ask you to use your influence to get Mr. Hope not to run. I don't think it's the right time. What I want is give me one year to see what I can do without stirring this pot now.

Give me one year and then you got elections coming up. If you want to run somebody you can. I'm not saying don't run anybody; all I'm saying is this is not the time."

The phone call was a disaster, "stupid" he had called it earlier, not trying to escape at least some of the responsibility for the outcome.

"We went through it four times. He got real nasty, and I got real nasty too, because I've got a temper. I said if you want somebody to tell what to do you better get another candidate. Three days later they came out for Copeland." This was Millard A. Copeland, then a city councilman and long active in the city's politics.

Mayor Mercer said he split the Negro vote in the campaign. He said Negro ministers asked him for cards; they said they couldn't speak out for him, but they could hand cards out.

Referring to a more recent election for county commission, Dr. Mercer said he thought political activity was still setting Negroes back. "They come out endorsing the people who have made promises over the years and broken every promise, instead of trying to endorse people who -- at least now -- are refreshingly saying different things from what they used to say."

He said he went ahead after becoming mayor as he would have if he had gotten all the Negro vote. He said he maneuvered the naming of the first Negro to a city board -- J. P. Atkinson to the Park and Tree Commission. Mr. Atkinson is a noted gardener in Brunswick, he said. He said he told the Commission: "I want a qualified Negro. I'm not wanting to just put a Negro on -- I want to stand up and say I have chosen a man because of his qualifications." He said he had hoped to name Dr. David J. Griffin, the Negro surgeon, to the housing authority,but he was "erroneously" accused of being part of the hospital walkout. He said he told him he couldn't do it, now.

Mayor Mercer described his modus operandi for bringing about consensus on a thing like a board appointment for a Negro. "I don't just do these things. My method is to pick out about ten responsible people, tell them what I'm going to do, discuss it with 'em in detail, and say all right, I want you to pick out about ten more. It pyramids. And then you get the support. You get other people seeing what you're trying to do. Being with you and helping you sell your program."

He said he had done this toward naming a Negro to the recreation board. "Then in the midst of it we got a letter from the NAACP saying they wanted W. C. McNeely,

the coach at Risley High -- the very man we were considering." He said he got phone calls from the people he had called saying don't do it. "So last week we went ahead and named a white man."

"No communication at all," he exclaimed. "This man [Hope] has never called me or come to me. Apparently this man has decided that I am so opposed to him...And I am. I don't intend to go to him. I'm his mayor. He can come to me. I'd be glad to give him an audience. In fact I'd love to because I want him to know the truth from me. Because he's been told so much stuff. I'm beginning to think some of this at the hospital is an attempt to embarrass me. I hope this is wrong." He said his only basis for this was hearing that the Rev. Hope was at the hospital on the day of the walkout.

"My wife was down there giving bed baths to Negro patients, and it made her so mad she couldn't see straight."

He paused and then: "The very people who they need to help them are the ones they have alienated because these are the people who have compassion for people." Again a pause. "And yet I don't know. I'm confused right now. I tell you frankly, I'm so confused on this thing that I don't know what next step I'm going to take. You stop and wonder if you're right in what you think is right."

"The only thing we can do is go day by day trying to do what we know to be right and to conscientiously try, as people show one by one that they are more interested in finding out how far we will go rather than to go by plateaus. This situation didn't get there overnight and can't be cured overnight. And then to go as far as we dare go so long as we can take the majority of the people with us."

He said he was the only man in Georgia who ever ran for office with the avowed opposition of the Ku Klux Klan and the NAACP. "I made the statement repeatedly that if I had the power and God would wipe my conscience clear, if I could cut 100 white throats and 100 Negro throats, the rest of us could do a good job of finding a solution." He repeated his belief that you have to carry the people with you, and he voiced his opposition to the federal civil rights legislation.

He described his own efforts to reduce the functions of local government and give private enterprise a larger share in solving public problems. "What I wanted to do was go in and condemn every substandard house in the city of Brunswick. Whambo. And then put a moratorium right here. Stop and say wait a minute: 'They're condemned now. If you property owners will come in here and replace this housing with standard housing, we will continue

for three or four or five years to give you the same tax structure that you had on the old house.' But there's no law. No legal precedent. You can't do it!"

He said the lending institutions "are banding together, trying to help people to become home owners rather than renters. They formulated the plan; I just gave 'em the general outline of what I wanted; they deserve credit for it." The institutions will fund a plan whereby anyone in the urban renewal area can make application to try to clear his credit to become a home owner. The institutions will get a complete credit record on the applicant and try to work out a plan for clearing it up. If they are able to close a home loan for the applicant, he pays $5. If they can't clear his record, he pays nothing. Every financial institution was cooperating.

The urban renewal project covers 70 acres in the heart of the city. In this area are 209 families, all but 39 of whom are Negroes. It includes some of the worst slums, but not the worst, and was picked mainly because of its large amounts of unused land. There will be a new elementary school and junior high in the area, and a park and playground with a community building. Private and public housing will replace slum housing, and the assumption is that most of the present occupants will move into it.

A byproduct of the project has been development of a Minority Committee of the Citizens Advisory Committee, a Negro group which has become a sounding board not just for urban renewal problems but those of Negro life in general. Subcommittees have worked out solutions to problems involving transportation, schools, parks, water and sewage, and street lights. Negroes have thus had an opportunity to express themselves to white officials who attend the meetings on long pent-up grievances, and to participate in civic problem-solving. White politicians have gained from this a new insight into Negro life and troubles. An exchange between the Negro community and city hall has thus been established, full-time.

The credit problem, according to Robert Mauney, urban renewal director, is the key to the tasks of relocation that urban renewal requires. Negroes might have a job and money saved for a down payment on a new home, but previous bad credit records block them. For some Negroes in the area, Mr. Mauney said, expectations have risen too high. The $7,000 home they can afford will be far better than the one they had, but palls in the light of the $12,000 one they would like to get. For others, the whole thing has meant a confusion almost schizophrenic under the strain of making

decisions of a kind they have never had to make before, and the prospect of total change in living conditions and habits. He told of hopes of getting social workers to help these people in the transition. William L. Blakely, the Negro assistant in the Urban Renewal Department, a sociologist with the M. A. degree, told of the plight of Negroes in the area who, on the strength of anticipated purchase of their property, fell victim to small-loan agencies and others offering credit at high rates. One woman had somehow been convinced of the wisdom of making $850 worth of repairs to her home, which was to be destroyed.

(In the midst of the interview with Mr. Blakely, a tall, serious-faced, slim, middle-aged Negro man in overalls came in. He was Mr. Dawson, a contractor, and was asked by Mr. Blakely to serve on a new committee concerned with the urban renewal project. He listened to details, considered the thing, and said finally, slowly, "Yes, I can do it." He talked awhile of the relatively progressive atmosphere in Brunswick, saying the middle Georgia county where he came fron had "no concept of progress." He went out, a serious, purposeful man, grave, drawing slowly on his pipe, much dignity to him.)

Mayor Mercer, toward the close of the interview, alluded to the new tenseness that came over southern whites in the early 1950's. He told of how the state turned down a Negro bid to use the National Guard Armory for a heart benefit fund. "I said for God's sake tell me why. I can remember as a little boy -- at least 35 years ago -- I went to the Negro schoolhouse and watched their plays and they came to our schoolhouse and watched our plays. That was good. This was in the so-called backwoods. I said, for goodness sakes, what's wrong with this sort of a thing?"

And then turning back to the recent way of handling things, he said he knew of other communities taking the same quiet approach Brunswick has to racial progress. "We must have been one of the earliest ones with a biracial committee and so forth. I wasn't there so I can point with pride to the ones who were. Let me say this: there are men who are on the political other side of the fence that I wouldn't give air view in a jug politically that I have to admire for what they've done in this biracial situation because they have shown themselves to be, in at least one category, able to measure up."

"I've been a dreamer," said Mayor Mercer after another pause. "It's taking more out of me than I have a right to give. And the things I've tried to do, instead

of my enemies blocking me, it is the people I would think would be shoulder to shoulder with me. I constantly have to overcome them."

The Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope is a young man, tall, slim, handsome, with an intense, feeling way of speech. He had just returned to his small, pleasant home on a main Negro residential street near downtown Brunswick, next door to his church, the Zion Baptist Church. He had been away all week conducting services at a revival meeting in middle Georgia. The interview in his living room, with its pictures of Jesus and the late John F. Kennedy in prominent places, and its array of big and little toys belonging to Julian Hope, age two, was interrupted by phone calls and people coming by to see him.

The Rev. Mr. Hope came to the city in 1959. The Brunswick NAACP then was almost dormant, kept barely alive by a faithful few older people. One of these is Mrs. Georgia Gibbs, a lady of great dignity and much energy. She had helped found the chapter in 1929 soon after returning from Spelman College in Atlanta where she had as a student volunteer worked under Dr. W. E. B. Dubois in an anti-lynching

effort. Mrs. Gibbs said the Brunswick chapter asked the Rev. Mr. Hope to assume leadership. He said he would only if she and other older people would stay in, and help him. "Otherwise the Negroes would say it came from off-people."

One of the problems of his leadership, including his difficulties in the election, apparently stems from this tendency of the tradition-bound coastal community of Negroes to look askance at people from other parts. An older Negro man said: "One thing that holds us back is that Negroes practice discrimination. We've got what you call a 'been-here' concept of life. 'Been here' and 'come here.' A 'come here' can't be a 'been here.' I've been here 26 years, but I'm not a citizen yet."

Brunswick was the Rev. Mr. Hope's first full-time ministry. He had grown up in Mobile, received the B. S. at Alabama State College, and received his divinity degree at the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta. While he was in college, he served three years as an assistant pastor at a Montgomery church, and worked in the Montgomery bus boycott under Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Did he consider himself the same kind of leader as Dr. King? "I'm what you'll let me be. I can be the negotiating type of leader, if you let me be that. Or I

can be a demonstrator, but not outside the law. Anything I do is within the law. If the state law conflicts with the constitutional law, I'll go with the constitutional law."

How did he come by the name Julius Ceasar? There was no significance that he knew of. "I tell you the truth I guess my parents just gave me that name. That's all." Then he didn't plan to rule the world? "No," laughing. Then seriously: "I don't plan to rule the world. I plan to help save the world."

Did he come to Brunswick planning to continue the civil rights fight he had experienced in Montgomery? "My interpretation of being a pastor is that you can't just be concerned with pulpit duties. There must be concern about the whole man. So therefore I've always been interested in civil rights and each man getting that which is due him."

The movement really started with an attempt in 1962 by several Negroes, including him and Dr. Wilkes, to play golf at Jekyll Island during a Negro dental convention. "When we got there everybody was playing. It was hot, the sun was shining, about 12 o'clock. They told us the course was closed for watering. At that point I said to myself we need some kind of organization, an organization that actually

when they said the place was closed down, we could stay there 'til it opened up."

"We organized." They studied statistics of what had happened all over the state and country where demonstrations had occurred. "We looked up their procedures and their methods. I tried to pick out the good and I tried to get around the bad."

It was decided that they would address the city commission, the county commission, the merchants association, the chamber of commerce, all those who had power in areas where Negroes were segregated. Letters were written to all those people, asking for conferences. He showed copies of those early letters: "We feel that you, the commissioners, are concerned about these grievances and are willing to work with us in the spirit of Godliness" ... "It isn't our desire to disrupt the peace and harmony of this community; but definite action must be taken at this time."

The reaction was "very, very interesting." Lunch counters were only one of many grievances cited. "We were talking about jobs, recreational facilities, Negro firemen, meter readers, policemen. We just covered the water front. Wherever we were responsible for paying taxes, we figured we ought to be able to receive some benefits if we are qualified. We are not asking for anything that we are not

qualified to get."

They also "tried to fix it so that it wouldn't seem we were demanding anything. We wanted to let them know that we wanted to negotiate, wanted to talk about it." They were aware of the Biracial Committee, but "as far as outward results, we hadn't seen much of it." The committee had gotten some Negro police, but "if they'd done a whole lot, we wouldn't have had all those grievances."

One of the first goals was getting discriminatory signs down. This was successful at city hall right away. The county took a little longer. So did downtown stores.

Then came the negotiations on lunch counters. "We had to come to a point where we said that we want this done by a certain time. We've talked about it long enough. We asked for a certain time; they gave us a certain time. This is all we were looking for." It didn't even have to be the exact time they asked for. "Just give us something to look forward to. They understood demonstrations would come otherwise."

Was he really prepared to demonstrate during negotiations? "I was in the service and I'm like Uncle Sam. I always like to stay in shape. If anything comes up I'm ready for it, see? But I don't want to do it. That's the

reason I want to try to work out the best way. We always stay prepared. We have one of the finest youth councils in the state."

Mass meetings were held every Thursday night beginning in the summer of 1962. Newsletters were published every week. He showed samples of these, early ones mimeographed, later ones printed. They contained peppery news of the movement, exhortations on specific local issues and general themes like non-violence and the need for Negroes to better themselves.

How many were in the movement then? The majority of the Negro community, said the Rev. Mr. Hope. How many would have marched? Three to four thousand "would have been dead with it."

When he came in, he didn't try to take over the NAACP, the Rev. Mr. Hope said. But when he was elected president, he began the movement. "Some people might have been against me, but they weren't against what I was doing. They might not have liked me. But they wanted a better time, too. You see? So therefore they didn't get out and work against me. Then, too, this thing was happening all around us, you see. And that had a big bearing on what happened. Albany did. Little Rock. Atlanta and all the

other places that had these demonstrations, all this bad publicity.

"We had to let these people know we weren't looking for publicity. We were looking for results. That's still our motto. Not publicity; results."

Were they conscious of a pattern of letting the Biracial Committee take credit for what the NAACP had initiated? "We weren't worried about credit. We know where it goes. All of us have had a hand in what happened here. Without the NAACP, nothing that's been done would have been done. If you do a job, people know who does it.

Did they rest between each breakthrough? The Rev. Mr. Hope looked patient. He explained: "This is our strategy. We have two or three things going on at one time. We've always got something on the docket. For instance, while we were fooling with the recreational facilities, we had the letters to the board of education asking them to move along with the Supreme Court decision of 1954. We put the whole thing before them, and try to pick the most vulnerable spots. We just keep moving."

Since the schools, "we've been moving in the area of trying to get Negroes as firemen, meter readers, and trying to get Negroes hired in other positions than sweeping floors, and this kind of a thing."

Here the Rev. Mr. Hope smiled. "I make a mistake sometimes. I took this matter [of jobs] to the Biracial Committee when the merchants association didn't do anything. But instead of going back to the Biracial Committee, I put forth this idea that if certain things didn't happen by a certain time, then we were going to boycott. I would have boycotted, but I would have gone back on my word, if I had gone and boycotted without clearing it through the Biracial Committee. It doesn't hurt me to apologize; any time I'm wrong I do that."

The boycott, he said, "is always there." In fact, at that time, Easter time, some people were boycotting anyway, "not because we've asked them not to buy, but because of the way people are treating them at this point."

Nearly everyone in Brunswick during the spring of 1964 mentioned a recent event when Negro youngsters went around town with placards urging people to register to vote. Many people thought a demonstration was finally taking place, until they got close enough to read the signs, with mottos like: "I'm too young to vote. What's your excuse?" The Rev. Mr. Hope chuckled about those signs. "We weren't demonstrating. We were just trying to get people to register. But some of our people can't read, you see. And when they saw those signs, they just didn't go in the stores."

After jobs? "In all these areas, it's not total. So we've always got something to do. We want people on these boards, see. Out of all the counters and the parks and all these other openings that we've got, if we don't get somebody on the inside, you see, all this stuff will be futile. We need somebody on the recreation board, on the board of education, to keep [the Political Action Committee] posted and keep the community up to date." There are no commitments on board appointments. The hope is to get them from people seeking office.

Then he said: "This thing of getting that which is due you, that's a lifetime work. I think we need to continue to push in all these areas, especially in this area of getting Negroes [on boards]. I don't mean just anybody, but somebody who's going to be representative, somebody who will do the kind of job that ought to be done and continue the kind of atmosphere that's here now.

"If we can continue to keep the doors open and continue to talk and reason together and try to work out our problems, understanding that we need to start working on them, you see, I think things will be peaceful here as long as this attitude can exist. But when you come and say we're not going to do this -- nobody's going to tell nobody what we're going to do and what we're not going to do. You

see. Then that's when you get trouble.

"As long as we can talk about it we can try to understand each other's problems and try to work it out for the betterment of all. Then I think we will have the kind of community [we want] and from this community the world can receive information to help them move on and have a better life for all men."

He said he was "very hopeful" of winning a seat on city council in the next city election. About his previous race, he said, "We fought a nice campaign. The guy I opposed, I think I was better qualified than he was as far as training was concerned. But the people -- some Negroes -- we've still got some Negroes who will sell their vote you see; we've still got some Negroes who still believe white is right and that is that. See, they're accustomed to this. This is years of something within, I would say, that's going to take time and education to get out."

He said there was a heavy vote in his race, that he might have won had it been normal. He said he got more than half of the Negro vote, and some -- not a whole lot -- of the white vote. He said he thought there was enough "togetherness" in the Negro community this time for him to win. He said those who voted against him had had their consciences working on them since the election.

Asked whether the alliance with Mr. Copeland had hurt him with the Negro vote, and about reports that Mr. Copeland was formerly a close supporter of Marvin Griffin, former governor and statewide segregationist captain, he said: "We didn't know that. I couldn't endorse anybody that had anything to do with Griffin." He said he didn't think it was a factor in the vote against him though. "People in general know that I don't do any selling out. The reason we endorsed Copeland was that we had a conference with Copeland and he said he liked the way things have progressed. Insofar as opportunities are concerned, he would be willing to work with them and try to keep the thing moving in the direction that it was moving. He talked the way we wanted him to talk. Therefore we endorsed him.

"We did not endorse Mercer because Mercer was going in the opposition direction. Mercer ain't for all this. If he came out and told you the truth, he's not for all that's happening. He's not for each man getting that which is due him.

"I've had run-ins with him. I was in city hall one morning talking about this public accommodations thing. People are traveling these roads. As a result, CORE and SNCC and everybody else comes through here, and they go to these hotels and if it's not open, they're going to make

a mess out of it. I said, 'Now Doctor, why don't we call all these hotel managers and sit down and let's see if we can't work out something?' He just blew up, you see. He didn't even want to talk about it. He didn't want to work it out. Anybody's got a closed mind, he'll mess up your town. He's a good talker. Good talker. You got to watch him though."

Of federal civil rights legislation, which was at that time pending, he said: "When that comes through, we are going to move head-on, you see. What the law says do, we want the law observed." What did he mean by head-on? "We will never forget the channels. When I say head-on, we are going through negotiations, try to work it out." But it will help to "have the law directly behind the situation. Just like when we went to the hospital the other day. We went to negotiate, and if they had said they were not going to do it, then the next day we would have had a suit. The next day."

"I think I'll put in a plug for the police department," he said. "Chief Rex Deaver has been very helpful. At the beginning of the movement, I went and talked to him to let him know I was not a rabblerouser or trouble-maker. I let him know just what I was planning to do. Any time that negotiations bogged down, he always knew what might happen.

Everything we've done, he has known about it, even when we went to the lunch counters and recreation facilities. He's been straight down the line with me. I've been straight down the line with him."

Summing up the NAACP work in Brunswick, the Rev. Mr. Hope said everything was done locally, all decisions made by the local branch, with the executive board directing things. "The only time we go to the state office is for legal help."

As for the future, he said he was optimistic. "I don't see any problems. We will continue to try to reason these problems out together and try to work for the advancement and the betterment of our community, our state, our world."

Is Brunswick essentially any different from other southern communities where race relations progress is needed? "I don't think Brunswick's so much different," said the Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope. "I think it's the strategy that has been used. I think likewise Albany, Little Rock, Mississippi, and all those places helped here. In order for it not to happen here, we sit down and try to work it out. I don't think Brunswick is any different. I think the strategy is."

THE COMMITTEE

With the Biracial Committee's penchant for secrecy and anonymity, its members were understandably the most reluctant of all to be interviewed. Finally, one white member, on agreement that his name not be used, indicated a willingness to talk of the thought and philosophy behind the committee. It is important to say that this thought and philosophy were born in Brunswick, grew out of the myriad intertwinings -- like the marshes of Glynn -- of its Deep South, small city life, showing that amid all the intertwinings, the best of moral and intellectual truth still runs true and strong and can emerge to sustain a people.

The committee, said the member, has been in existence five years "in an unknown and uncharted field." It has regularly scheduled meetings, once a month. There is no permanent chairman. The chairmanship revolves down the alphabet for the six Negro and six white members. The

committee has never issued a press release, and members never divulge what takes place at a meeting. For a long time, its membership was secret, and is not now well known. The committee has no official public responsibilities, and members are not appointed by public officials. Its services have been sought, its advice requested by all public bodies, including the city and county governments, the merchants association, and the board of education.

"In the end, they take action, not us."

It has dealt with "the usual problems" involving "removal of (I don't like to say integration or segregation) social and economic barriers, and the recognition of civil rights." There has never been a committee decision that was not unanimous, an agreed-on order of social change. As long as there is progress, there is cooperation. When the NAACP boycott deadline on the jobs issue fell in the midst of a low employment period, "colored members" of the committee sided with whites seeking deferment.

The hospital walkout was not a racial issue "because they say so." But all involved were Negro, in the lowest job classifications. The biracial committee was called in, and got them to go back to work. The matter was not then settled. They were told, "We can

promise you nothing. But disease takes no holiday. You can't shut down a hospital like a steel mill." They were urged to go back and give a reasonable time to work things out. "It's still with us. We go from crisis to crisis."

Brunswick has its share of hotheads, anonymous letter writers and the like. Any race has its fine people and its sorry ones, he said. The Glynn Society haven't been heard from since the school thing. "Radicals of either race are not the best people."

He discussed the economic increases made by Negroes since World War II. But economic development means that soon there will be no place for the untrained. It's cheaper for society to train people than support them for life. "If we don't prepare people for life, we will pay 100 times the cost. We are going to make illiteracy and lack of preparation for life a personal choice, a disgrace to the individual and not the society." Economics is the main concern of Negro members of the biracial committee: "a chance for their kids."

He said he had learned a lot during the five years he had spent on the committee, and had "a devil of a lot more to learn." But he did know that if every Negro made $100 a week, business would sell twice as much. You

can't do that with everybody mad, and throwing rocks and hauling people off to jail.

If there is any problem involving race, the committee will know about it. Such a committee is an essential for any city. "We can do what the politicians can't. Nobody solves anything without looking at it, playing ostrich." If Jacksonville had this, it wouldn't have had its riots of the spring of 1964. "I know our problems haven't all been solved, but we are facing them. We haven't failed in any crisis. We will soon turn a corner and be going down hill."

How did the committee come to be formed? He said the answer goes back to the first days after World War II, when, overnight, a big shipbuilding industry in Brunswick ended, with 16,000 people out of work and leaving. Brunswick's population dropped drastically. It had been up to 40,000. It was a disaster. "We had to build a community back. Adversity like this builds leadership and community spirit." As the effort to rebuild Brunswick was becoming successful, the South's racial revolution of the 1950's started up. The team meeting on other problems saw Little Rock and other disasters and felt it must cope with the problem locally. The Chamber of Commerce agreed to set up the committee.

Then, quietly, he spoke of the "international" meanings of Brunswick: "People must live with people if

the world is to have order. If democracy will not work in Brunswick, it will not work in the nation, it will not work in the world. People must live with people. We have moved from the Civil War to an age when a button can be pushed that will blow up a nation. We must learn to live with each other."

A Negro member of the committee also talked briefly about its role. He said it had been difficult to get Negroes willing to serve.

He described how frank and free discussion is on the committee. "We can call each other liars."

He said that if the economic problems could be solved, people would work out the social ones. "There is not much desire for a connection with the white man or his white woman but there is for being financially able. I was born and raised according to southern customs. I never felt white citizens were superior to me. But it was apparent what I didn't have. I have reached the conclusion that the way one conducts himself, one individual to another, the individual can reach what he wants, regardless of race."

But Negroes are a long way from being treated as first class citizens, he said. Some white people never associate with Negroes, never give race a thought.

Getting representation in government will help. "And with good white people, we can put over our problems, with people who understand the problems." Then, he said: "The Negro isn't what he was years ago. Kids are not born with the same instinct. Maybe it's something intended. They are born different. Maybe it's just better environment, better training. We do more for our kids than they used to.

"The Negro doesn't feel the white man as he once did. I don't know if the white man has changed. Maybe he has; maybe he doesn"t feel as great as he used to."

He looked down a quiet neighborhood's row of yards, with toys in many of them, and children playing. "Our kids," he repeated, wonderingly, "are different now."

THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Radio Station WMOG, in March, 1964, devoted one of its day's fares of editorials to a flinging of the gauntlet at the Glynn County Council on Human Relations. The same editorial was, as is customary, repeated throughout the day with heroic trumpet calls and in a tone of voice masterfully mixing self-righteous offended dignity and oratorical pompousness.

"The Glynn Council on Human Relations... doesn't agree with our editorial policy," the thing began and went on to tell of how the council had complained to the Federal Communications Commission about the station. The editorial named the officers of the council, stressing Negro names, and telling when and where the little group meets. "In disagreeing with our editorial policy, the council is not alone," the metallic voice of the station went on, in a demonstration of the

kind of irresponsibility the council had complained about. "Ralph McGill and the Atlanta newspapers disagree. So does the NAACP, CORE, the Communist Party and Martin Luther King, Jr. ..."

In a final flourish, the announcer said slowly: "In effect the Glynn Council on Human Relations has squared off to battle it out with Johnny Reb Radio ... We didn't ask for the fight ... But we accept the challenge ... We promise we will not retreat ..."

The station is one of a string owned by Allan Woodall, a middle-Georgia businessman, who is a minor but affluent operator in state segregationist political circles. Albany has one of the stations. Their trademark is a drawing of a brutalized Confederate soldier, reminiscent of German art of the 1930's and resembling a storm trooper.

The council, a group of about 30 genteel local people, mostly middle-aged and older, seemed generally unperturbed by the ultimatum. The general attitude seemed summed up by a beach-tanned lady of the island who called the station and asked if each member could have equal time to reply to the editorial's "hogwash." Previously, the group had had the station's owner, who has a vacation home

on Jekyll Island, as a speaker to rebut the FCC complaint. The complaint was concerned with such things as the station's use of the word "nigger" in advertisements against the school desegregation.

Mr. Rogers, the council co-chairman, only recently took over the job. He and Mrs. Rogers praised the work of the previous chairman, Mrs. Emmet Johnson, who worked actively in behalf of the early breakthroughs. She and her missionary husband have moved on to Africa. The Rogers live on St. Simons; he is a retired chemical engineer, having lost both arms in an industrial explosion. He uses prosthetic arms with such skill that one doesn't notice it. A middle-aged couple for whom the words jolly and at the same time earnest seem unavoidable, they laughed at the editorial, but also gave serious thought to whether to reply, deciding finally against it.

They told of the council's participation in the racial breakthroughs. It was formed about the same time the breakthroughs occurred. The Rogers became members a little later. They began with the story of school desegregation.

"Hope went to the school board and Biracial Committee a month without ever threatening a suit or demonstration," Mr. Rogers related. Finally the Biracial

Committee unanimously adopted a motion that it would write a letter to the school board asking that steps be taken. The Negroes then heard nothing for another month. The Council on Human Relations finally wrote a letter to the Biracial Committee asking results. It never got an official reply, but after the Council's letter, the Biracial Committee finally wrote the school board. This got prompt action, the announcement that the school board had decided to accept Negro students.

Then the council worked as it could to make desegregation a success, including smoothing some of the personal adjustments of students. Mrs. Rogers said every time the council got a complaint, "we had to make about ten telephone calls." When they <u>really</u> made calls, Mr. Rogers said, was when they heard about the suit attacking the desegregation plan. Mrs. Wilkes, who is ever alert, told them the night before it was to be filed, and they called the city attorney; he was grateful; he didn't even know about it. The council helped rally local support of the school board. It also investigated the background of the litigants and concluded, Mr. Rogers said, "these people never would have on their own initiated the suit. It was apparent that these people were used." Only one local lawyer was involved and he

was a minor cog. Most of the litigants lived in an area that bordered on a Negro neighborhood.

The Rogers told also of the council's observing for possible trouble that never came at the lunch counter and park desegregations. Did they advise the Rev. Mr. Hope in any of the many wise and canny moves he had made? "He might ask an opinion of what we think, and we tell him," said Mr. Rogers. "Rev. Hope has done a wonderful job, and he's pretty generally accepted now by the white leadership as a responsible man. A lot of them say they'd hate to see Hope leave here because they'd hate to deal with a new man."

(The Council on Human Relations, the Rev. Mr. Hope had said, had been very helpful. "They have been giving us all the help that they could from the position that they hold. I think they've done a very excellent job.")

Mr. Rogers described current work of council members, calling on industries asking about open hiring. He said he went to the area union representatives, and was assured AFL-CIO national policies are adhered to. The union was then running two schools, one a school for carpentry in which there were no Negroes; in fact, there

were no Negroes in the carpenter's union. "They said they have no applications." Mr. Rogers said he also went to Brunswick Pulp and Paper Company, partly owned by Scott Paper Company. "I know they were told you can open up your job opportunities and hire on an equal basis or Scott Paper Company is going to lose some government contracts." They have Negroes in skilled jobs in the plant, but when a company spokesman was asked about office personnel, "he changed the subject. I don't know whether it was purposely done."

Other council members went to other industries, including Hercules Powder, Bestwall, and Babcock and Wilcox. There was no question of their right to do so; in some cases the plant managers sat in on the interviews. "We were pretty well satisfied that the big industries here are fair about it. But there again, they get very few opportunities. You see there are very few Negroes in this area qualified as mechanics or engineers."

The Council on Human Relations brings together whites and Negroes concerned not only with their communities but with their selves, concerned not only with orderly desegregation but with adventuring into what is for all Southerners the new life of an integrated society. The sort of human hurts and personality defenses, and attempts to rescue personality, which underlie all the public and

practical problems of southern race relations can be sensed through the words of some council members. Mrs. Rogers, for example, saying with a smile:

"There are certain things to overcome. Certain things that all my life I've been accustomed to. I've always said colored. I can't say Nee-grow. I can't pronounce it. Another thing is, all my life it's been a colored woman and a white lady. Now isn't that a silly thing! But I catch myself. I don't feel that way in my heart. I asked Mrs. Wilkes point blank, I said, 'Mrs. Wilkes do colored people object to being called colored people? And she said no ..."

"You can run into a lot of things innate that you say and do that you -- I guess it's wrong, but I think if you have to be on your p's and q's and make yourself formal and not be natural -- If I can't be natural, I can't do anything."

Or an older Negro gentleman, rugged in the individuality of his opinion, not a council member but one of the Rev. Mr. Hope's staunch supporters: "Me'n these people came through the depression together. My hog meat raised 'em all. I'm not prejudiced against anybody. The old stock of Glynn County have a fine reputation between the races. Any prejudice that's here has seeped in."

Or there are Dr. and Mrs. Ray (he is the Negro

general practitioner), newcomers to the Brunswick area. He was born in Mississippi, educated at Fisk University and a California medical school. She is a native New Yorker with a master's degree in psychology. They live on St. Simons in a pleasant brick house with a neatly tended grass yard that fronts onto a road of rutted sand.

"We arrived in March [of 1962] and the Council on Human Relations started in April," Mrs. Ray said. "So we've participated in about everything it has done." She is a member of the council's executive committee; he attends occasionally but is not a member. The Mississippi born and raised Dr. Ray said:

> I'm not a part of it. It seems like they're not doing anything. It seems like there are a few people who really want to. But in the main it's a place where they get together and drink a little tea and eat a few cookies you see and that's about all you do. You don't want to hurt anybody's feelings. And you don't want to change too much. And there may be a group in there who may want to find out what you are thinking, in case you did start to think. That sort of a thing. Now I may be wrong because I haven't attended. It may be that it's just careful. It's not powerful as yet.
>
> And it is one of the things that made me feel good about coming to a small southern town like this.

Or Mr. Rogers:

When I was in the service, and we were coming home from Japan, the fellows on the boat, the group I was with, possibly 150 to 200 men, about 40 or 50% of them were Negroes. Well they put us on the boat in Japan, and as you know you're stacked up about four high. I crawled in my bunk. Eighteen inches above in his bunk was a Negro, and 18 inches below was another Negro. Across in that bunk was another Negro. Now this was true throughout the whole troopship. There was not one incident of any trouble on that ship the whole way over. When we got on the train coming from California, we got in the Pullman. There would be a Negro in the lower and a white in the upper. We came all the way across the country. We pulled into Augusta, Georgia. We got off the train. They said Negro troops on this bus, white troops on this bus. And there was a Negro man who was rather indignant. He said, "What the hell does he mean Negro troops?" And this other little short Negro says, "Man, don't you know where you is?" He says, "You in Georgia."

This struck me right then. Here all the way across an ocean, all the way across the country, we had ridden side by side, we had eaten at the same table, we had stood in the same line, we bathed in the same shower, and there was not one case of any trouble. But when we get to Georgia -- Negroes here, whites there.

LATER

Enactment of the civil rights law overturned many of the situations and assumptions implicit in the interviews of Spring 1964. For example, at that time there was concern about whether the federal court ruling on desegregation of Jekyll Island would include motels, restaurants, etc. leased to private operators. With the passage of the law, the question may have become moot.

Many of the goals of the Brunswick Negro movement, elusive after two years of negotiation, were obtained overnight. Indeed, there were overnight at least as many gains in desegregation of public accommodations as there had been during all the long period of negotiated agreements of which Brunswhick was so proud.

Virtually all restaurants in the city and at Jekyll Island complied with the new law. According

to the Rev. Mr. Hope, of the NAACP, a small place across from the court house refused to serve Negroes, and another place charged $6.00 for scrambled eggs. Both will be taken to court, he said. Another, the Salad Bowl, proclaimed itself a private club, its owner, R. L. Holtzendorf, emerging as something of a leader of newly invigorated segregationist ferment.

Hotels and motels also complied. The Rev. Mr. Hope said all the leading ones, including those on Jekyll, had been tested. Theaters complied.

But when 15 or 16 youths showed up at a white city swimming pool, it was closed, and subsequently all city and county pools were closed. Mayor Mercer, true to his word, apparently was instrumental in this. The Negro youngsters were not acting as part of the NAACP or the Negro movement, but on their own. Mr. Lovvern, the city manager, said the pool they picked was the worst possible one, located in a neighborhood of newly militant segregationists. Mayor Mercer said there had been agreement through the Biracial Committee to leave the pools alone this summer, and declare the beaches ("God's good pool out yonder") open. But "now we can't deal with responsible Negroes -- we have to deal with people demanding rights." The civil rights law, he said, "made our problems ten times more difficult. There's nothing to do but just see things get worse."

Mrs. Wilkes said she was upset about the pools; her youngsters love to swim. She wondered why Negroes weren't pushing harder to get them re-opened, and said the Negro members on the Biracial Committee were old and had forgotten the problems of keeping children entertained in in the summer. The Rev. Mr. Hope said a suit would be entered to re-open the pools, that there is precedent for it.

The danger of violence was cited as a reason for closing them. The closing came during a series of tense events in which this same danger was cited often.

Part of the buildup of the mood was a "hurricane alert" of National Guardsmen in the area. Mayor Mercer was particularly critical of all the "kids with bayonets" running around "armed to the teeth." He said many people thought they had something to do with enforcement of the new civil rights law. Major General George Hearn, state adjutant general, said that of course it was nothing of the kind, but merely a routine training project. Its purpose was to see how long it would take to mobilize the guard if it were needed in the wake of a hurricane, such as often occurs on the coast. The test was centered on Savannah, and involved men in Atlanta and Elberton as well as Brunswick. He said the mayor had gotten "perturbed" because he hadn't been told about the thing in advance, and that he had agreed to alert him in the future -- though, strictly speaking, any advance

notification could hurt the purity of the test. (The guard was called out in earnest in September when Brunswick suffered the worst damages in decades from a hurricane.)

After the practice alert came a squabble over arch-segregationist Governor George Wallace of Alabama speaking in the area. He had been invited to address the Georgia Seedmen's Convention in session at Jekyll Island. But at the last minute, the Jekyll Island Authority refused him use of the island Aquarama on grounds that it would endanger public safety. There was much local criticism of this, including chargesthat it was another incident of bad blood politically between Mr. Wallace and Georgia Governor Carl Sanders.

A. J. Hartley of the Authority, known in the way of Georgia politics (of which he is a long-time and respected veteran) as "Judge," is the resident director at the state-owned island. He said the governor had nothing to do with the decision. He said he made it himself because of such things as the fact that the seedmen were giving out guest tickets to local people; the NAACP had asked for permits for 100 pickets of the meeting; Alabama "security agents" had come in, saying they were there to "protect" the governor; violence had broken out at a Wallace rally a few days before in Atlanta; several cars with Florida tags were around with ax handles in them; and a newly organized Glynn County Citizens Council had

offered help in maintaining order. All of this convinced him, he said, that the Wallace appearance might endanger life and property, and he had a lot of little children and women to be responsible for on the island, not to mention its tourist reputation.

An attempt by the seedmen to use the National Guard Armory in Brunswick for the speech was also unsuccessful. General Hearn said he merely quoted the state law to them that armories were not to be used for political purposes. Governor Wallace finally cancelled the speech. Local criticism made the point that both Governor Sanders and former Governor Marvin Griffin used the armory to kick off their last campaigns for governor.

Mayor Mercer was among those publicly critical of Wallace's being barred from the two speaking sites. His position was that the Alabaman had a right to speak, although he wouldn't invite him or introduce him.

But when the Citizens Council followed with announcement of a program featuring some of Georgia's extreme segregationists, Roy Harris, Lester Maddox, and former Governor Griffin, the mayor called a 7 a.m. breakfast of prominent white leaders, including presidents of all organization. He urged that the Citizens Council meeting be postponed because of tension. He had drafted a strong statement; the group adopted a milder one, and he said he

felt let down. But, he said, and others confirmed it, the leaders subsequently got on their phones and acted to calm things down.

The NAACP, meanwhile, had let it be known that it would picket the meeting. There was genuine concern about this among supporters of the movement, including Mr. Rogers and Dr. Wilkes. Dr. Wilkes said he called the Rev. Mr. Hope and told him he had gone along with everything, but he couldn't go along with this. It might mean violence and would prove nothing.

The Rev. Mr. Hope said the NAACP decided not to picket when it became known that only Mr. Griffin would show up. The final decision wasn't made though until 6 p.m. of the evening he spoke. "We looked at what we would be picketing. Wallace represented something, but Griffin is a has-been. We'd have only given publicity to their meeting."

The emergence of the Citizens Council and a local Ku Klux Klan were upshots of the tension and controversy and of the summer's mood of extremism. Mr. Lovvern and others said the Citizens Council included the Glynn Society, but it had picked up some substantial citizens. About a thousand people attended the Griffin rally, and a sizeable collection was taken up. Subsequently, ads were run in the Brunswick News, drumming

up membership and setting forth goals. The newspaper gave full news coverage to the activities.

In a statement of "policy belief and aims," one ad said the Citizens Council is "dedicated to the restoration of states rights and curtailment of spreading 'big government.'" It listed freedoms it is for, including freedom of association, and "this does mean racial segregation." An application card for membership stated goals more bluntly: "No compromise" on segregation. Integration means miscegenation. Communist influence is behind integration. "Do something," the card said in big letters, "positive," in smaller ones. Dues were set out on the card as $2, $5, or $10 a month.

Mr. Lovvern said the Klan had met three times on nearby Blythe Island. There were indications of overlapping membership and even leadership of the Klan and the Citizens Council.

Mayor Mercer had been criticized by the NAACP on grounds that he was inconsistent about tension, harking to it on the Griffin and hurricane alert situations, but not on the Wallace speech. He had been criticized by segregationists for using the term "extremist" in connection with the Citizens Council rally.

The Rev. Mr. Hope made the point that all the time there had been agreement among whites on the

desirability of the Negroes keeping "outsiders" away from Brunswick, but great community support (including Chamber of Commerce and Junior Chamber of Commerce resolutions) of the right of outsider Wallace to speak. He also criticized the mayor and council for not urging compliance with the civil rights law.

The Rev. Mr. Hope seemed not too bothered by the Klan and Citizens Council. They have been in Brunswick all along, he said. "Wallace just gave them something to talk about to get members."

Mayor Mercer, still speaking of the desirability of taking 100 Negroes and 100 whites and dropping them "16 miles out to sea," said that the civil rights law and the Wallace incident had allowed six extremist groups which couldn't previously get together to jell into one. He claimed that in all that had happened, he had demonstrated his ability to say no to both the ones who wanted to go 75 miles per hour and those who wanted to go in reverse. Dr. Wilkes and the Rev. Mr. Hope said he and other officials should take a stand against the Citizens Council. Mayor Mercer said he was encouraging decent people who had joined, but found it distasteful, to stay in and keep in "moderate."

In the moist tropical heat, other things had been working themselves out. Carolyn Harris went to the Math club banquet, in the dining room of a big downtown motel, taking

a Negro youth, one of those who also desegregated the high school, as her escort, and had a good time. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare sent investigators down to look into the hospital situation. There was some suggestion that funds would be tied up, but apparently everything was worked out in the Biracial Committee.

Mrs. Wilkes had her baby, a little girl, Aundrea. She was admitted to the white maternity section, but only after a dismaying episode. Dr. Wilkes said that during the period when they had been told that the baby might arrive any time, their doctor received a letter (hand-delivered) from the hospital superintendent saying that the hospital authority had found regulations which prevented honoring Mrs. Wilkes' reservation in the white maternity section.

Mrs. Wilkes wrote to the Rev. Mr. Nalls saying that the letter, coming at the time it did, had made her "frustrated to the point of utter despair." It said that she was suffering "humiliating debasement and mental anguish at a time I should not be." She would be "chagrined if I am forced to seek care outside the state." What, the letter ended, would each authority member feel if it were his wife so treated?

The Rev. Mr. Nalls was "just wonderful," Mrs. Wilkes said. He called the authority together and rescinded

the action, and everyone treated her "very, very nice" in the white maternity section. Beyond that, Mrs. Wilkes has as a result of the experience yet another communication from a white person to treasure, this one a letter to Dr. Wilkes from a white man, a citizen of Brunswick they didn't know and had never even heard of. He was a patient at the hospital when the baby was born. The letter said:

> Rumors have been flying around this hospital about the possibility of insurrection and riot in the third floor ward when your baby arrived. I understand that one of the babies was organizing a Klan Chapter and in protest would wear diapers designed like the Confederate flag.
>
> It was with considerable apprehension that I lelt the comparative safety of the 2nd floor and went up to the turbulent third when they displayed the babies.
>
> The first amazing thing I say was that no babies wore side arms; there was no evidence of their throwing baby bottles at each other; the neighbors on either side of your lovely child seemed totally unconcerned over the fact that their skins differ slightly in color. There were no bi-racial committees in session; they did have a couple of soap box orators -- but their topic of debate did not concern racial problems. The most amazing thing was the fact that all eating, rest rooms and other facilities were completely integrated. Isn't it amazing how distorted stories become? I wonder if we all shouldn't get smart like the babies?

Dr. Wilkes, who is building a home on Jekyll Island, said he was proud that a child of his was born in Georgia. "Regardless of all that has happened, I'm still proud of the community."

The Rev. Mr. Hope did go to see Mayor Mercer; and they had a talk. Neither, telling of it, seemed impressed with results.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on the NAACP request to desegregate all schools. It said that in the fall of 1964, the ninth through twelfth grades had to be desegregated. Some 24 applicants from Negro students to transfer to white schools had been received by early August. Nineteen were finally accepted. Four Negroes had been accepted by midsummer as students in the new junior college which was to open in the fall.

Voter registration had remained a priority project, with good results. The Rev.Mr. Hope said that by midsummer, approximately 4,000 to 6,000 eligible Negroes had registered in the city, and another 4,000 of an eligible 7,500 in the county.

The efforts to get jobs for Negroes had been at least partially successful, but had also involved picketing by the NAACP, the first time any kind of demonstration has been resorted to in Brunswick, "Somebody said that ruined the record," said the Rev. Mr. Hope. "We're not

interested in a record -- we're interested in results."

The Rev. Mr. Hope said that the negotiations through the Biracial Committee resulted in "ten or fifteen" Negroes getting jobs as clerks and cashiers in downtown stores. But negotiations, while successful with some grocery stores, broke down with others. These are stores in the Negro district with predominantly Negro trade, the Rev. Mr. Hope said. He sent pickets to two of them on a weekend at the end of July, and went on the radio to say that there had been efforts for two years to reason with the owners "with no tangible results." He urged Negroes not to buy at stores that wouldn't hire Negroes.

After the weekend of picketing, the two stores agreed to hire Negroes, and a third store did so, too. The Rev. Mr. Hope said there were others, and that systematically, two at a time, they would be picketed, with efforts for a tight boycott. At a mass meeting (where the congregation sang "We Shall Overcome" in its original hymn version), movement followers asked detailed questions on exactly what was and what wasn't legal activity in such campaign.

Mayor Mercer took a dim view of the campaign, saying that in some cases store owners who didn't employ cashiers (but worked the cash register themselves) were being forced to hire them. The Rev. Mr. Hope said energies would be concentrated on jobs "for months to come." Statistics of

Negro buying power and patterns, were being developed, and demands for jobs would be made on all businesses with a high percentage of Negro patronage, including, he said, insurance agencies. "We will try to do it through reasoning, but when reasoning won't work, we'll do it with a picket line."

On a warm summer afternoon, Jekyll Island beach, once the private playground of a few millionaires, and further back in history touched by the slave trade, was desegregated for the first time. A little group of white vacationers sat about in the shade at the public bathhouse next to the Aquarama; a state patrol car sat unobstrusively in the parking lot; a car driven by the Rev. Mr. Hope pulled up, and seven young Negro men and women got out. They paid their fees and went into the state-owned locker rooms (reporting later that in both the men's and women's, a nice word was said by people who happened to be in them), and emerged in bathing suits. As the Rev. Mr. Hope watched from the cement walkway, a slim erect, lonely figure, they walked down to the beach, little Julian pulling away from his daddy to join them, running and jumping on the beach.

They swam for about an hour, staying together -- between, but not very near, groups of white swimmers. A man with a northern twang said, "Aw look at that.

They'll ruin it." But he and his wife and children went waddling on down to the water. A young man at the bathhouse said to his wife, with obvious approval: "See. They're desegregating the beach. This is the first time." The swimmers and Julian romped and splashed.

There were no incidents, no ugly words even. Judge Hartley, who had been warned in advance and probably had employees out watching, said the same thing had been true of other desegregation at the resort. A few residents provately complained; one man had an axe handle with lead in the end of it which he called his "nigger stick," but Negroes weren't hampered in enjoyment of facilities, including the golf course.

Later, the Rev. Mr. Hope's NAACP held its annual dinner at the island's Aquarama, another first. Some 900 persons, including Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Frances Pauley, director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, a white attorney from Savannah, Mr. Mauney, representing Mr. Lovvern, and one or two other white persons, attended. Tough looking whites stood about the entranceway, but police were there in force, and looked like they meant business. A number of other white persons, apparently merely curious, drove by staring. The Rev. Mr. Hope read off the names of white politicians who had been invited, and their excuses. But for the most part, it was an evening of quiet celebration and happiness, the theme of it expressed in a speech which

recalled that the Wanderer, the last slave ship to operate on the American coast, had been captured at Jekyll Island (a huge iron cooking vat from which slaves were fed commemorates the event at a historical marker), and now descendants of slaves were, at the meeting, enjoying one more symbolic mark of emerging status as first-class citizens. Continued efforts toward full attainment of that status were pledged.

So the myriad affairs of Brunswick, above and below the surface, continued. Mr. Lovvern, among other white leaders, said communication is not as good as before between the races. The Rev. Mr. Hope no longer comes to talk to him, after a dispute between them about the NAACP request for picket permits. The Rev. Mr. Hope now talks with the police chief, knowing that the police chief relays the information to Mr. Lovvern. One knowledgeable observer said he thought the time had come for the Biracial Committee to broaden its base, get more representative members, and quit being so secretive.

The integration in the city for the most part remained a strangely formal sort of thing -- Negroes in a group ritualistically using previously all-white facilities. No white person goes along with them to swim at Jekyll, or to dine at a fancy motel restaurant. Even among people of both races most dedicated to the equal society, there is

little interracial visiting. The meetings of the Glynn County Council on Human Relations and, ironically, of the Biracial Committee remain virtually the only outlets for biracial communication that is anywhere near normal.

Mayor Mercer, talking now of a plan dependent upon Negro business investment that would clear up 50% of slums in five years, said almost gloomily, "Good solid things come painful and slow. Revolutions never get what they set out for. The average Negro is losing out."

The Rev. Mr. Hope, in his quick, energetic way, said things would continue getting better in Brunswick, that there might be setbacks, but "truth crushed to earth rises again."

"We are going to win," he said, his voice dropping, his face abstract, almost as though he were telling himself this. "I don't worry abot that, see. Because, you see, we've got to win. What we are for has got to win. What we are for, the ideas, the things we're after -- they're <u>right</u>. What is right is not going to lose."

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

IN THE

SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

April, 1965

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
IN THE
SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

The exclusion of Negroes from the administration of justice in the state courts of the South has long been the subject of serious criticism and concern. But little attention has been given to the extent of exclusion of Negroes from the federal courts of the South.

One obvious reason is that, in the conflict between state and federal law on basic Constitutional questions of the past two decades, the state courts have with frequency appeared as the antagonist of the Negro Southerner, and the federal courts frequently as his protector.

This protection has come, however, largely through the overriding decisions of federal appellate courts. As federal jurisdiction is extended, the role of the federal courts becomes ever more vital to the national effort to achieve full justice. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 enlarges the responsibility of the federal courts, including district courts, many of which in the past have been highly protective of segregation. The voting bill now before Congress seeks to by-pass these courts. New federal legislation to protect citizens against the Klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will, however, almost certainly increase the reliance on the district courts of the South for the protection of individual life and liberty.

Pressures to move civil rights issues out of the streets and into the courts continue. The question has to be asked (and it has always had its pertinency in criminal cases) -- what kinds of courts will handle them?

The federal court system in the South, guided by the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad, crucial questions of race. But now, not just the logic and principles of these very decisions but all the practical understanding of human dealings that is implied in the term "jury of his peers," require a closer look at the racial composition of the courts themselves, as administrators of justice to the individual as well as guardians of principle.

This report deals with employment practices and jury composition of the southern federal courts. It is based on such documentation as there is available plus interviews with lawyers practicing in the federal courts of each state.

States covered by the survey are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas in the Fifth Circuit; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia in the Fourth; Tennessee in the Sixth, and Arkansas in the Eighth Circuit. Each state contains from two to four U. S. District Courts. Data on the Courts of Appeals refer only to their offices and operations within these eleven states.

Clerical records of the federal government do not designate race of court employees, and there are no compilations

of statistics on racial composition of juries. No systematic examination of each court in each state was attempted. Respondents for the most part relied on memory and general knowledge. Results of such a survey are not definitive or finally authoritative; there is room for minor errors and oversights. But such a survey does reveal general patterns, and it is with these that we are concerned. If more detailed and precise research is stimulated, that is good; but the immediate purpose is a new awareness of the need to improve the situation.

I. EMPLOYMENT

The broad patterns regarding the role of Negroes in the federal courts under study in this survey can be summed up in the following statistical table:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Circuit Court Judges	12*	12	0
District Court Judges	65	65	0
Referees in Bankruptcy	55	55	0
U. S. Commissioners	253	253	0
U. S. Clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U. S. Clerks	321	321	0
U. S. Attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U. S. Attorneys	158	153	5
Jury Commissioners	109	109	0
U. S. Marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U. S. Marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and Clerical	364	**	**

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number, from observation, is quite small.

The above table may possibly overlook some Negroes in some positions. But it cannot be far from the exact numerical situation.

The circuit court and district court judges are appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate. So are the United States attorneys and marshals. The clerks of the respective courts are appointed by the judges. The judges also appoint U. S. commissioners, jury commissioners, and the referees in bankruptcy. The clerks select their own deputies and clerical assistants, subject to approval of the judges. Assistant U. S. attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General of the United States. The Attorney General authorizes marshals to appoint deputy marshals.

Exclusion of Negroes from the top positions in the system obviously has the practical effect of virtually eliminating them from lesser positions. The influence on appointments and hiring by southern office-holders through political party patronage channels can't be overlooked.

Of the nine Negro deputy marshals there are two in Alabama, one in Mississippi, two in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, two in Tennessee, one in Virginia. Of the five assistant United States attorneys, one is in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, two in Texas, one in Virginia. This is at best tokenism.

In no state are Negroes serving in the positions of importance and highest responsibility except in token numbers

as deputy marshals and assistant U. S. attorneys, and in four states -- Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana -- in none of these positions at all.

In lesser positions, a Negro clerical worker was noted in Alabama, a bailiff in both Florida and Georgia, court criers in Virginia and South Carolina, and two secretaries in Texas. Again, some may have been overlooked, but not enough to change the general picture.

In nearly every state, employment of Negroes in custodial jobs was noted. Use of Negro employees designated as "criers" or "messengers" as valets, chauffeurs, and the like was reported. In Georgia, such an employee's duties were described as helping the judge with his robes, bringing his books, and driving for him.

A respondent in Alabama said: "If it were not for the lone Negro deputy marshal, the District Court in Birmingham would look like the County Courthouse." A respondent in Virginia, when asked if he were describing Negro employment in addition to a deputy marshall and two criers as "negligible," replied: "nonexistent." Instances were cited in Tennessee, Texas, and Georgia of Negroes turning down appointments or jobs. Strenuous opposition was encountered to appointment of the three Negroes in responsible jobs in North Carolina. This came from various sources, including political ones.

II. <u>JURY SERVICE</u>

Negroes are called and do serve on petit and grand

juries in the southern federal courts. Estimating and evaluating the degree to which they do is of course not an exact science. One respondent's "tokenism" might be another's "substantial numbers" or another's "fair amount."

But for the very most part, lawyers interviewed in each of the eleven states were not satisfied that Negroes are serving on juries to the extent that they should be.

In Alabama, a typical jury panel was described as five or six Negroes among 110; Negroes occasionally serve on grand juries. An Arkansas respondent said he and others estimated that out of double panels of 40 to 50 persons, three or four might be Negroes, and out of a single panel of 24, one or two might be Negroes. In most cases in Arkansas, lawyers consider Negroes as "ciphers" who will go along with the majority, but they are said to dismiss Negroes when opposing counsel has been active in civil rights. There is a general understanding in Arkansas, a respondent said, of the need to avoid the appearance of systematic exclusion. In Florida, one sees "as many Negroes as women" on jury panels; their service was termed "more than token," but less than reflective of Negro population. Negroes were said to be called "fairly" for jury duty in Louisiana, but more than average numbers are eliminated by challenge or excuse from serving on the jury. The same was said of South Carolina. Mississippi's situation was described as "token." So was Tennessee's, Georgia's, and North Carolina's, with recognition in the latter of some improving efforts. In Texas, the estimate

ranged from "token" to "substantial numbers," with more of a conflict of opinion among respondents over whether enough Negroes serve than in other states. A Virginia respondent said that from five to seven Negroes might be on a panel of 30, from two to five on a grand jury. A respondent said the number serving on federal juries throughout the state is "not sufficient."

The respondents described two problems involved in getting satisfactory numbers of Negroes on federal juries. One is whether or not enough Negroes are called for jury service in the first place. The other is whether among those called, even if it is a "fair" number, enough Negroes get through the various processes of attrition to do what really counts -- actually serve on a jury.

One often cited reason for a smaller number of Negroes called for jury duty is the lack of knowledge of the Negro community on the part of the mostly white court personnel. (All southern jury commissioners are white.) Prospective jurors are generally selected by a procedure described by the Judicial Conference of the United States in The Jury System in the Federal Courts, September, 1960. It involves getting persons of substance to recommend those who might be selected. Often, only white persons make these recommendations. Even the Negroes who make them might not be persons of knowledgeable acquaintanceship in the Negro community. They are often the Negroes who happen to come into contact with white persons.

A Tennessee respondent said officials go to persons

such as the presidents of chambers of commerce for names for jury lists. Use of state jury lists was reported in parts of Georgia and Virginia. Use of voter registration lists -- which are notoriously low in the number of Negroes -- was reported in Mississippi.

Some respondents singled out individual district courts where genuinely conscientious efforts seem to be made, with varying degrees of success, to get representative numbers of Negroes on the jury lists. These included the Middle District of Florida, the Atlanta Division of the Northern District of Georgia, the Middle District of North Carolina.

The lawyers interviewed were inclined to attribute the high amount of attrition among prospective Negro jurors mostly to racial circumstances, partly to other causes.

Peremptory challenges by opposing attorneys account for some of the attrition, particularly where the case involves Negroes. Negroes, in the view of defense attorneys, value Negro life and welfare, it seems, more highly than whites. Another reason often cited is economic, and it applies to large numbers of whites as well. Hourly wage earners (unless they have a union contract or other agreement guaranteeing compensatory pay) and persons of low income generally are unable to give up the working time (and pay) that jury service entails. So they get excused if they can. Negroes in disproportionately large numbers, compared with whites, are hourly wage earners and low-income workers in the South. A respondent in Mississippi commented that

most Negro hourly workers there could probably earn more serving on a federal jury.

* * * * * *

The broad findings of the study show that a Negro involved in federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor.

The problem of the personnel of the courts seems easily and obviously remediable. More Negro appointments and hiring are needed. There are reports of political and other opposition when conscientious efforts are made to accomplish this. There are also reports of instances where Negroes turned down appointments or jobs. Negro attorneys are in short supply in the South, but the survey does not indicate by any means that their number or that of other qualified persons has been fully called upon.

The courts seem out of line with the fair employment hiring practices of federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute.

But the employment practices of the court system is not the only, or even the largest, issue. The responsibility for the appointment of federal judges and the U. S. attorneys is the President's. At its 1964 Annual Meeting (November 20-21) the Southern Regional Council adopted and conveyed to the President a resolution which said in part:

> It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications, however strongly urged by state or Congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South, both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national, and democratic interests.

The problem of jury service is more complex. If the impressions of respondents in this survey are correct, then a great many more Negroes need to be called and to serve on southern federal juries. The widespread reports of nonuse of low income and hourly income workers on southern juries raise questions beyond racial considerations. One may not only ask if it is possible under present circumstances to get a federal jury of peers for people who are not white, but also for persons who, regardless of race, are not middle-class.

Proposals have been made to select jury lists much as public opinion poll samples are chosen -- at random in such numbers from lists of all qualified persons so as to get a true cross-section of the community in terms of the various socio-economic factors, including race and income level. Some such fresh approach seems needed.

There is an urgency to this. The goal of nondiscriminatory selection of juries is to assure that only the facts and evidence

of the case will affect outcome of a trial. It would be just as much a tragedy if public clamor and legal maneuvering over exclusion of Negroes from juries were to become a factor in the outcome of a trial as when this results from discriminatory bias in the composition of a jury.

Reform of the basic institutions of American society is compelled by the logic of the civil rights movement. What began as an effort to correct the most glaring inequities of racial discrimination requires that the general structure of inequity be overhauled, looking toward the ideal of liberty and justice for all.

SPECIAL REPORT

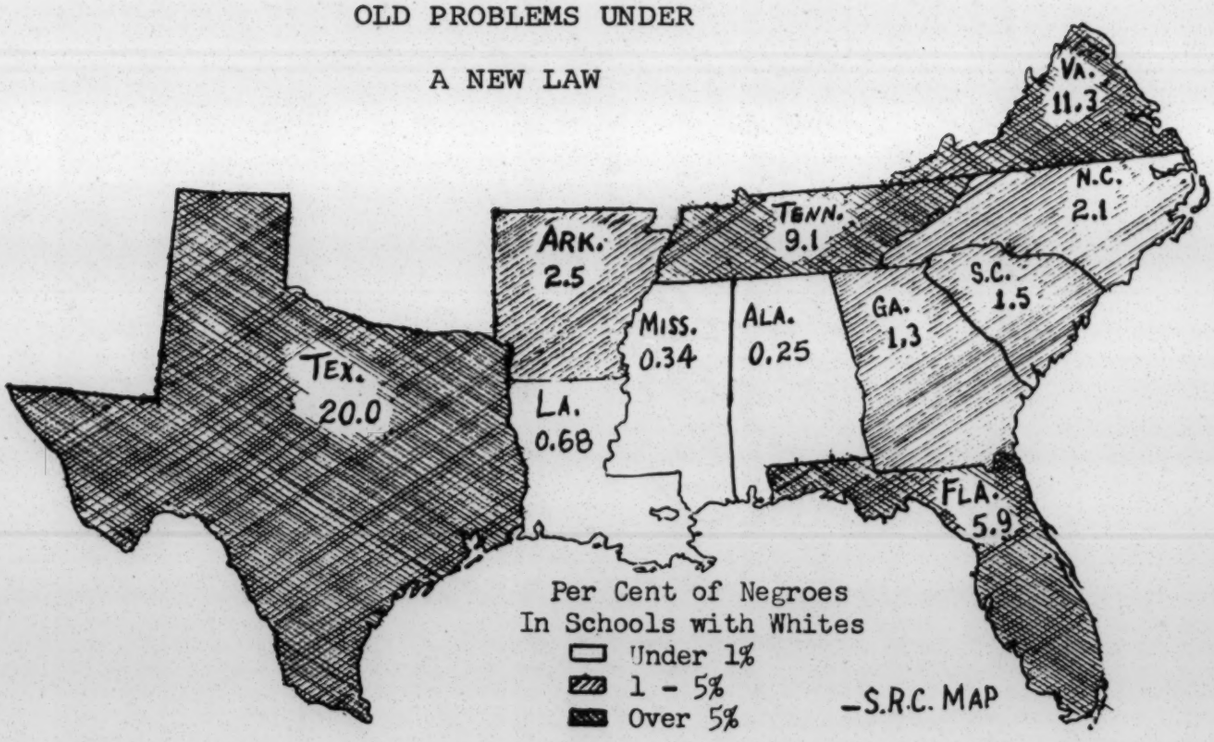
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

SEPTEMBER 1965

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: OLD PROBLEMS UNDER A NEW LAW

SEPTEMBER 1965

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:
OLD PROBLEMS UNDER
A NEW LAW



SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS

-- A Letter From a Parent in The Deep South

Route 1B
[redacted]

Sept 9 - 1965

we wont to than you for the information we received in Macon Ga. it has helped us to enroll 14 students in the all white school [redacted] hight school. we are having a lots of truble my life have all ready been threaled my brother [redacted] house has been shoot in so we both will have to take the children out of school and move some where else so give me the best information on this looking to hear from you soon.

From

[redacted]

EVASION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
(1964-65)

A decade of promise seemed ready for fulfillment in September, 1965. The tortuous process of school desegregation, continually before the nation's courts since 1954, at last offered promise of new dimensions and hope. The dream, embodied in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, prohibiting "the extention of federal financial assistance to any dual or segregated systems of schools based on race, color, or national origin," was of a new era in which administration forces would take the initiative and achieve racial integration in schools. Hopefully, a sizeable proportion of the close to 98% of the South's Negro children still trapped in segregated schools would gain admission to integrated classes.

Prior to the start of the 1965 school term, the Negro school desegregation effort had met dismal failure; case after case of court-ordered desegregation hardly had made a dent in the unyielding armor of the South's segregation front. The burden of initiating suits and provoking "voluntary" change had been almost exclusively on the individual Negro pupil and his parents. With little money but firm intent, individual Negroes and several private organizations, primarily the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), found their limited resources constantly pitted against the public treasury -- local, state, and some-

times federal.

The prospect of going into almost every school district and the mounting costs for court actions were factors frustrating the school integration campaign, despite the fact that the May, 1954, U. S. Supreme Court decree was a class action purported to apply to all persons similarly situated. The mere opinions of states' attorneys are enough to bring across-the-board compliance in areas other than civil rights -- something hundreds of court suits have failed to do.

Civil rights supporters viewed school segregation among problems so serious in 1963 that some 200,000 participated in a massive March on Washington, and Congress the following year determined that legislative remedy for school desegregation was needed. This became part of the precedent-shattering Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the act provides that "no person . . . shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." This means that the federal public education subsidy, amounting to almost 20% of the total education budget could be withheld from schools which refused to stop segregation and discrimination against Negroes. The U. S. Office of Education thus became legally obligated for the first time to address itself to the problems of school desegregation.

Big Job for Office of Education

The intent of the law was to correct hundreds of years of separate discriminatory schooling; it offered remedial action which court decisions had failed to bring. The Office of Education was charged with heavy responsibility. The mere detail of executing the responsibility within the specified time required great effort.

The task required accurate school population and attendance information against which the responsible agency might measure its success in gaining compliance with the law. The disturbing fact is that the federal government, with all its vast resources, had not ascertained the number of Negro children enrolled in formerly white schools by mid-October, 1965. Ironically, during September and October, at the very time the information was most needed, no private or government agency knew the rate of school desegregation.

The privately-sponsored Southern Education Reporting Service, which in prior years carried school desegregation figures in Southern School News, ceased publishing in July, 1965. The Office of Education collected a smattering of data in procedures resting on the voluntary contribution of information. Their efforts were thwarted largely by earlier requirements and/or permission for records on race not to be kept. At no time since 1954 has less factual information on school desegregation existed. Some state and local school officials who, when asked about desegregation, said they don't keep racial figures implied that racial data were available to

local and state authorities, but not for public release.

Findings of Southern Regional Council

In trying to determine what did happen last September, the Southern Regional Council's research department enlisted the cooperation of the Office of Education, the Southern Education Reporting Service, the various state Councils on Human Relations, and others. We have supplemented this with newspaper reports, and field reports. Even with this cooperation and our determined effort, the information in spots is sketchy. But it appears to be the best data currently available.

Our compilations show that estimates released October 1 by the Office of Education overstate the rate of school desegregation. Figures of Office of Education statisticians, arrived at by use of a hurried sampling survey of 590 of the 3,300 districts in southern and border states, say that 216,600 Negroes -- 7.5% of the South's Negro pupils -- are attending classes with whites. Included in the Office of Education's total was an estimate of 15,300 in Alabama, giving that recalcitrant state ten times more than the number estimated in the Office's own "work sheet" and the number indicated by Southern Regional Council's research.

The Office of Education's estimate of desegregation in North Carolina claims 24,500 Negroes are in desegregated classes there. Southern Regional Council's research finds

8,000, only a third of what the federal agency reports. The SRC estimate may be low. There is every indication that the Office of Education figure is high. The SRC figure is based on the estimates of Southern Education Reporting Service, news clippings, and field reports of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. When asked for state figures, a high North Carolina education official said, "Any estimates that anybody would make would be in error. We have erased the question of race from the horizon. Anything that the U. S. Office of Education says would be in error, and anything anybody in our office tells you would be in error."

The Southern Regional Council survey finds 151,409 Negroes attending desegregated public school classes in the 11 states of the Deep South -- 5.2% of the South's Negro school census. That is more than 60,000 less than the 216,600 reported by the Office of Education. The Council's finding of 717 Alabama Negro pupils in desegregated schools does not include nearly 200 Negroes who applied for transfer, under "freedom of choice" options but reportedly withdrew because of pressures and various other reasons. The Office of Education tables did not reflect a number of cases of withdrawals prior to the start of school, but this does not explain all the differences in the surveys. The four following tables show comparative state desegregation totals for 1964 and 1965.

TABLE 1

COMPARATIVE STATE DESEGREGATION TOTALS
OF THREE AGENCIES, 1965

	SRC Totals	SNCC Totals	Office of Education Totals
ALABAMA	717	1,500	15,300
ARKANSAS	2,343	2,589	6,100
FLORIDA	17,000*	-----	23,800
GEORGIA	4,240	6,000	7,600
LOUISIANA	1,850**	1,850	1,600
MISSISSIPPI	921	1,500	1,000
NORTH CAROLINA	8,000	-----	24,500
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,531	3,500	3,500
TENNESSEE	16,422*	-----	25,300
TEXAS	75,340*	-----	81,700
VIRGINIA	21,045	-----	26,300
Total South	151,409		216,600

SOURCE: Compiled by the research staff of Southern Regional Council, Inc., from news clippings, field reports, and reports of other agencies.

*Estimates based on Southern Education Reporting Service reports. The Texas total was computed from SERS's estimation of 20%.

**Based on Louisiana survey by Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN ALL SCHOOLS, 1964-65

	ENROLLMENT			
	White		Negro	
	1964	1965	1964	1965
ALABAMA	536,200	541,100	284,500	286,600
ARKANSAS	203,200	224,600	100,000	95,100
FLORIDA	905,400	929,300	278,900	284,700
GEORGIA	669,200	737,000	319,500	320,300
LOUISIANA	508,200	507,600	278,000	272,700
MISSISSIPPI	293,600	292,500	285,300	274,900
NORTH CAROLINA	773,000	789,300	384,200	379,600
SOUTH CAROLINA	390,500	400,500	242,100	233,400
TENNESSEE	612,400	679,700	179,500	180,100
TEXAS	1,625,700	1,727,800	359,600	376,700
VIRGINIA	697,100	705,500	184,500	187,000
Total South	7,214,500	7,534,900	2,896,100	2,891,000

Total Enrollment, Both Races:

1964	1965
10,110,600	10,425,900

SOURCE: Compiled by the research staff of Southern Regional Council, Inc., from the 1964 Statistical Summary of Southern Education Reporting Service, and reports of the U. S. Office of Education, and other SRC library resources.

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE 1965 TOTALS AND PERCENTAGES OF STATE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN REPORTS OF TWO AGENCIES

	Negroes in Desegregated Schools: SRC	Per Cent of Negro Enrollment	Negroes in Desegregated Schools: Office of Education	Per Cent of Negro Enrollment
ALABAMA	717	0.25	15,300	0.50
ARKANSAS	2,343	2.5	6,100	6.4
FLORIDA	17,000	5.9	23,800	8.3
GEORGIA	4,240	1.3	7,600	2.4
LOUISIANA	1,850	0.68	1,600	0.6
MISSISSIPPI	928	0.34	1,000	0.36
NORTH CAROLINA	8,000	2.1	24,500	6.5
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,531	1.5	3,531	1.5
TENNESSEE	16,422	9.1	25,300	14.1
TEXAS	75,340	20.0	81,700	21.7
VIRGINIA	21,045	11.3	26,300	14.1
Total South	151,416	5.23	216,600	7.5

SOURCE: Percentage computations based on SRC totals and Office of Education totals compare findings of the two sources. The Alabama total of 15,300 reported by the Office of Education is an obvious error, because their working papers (copies of which were in our possession to assist in preparing this study) show 1,442 Alabama Negroes in school with whites.

TABLE 4

ELEVEN DEEP SOUTH STATES
IN ORDER OF DESEGREGATION RATES, 1965

	By Number of Negroes Enrolled in Desegregated Schools		By Percentage of Total Negro Enrollment
TEXAS	75,340	TEXAS	20.0
VIRGINIA	21,045	VIRGINIA	11.3
FLORIDA	17,000	TENNESSEE	9.1
TENNESSEE	16,422	FLORIDA	5.9
NORTH CAROLINA	8,000	ARKANSAS	2.5
GEORGIA	4,240	NORTH CAROLINA	2.1
SOUTH CAROLINA	3,531	SOUTH CAROLINA	1.5
ARKANSAS	2,343	GEORGIA	1.3
LOUISIANA	1,850	LOUISIANA	0.68
MISSISSIPPI	928	MISSISSIPPI	0.34
ALABAMA	717	ALABAMA	0.25
Totals	151,416		5.23

SOURCE: Figures compiled by Southern Regional Council, Inc., from news clippings, field reports, and reports of cooperating agencies.

In the absence of accurate information on the progress of school desegregation during the first two months of the 1965-66 school year, news media resorted to educated guesses and reported the generally optimistic and exaggerated opinions of school authorities. Some estimates ran as high as 20% of the Negro school-aged population, far in excess of the true desegregation rate.

The picture appeared so rosy that the nation was lulled into a false sense of success. The truth is that nearly 95% of the South's Negro pupils still are trapped in segregated and unequal schools. The false impression is due largely to attempts by state and local school authorities, and perhaps some federal officials, to imply that school systems were desegregated beyond mere tokenism.

Even with the lack of information to measure integration progress precisely, it is clear that the move so far toward the full promise of integrated education has been a feeble step. This is despite the integrity and the sense of proper intent evident in the Office of Education.

No one has ever quite developed to the point of art the necessary techniques for parrying and thrusting with a recalcitrant state or local government bent upon thwarting the will of law. But in retrospect, it seems apparent that the Office of Education might have avoided some of the more obvious errors that others have made in the past in southern desegregation duels:

(1) As with other agencies in Washington, there was first the process of promising the ultimate and then going through the steady process of deterioration of that promise. This was unfortunate because when the Capital makes promises from high places, the lowest people in the land hear, believe and act. The reaction of disillusionment is serious and could become increasingly more serious.

(2) In many instances, frenzy in government offices seems to have been misinterpreted as satisfactory progress. Accomplishment too often was equated with the amount of energy spent. Facing such a tremendous job, which we are sure at times seemed impossible to the Office of Education staff, policy makers should have realized that new, realistic approaches were needed to get the job done.

(3) The letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Law encourage voluntary compliance if at all possible. But in the reality of the southern desegregation situation, experience has proven that skillful administration is necessary to make sure that the "volunteer" does what he claims he will do. The tendency of the Office of Education to assume otherwise -- to expect normal forthrightness and good faith in the "voluntary" compliance -- is perhaps its largest strategic error so far. The office seems not to have been fully aware of the peculiar dimensions of compliance that is "voluntary" only at the threat of the loss of a sizeable percentage of the annual budget. The most rigid

checks are needed -- and have been from the beginning -- to be sure at every step of the administrative process that plans for "voluntary" action comply with all requirements of the law, and that the plans are carried out so as to meet all requirements of the law. Any other course in the South in this matter risks criticism as naive and encourages the kind of winking at the law that has been for too long a serious fault of southern society.

There would have been no need for Congress to enact legislation if there had been any validity to the highly desirable premise that most school systems would (or could) act in good faith. The experience of the federal courts revealed that the restrained decision requiring school desegregation with "all deliberate speed" failed, not because the decision lacked wisdom, but because there often was lack of good faith on the part of those against whom the edict was directed. By their words, precepts and examples, southern politicians and school officials, with few exceptions, made clear time and time again after the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court desegregation edict their intention to evade and delay.

In this kind of situation, the attitude that tokenism was an achievement and subject for civic self-congratulation grew up -- often in the best intentioned of white Southerners, including school officials.

If federal officials were naive to believe school integration in the South could be achieved without rigorous

administrative checks and controls, the local school systems in the South were remarkably consistent. Evasion has continued under the Civil Rights Act, and the highly sophisticated art of misleading the federal government has continued. In order to have their grants from federal funds certified, a majority of school districts made false claims that the money would be spent on a non-discriminatory basis. Just as the claims in many instances are false, it is hard to assume other than that many of those signing the statements deliberately set out to fool those reviewing the desegregation plans.

The school systems of the South are not operating on a non-discriminatory basis. Few people expected them to be. What was expected among Negroes and in other quarters was that an honest beginning would be made to that end, with the burden of gaining compliance shifted from the shoulders of the individual Negro pupil and his parents.

For some months, it did seem as if the burden of proving compliance would rest squarely with local and state school officials. Generating this hope was the knowledge that in the area of equal employment opportunity, tangible progress was experienced only after those employers awarded government contracts were required to prove by their record that they, in fact, were complying with the federal policy for non-discriminatory hiring.

A few school superintendents acted early and in good faith

toward reasonable compliance, only to have themselves placed in precarious positions by the success of neighboring districts which were permitted to undercut the vacillating guidelines of the Office of Education. When it became clear, for example, that "freedom of choice" plans would be acceptable, most school systems took this route.

Under plans based on "freedom of choice," the student and his parents theoretically could apply and expect admission to any school of their choice in the district, so long as some general requirements were met. In the event a school became overcrowded, exclusions then would be based on proximity to the school, with those living closest admitted first. Guidelines covering this explain that discrimination is practiced unless a school is desegregated, and that a system is not fully desegregated if (a) race or color is a factor in student assignment, or (b) teachers remain racially segregated, or (c) any activities or services, including transportation, remain segregated or discriminatory.

Contrary to the goals of the guidelines, choice of schools was not free for most Negroes. To many school officials, it seems to have meant a free choice to exclude Negro pupils for specious reasons, including "bad manners," "bad character," "poor record," etc.

Negroes Intimidated, Pressured

It is difficult to overstate how much hope and enthusiasm

was generated among Negroes early in the year when they learned the school desegregation problem was shifting from the judicial to the administrative department of the federal government. Subsequent experience proved the amazing fact of how far down the line this enthusiasm reached into communities -- in small towns, and in rural and urban areas. Negro parents seemed for the first time to see the chance for their children to get equal education. But the start of school brought disillusionment, and it brought pressures and indignities no individuals should have to bear:

(1) Some school superintendents met with parents whose children applied for transfers from Negro to white schools and told them the Negro children probably would come home many days with black eyes from beatings the Negro parents should hold themselves responsible for.

(2) Some Negro children were threatened with demotion or loss of units.

(3) Negro teachers in some districts were threatened with dismissal if Negro children transferred.

(4) In some instances, the names and addresses of Negroes applying for transfers to white schools were published, thus inviting intimidation of Negro families.

(5) Some systems mailed out information on "freedom of choice" arrangements for white parents, encouraging them to claim all vacancies prior to the notifying of Negroes about

the free-choice compliance plan.

(6) Special affidavits, conferences, and/or employment information were required of Negro parents whose children sought transfers to white schools in some districts.

(7) Cross-burnings, shooting into Negro homes, and other acts of intimidation were used to force withdrawal of Negro students from some systems. (Surely, the Civil Rights Act in some way must be applied to protect citizens from such as this.)

Tokenism Brings More Demonstrations

The sum of these experiences to concerned Negroes and private organizations working with them added up to more frustration and distrust of constituted legal authority on the federal as well as the local and state levels. The loss of confidence in the commitment and will of the federal government to force full compliance with the Civil Rights Act, and the acceptance of un-free "freedom of choice" compliance plans have led to a situation in which militant civil rights groups are beginning again to take to street demonstrations, as in Crawfordville, Georgia, seeking redress of grievances.

Obviously, decisions were made to accept token effort at compliance in some recalcitrant sections. Dual law and dual policies -- one for sections with few Negroes and another

for sections with large numbers of Negroes -- should not be. In other words, the Office of Education would seem to have erred in accepting two-grades-a-year plans in some Mississippi districts. Excepting these districts from the desegregation guidelines issued by the federal agency only prolongs and makes more laborious the process. The only way to desegregate is to desegregate. And the proof of compliance with any desegregation order is in the ability of schools to show that Negroes are in classes with whites in reasonable proportion.

The best measure of this desegregation would be on a class-to-class basis in every school in the various systems. That also is the best way to avoid transfers of white children from one school to another in search of an institution that had evaded the law, as was the case in Taliaferro County, Georgia, where all of the white children were transferred to schools outside the county (see attached editorial, page 23).

For some reason, there appears to be the thinking in the federal government that it is not within federal power to take the initiative to achieve compliance and correction of racial separation in schools, despite the fact that both the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act provide for school desegregation.

Enforcing law requires initiative. Federal officials use administrative fiat to enforce law in many areas. Administration is effecting policy and should not be circum-

scribed by bureaucratic caution so long as the administrative acts are within the scope of the spirit and letter of the law.

Greater Effort Needed

It would be foolhardy to blame any individual or agency for the sorry progress of desegregation. It is common knowledge that any Office of Education official is confronted with the working conditions of bureaucracy and that actions of the Office of Education might be torpedoed by others in state, federal, and local positions.

It is hardly the fault of the Office of Education, for example, that little or no budget was provided for administration of Title VI funds, or that the few staffers who could be hired had to be brought on the payroll too late to do the job adequately. (Perhaps the White House and Congress share some of the blame for this.) We know that the few dedicated Office of Education staffers were overworked and vulnerable to the evasive tactics of many southern school superintendents and school boards. Consequently, we are sympathetic with the Office of Education's plight, though

critical of what was accomplished. We have the advantage of hindsight in examining the problems. With these experiences and insights, we suggest the following changes:

(1) The "freedom of choice" concept (as practiced) should not be accepted on face value as a method of achieving desegregation in the South. There cannot be freedom where parents and children are intimidated for exercising a choice.

(It is ironic that we are hearing much criticism of "freedom of choice" in the southern region at the very time northern minority groups are fighting for it to rid their section of de facto and de jure segregation. We do not choose in this report to assess the pros and cons of the principle of freedom of choice, or to try to untangle the semantic snarls that have developed in the phrase. It might be acceptable if properly administered. But as it is being applied in the South, it is an inadequate doctrine for even minimal compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Indeed, the choice has not been free for the Negro children to select schools they want to attend in the South.)

(2) Administrative fiat and decades of following laws and traditions now adjudged unconstitutional created the school segregation problem, and administrative fiat and pressures must be used to correct it. School superintendents, if placed in the position of demonstrating to the satisfaction of federal agencies that funds are being spent without regard

to race, would be found encouraging Negroes to attend formerly white schools in many instances. A handful of superintendents already are doing this and are justifying their actions by using the federal mandate as an excuse.

(3) Where local officials refuse to comply, funds should be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act. Thought should be given to the question of assuming responsibility for the education of children where such fund cut-offs occur. Government sponsored conferences in the few states where this is possible might study the possibility of temporary state option or trusteeship if local sponsorship is abandoned. And the Justice Department should be alerted for the possible initiation of legal action.

(4) In the absence of sufficient federal examiners to police the performance of school desegregation on district levels, technical assistance grants should be made to teams of professionals who could be recruited and co-sponsored by colleges and universities, civil rights groups, and/or the government, to review and challenge performance in integrating school systems. Complaints from local organizations should get quick follow-up by the Office of Education, including progress reports to complainants.

(5) Surveys should be made in all districts to determine the proportion of Negro school children, and the reissuance of Office of Education guidelines should indicate

that a sizeable proportion of Negro children in racially mixed classes on all grade levels is needed for local systems to show proper performance in desegregation.

(6) If the Office of Education is going to continue permitting phased desegregation plans (as four grades a year for a three-year period), it should not allow token desegregation in the four grades chosen to be integrated.

(7) Briefing and information sessions sponsored under technical assistance should be held for all teachers in all Deep South schools. At assemblies or by use of educational television, for example, some teachers might be taught how to pronounce the word, N-E-G-R-O, and how to lessen the isolation of individual Negro students in predominantly white classes until this undesirable situation itself can be corrected. And Negro teachers of white youngsters might be taught how to deal with them. This would be a minimal, emergency approach and should not preempt any other technical assistance programs.

(8) Some special scrutiny should be given school systems which are under court orders to desegregate. Some are finding court orders advantageous for slow desegregation progress. For example, Clarendon County, South Carolina, which has been dickering in the courts for 16 years, had only five Negroes attending school with whites in 1964. The Office of Education admits it does not know how many Negroes in Clarendon attend desegregated classes during the current

1965 school year.

As it was stated by the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Price v. Denison Independent School District on July 2, 1965: "By the 1964 Act and the action of HEW /the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare/, administration /of the law/ is largely where it ought to be -- in the hands of the executive and its agencies with the function of the judiciary confined to those rare cases presenting justifiable, not operational, questions."

The most important thing to be remembered as the executive branch continues with its responsibility for desegregating schools is included in the Office of Education's policy statement and guidelines:

"The responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against."

ONE EDITORIAL REACTION TO CRAWFORDVILLE REPRISALS --

No Snarling Dogs, But a Nasty Situation

St. Petersburg Times Editorials

"The policy of our paper is very simple — merely to tell the truth"
—Paul Poynter, publisher, 1912-1950

EDITORIAL 6-A Phone 894-1111 Saturday, October 16, 1965

The Issue At Crawfordville

Unlike Birmingham, St. Augustine, Selma and Hayneville, the civil rights issue at Crawfordville, Ga., has not touched the American conscience. It hasn't because the headline questions already have been settled and the American people know it. Die-hard segregation, even to the extent of abandoning public education, just won't be permitted in the United States.

But in Crawfordville, the subtler forms of enforcing white supremacy have come to the surface and they have yet to be countered.

It was no surprise when a federal court this week declared Taliaferro County's schools bankrupt and turned them over to Georgia Superintendent Claude Purcell with instructions to end segregation. The county's efforts to preserve segregation by closing its white schools and sending all white students to other counties was doomed from the start. If Crawfordville's leaders didn't know that, eastern Georgia must be more isolated from the nation than the state's generally moderate record on the race issue would indicate.

The unresolved question raised at Crawfordville is whether racists will be allowed to use economic reprisals in their last-ditch efforts to preserve the status quo.

TALIAFERRO COUNTY'S schools will be reopened, but will the Negro principal and five teachers fired from Negro schools since the demonstrations began be rehired?

Will the two Negro bus drivers, two school cooks and two custodians get their jobs back?

Will the 22 parents of children in the demonstrations be rehired after firings from their various jobs in Crawfordville?

Will the six families evicted from their homes be allowed to return?

Will the demonstrator victims of four sudden foreclosures be given another chance?

SNARLING DOGS, Klan sheriffs and children locked out of schools have helped America move rapidly along the road toward equal opportunities for all its citizens. The kinds of economic pressures employed in Crawfordville are much less dramatic, but paralyzingly effective.

The next step in the civil right struggle is to deny to those who still shout "Never!" the economic weapons long used against Negroes and tested anew at Crawfordville.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia
and The Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union

SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT

SOUTHERN JUSTICE: AN INDICTMENT

Published by the Southern Regional Council

and the

Southern Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union

October 18, 1965

If the public could ever plead ignorance to the double standard of justice in the South -- one brand of justice for the white man, another for the Negro -- that time is past. On television and on the front pages of newspapers, the stories have come.

An FBI informant testifies that he is in the same car with three Ku Klux Klansmen as they shoot to death Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a Detroit housewife, on an Alabama highway. The jury does not convict the first defendant charged in the crime -- not even of manslaughter. While waiting for a new trial the Klansmen rush off to a Klan rally in North Carolina to sign autographs, openly confident that any new trial will end the same way.

A Hayneville, Alabama, community leader named Tom Coleman shoots down two civil rights workers at midday. Jonathan Daniels, a seminarian, dies at once and the Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a priest, is critically wounded. The trial, reportedly, turned into a circus, with Mr. Coleman not simply acquitted but almost proclaimed a hero.

The Liuzzo and Daniels cases were not isolated incidents, and Negroes can only reflect bitterly when white men -- Southerners and Northerners alike -- advise them, as they often do, to stop street demonstrations and take their grievances into the courts.

The Liuzzo case was not an isolated incident. From the sit-in demonstrations of 1960 through the spring of 1965, at least 26 Negroes and white civil rights workers

died at the hands of racists in the South. Only one of the assailants was sentenced to prison, and he for 10 years. During the same period, "justice" was dispensed in double measure when white men were slain by Negroes. Two white segregationists died in the aftermath of racial demonstrations. Four Negroes went to prison, one of them for life.

The danger today is not that the public will fail to know about the double standard of justice, but that the public will think it limited only to civil rights cases, or will fail to act. If the problem were confined only to civil rights cases perhaps it could be solved with nothing more than a stern law making it a federal crime to kill a civil rights worker. The problem, however, goes far deeper.

From Birth to Death

In many areas of the South, dual justice is a standing abuse to all Negroes -- the maid, the undertaker, the field hand, the school teacher, the minister. It exists from birth to death and the knowledge of it comes so early that a man may think he received it in his genes. It exists in the day to day brushes with "the law": the policeman on his beat, at traffic court, in civil cases. It exists in the more awesome confrontations with judges and juries in rape and murder cases. To the extent that it exists, it provokes desperation among Negroes, shakes their faith in democracy, causes them to

shun the policeman and the courts as enemies. More than any other factor it is responsible for what the white South views as increasing "radicalism" and "anarchy" in the civil rights movement.

Why is it Possible?

Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution? How widespread is dual justice and what is its impact?

The malignancy probably is far more prevalent than most white people, North and South, realize. Why that is so is one of the chief internal political problems of this country. There may be many reasons for the continued existence of dual justice, but these must surely be among them:

Dual justice survives because Presidents continue to treat federal judgeships as political rewards and pacifiers. It survives because the Justice Department fails to exercise the power that it has to correct abuses. It survives because the judicial network, federal, state, and municipal, is still one of the most segregated institutions in America. It survives through a built-in discrimination in the selection of juries, state and federal, and through the ill-concealed contempt of many courts and police officers for the rights of Negro citizens. It seems a fair estimate that it will continue to prosper, no matter how shrill the outrage in the distant pulpits and

editorial towers, until the Negro gains adequate political power and until a sufficient number of white Southerners insist on equal rights for the minority.

Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men.

Capital Cases

Consider the case of Thomas Wansley at Lynchburg, Virginia. In the winter of 1963, when he was 19 years old, he was accused of raping two women, one white and the other Japanese, and of stealing $1.36 from one of the victims.

The white woman was unable to identify Wansley -- a Negro -- as her assailant. Police, however, after a private talk with Wansley succeeded in getting a confession. The Japanese woman positively identified Wansley. The youth admitted to having sexual relations with the Japanese woman -- not once but on several occasions. All-white juries deliberated, and handed down two death sentences for rape and a 20-year prison term for the $1.36 robbery. (The Virginia Supreme Court subsequently voided the sentences on grounds of trial error, and Wansley will be retried.)

Wansley, who had only one life to give, must have reflected bitterly on the knowledge that three months before in the same court room, a white man had

received only a five-year sentence for raping an 11-year-old Negro girl.

Was this an isolated incident? Statistics amassed by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons answer, "no." Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts.

The wrath of southern judges and juries also falls on Negroes who are convicted of night-time burglaries and robberies. Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for this capital offense. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

At first glance, Bureau of Prisons statistics would indicate that the Negro charged with murder receives better than equal treatment at the bar of justice. Negroes account for more than half of the murder arrests throughout the nation, but between 1930 and 1962 accounted for slightly less than half (49 per cent) of the executions. More detailed, if somewhat old, studies show, however, that the statistics conceal a double standard as menacing as any imposed for rape or burglary. Southern white juries are reluctant to hand down a stiff penalty to a Negro who kills a Negro, but are quick to exact the maximum penalty when a Negro kills a white person. Because most Negro murders are within the race, the

execution statistics are relatively low.

The nature of the problem is shown in a study published by H. Garfinkel in a 1949 issue of Social Forces. Garfinkel examined murder convictions over an 11-year period in 10 North Carolina counties. He discovered that 26.6 per cent of all Negroes accused of killing white men received the death penalty. Most of the others received long sentences. Negroes accused of killing other Negroes fared far better. Only four per cent were executed; only five per cent received terms of 30 years or longer. Whites accused of killing Negroes had relatively little to fear at the hands of the court. None received life or death sentences.

Cash Register Justice

Negroes accused of minor crimes also have reason to fear their day in court. On the surface, the Negro would appear to receive equal justice in the traffic courts of many cities. A white man and a Negro stand before the traffic judge. Both are first offenders and both are found guilty of driving under the influence of intoxicating beverages. The judge pronounces a standard prescription for the malady: twelve months or $150. It appeared equal, but was it? The Negro earns $1.25 an hour when he can find work. He cannot raise the equivalent of three weeks salary. He goes to jail for a year. The white man earns $250 a week as a certified public accountant, hands over three days

pay eagerly, and walks from court praising a benevolent judge. When the prescription isn't standard, the defendant who has his charge reduced so as not to lose his driver's license is more likely to be white than Negro.

"Cash register justice" is widespread in the South. The poor of both races suffer from it, but the Negro, being the poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12 months period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy per cent of these were Negro.

A Georgia judge sentenced a 35-year-old Negro to "a fine of $25 or four months imprisonment" for driving without a driver's license. The court had no provision for installment plan fines. The Negro was unable to raise $25 "on the spot." He went to prison for four months.

Another judge sentenced a Negro woman to "$35 or 12 months in prison" for public drunkenness. She entered prison on July 12, 1963, and with time off for good behavior, emerged a "free" woman on May 24, 1964.

An 18-year-old Negro youth was sentenced to "$85 or 12 months" for petty larceny. The same poverty that encouraged him to steal also forced him to serve the term.

"Cash register justice" is by no means limited to the backwoods counties in the South. The practice flourishes in a city like Atlanta. In 1961 and 1962, 40 per cent of all the misdemeanants in Georgia prisons were sent there by Atlanta-based courts. In an attempt to curb the practice, the Georgia parole board recently sought and won legislation making it more difficult for cities and counties to send the indigent to the state prisons. However, many courts in Georgia and in other southern states continue the practice of alternative sentences (a cash fine or a jail sentence) and when the state refuses to take the indigent prisoners, the courts jail them in city or county jails.

Experts in the field of criminal correction have cried out for years against the widespread use of alternative sentences, but much of the South hasn't listened. "The festering malignancy which eats at the administration of justice in misdeameanor courts is in evidence every day in those courts when fines are imposed," said a panel of experts in the book, The Law of Criminal Correction. "In many of them no effort is made to ascertain whether the offender is able to pay." The panel adds: "A modest fine with an alternative prison term imposed upon a man who has not the ability to pay is in fact a sentence to prison, while a substantial fine imposed on one of ample financial resources is inconsequential punishment." Just as uneven is the setting

of bail, the same amount assuring the well-off the right to freedom before trial, sending the impoverished to jail.

Finding a Lawyer

As serious as they sometimes become, fines and bail are only small parts of the problem faced by the indigent Negro before the bar of justice. The problem of finding and hiring an attorney can be an acute one for Negroes. Often the Negro accused of a major crime is forced to accept a court-appointed white attorney with little enthusiasm for his case.

Take, for example, the case of Preston Cobb, Jr., a penniless 15-year-old Negro who lived with his mother on a farm near Monticello, Georgia. In June of 1961, Cobb was charged with slaying his white landlord, Coleman Dumas, Sr., as the man sat reading in his home. After interrogation, Cobb confessed to the slaying. "An all white jury found the youth guilty," wrote Claude Sitton of the New York Times. "His court-appointed attorney had made no request for mercy and none was recommended by the jurors. The jury had no choice but to send Cobb to the electric chair." Once alerted to the case, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People retained an Atlanta attorney, Donald L. Hollowell, to appeal Cobb's case. In the appeal Mr. Hollowell charged that the white attorney neglected to bring up the question of Negro exclusion from juries in the county. "He would have felt it not to be in his best interest as

a white lawyer practicing in and around Jasper County to have raised said issue," Hollowell said.

Even when they have the money, Negroes may find it difficult to find an attorney to represent them. In the Deep South, attorneys are sometimes reluctant to accept controversial cases. They can cost an attorney his law practice and result even in ostracism by his community.

In the spring of 1965, Warren C. Fortson, an established attorney in Americus, Georgia, and brother of Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson, agreed to defend two Negro teenagers identified with civil rights against charges of fornication and touched off a storm of protest that, along with milder resentment of his role in calling for a biracial committee, ultimately forced him to leave the city. In the trial, one patrolmen testified in detail to lurid acts which he said he witnessed. Under cross examination, another law enforcement officer conceded he was standing beside the patrolman and saw nothing more than heavy petting. The two teenagers were convicted by the court and sentenced to reform school. Fortson, for his role in the case, was convicted by the public and forced to leave the city. He deemed his future effectiveness as an attorney destroyed. "How could I pick 12 men for the jury box so at least one wouldn't gut me just because I'm me?" Fortson asked. "We have made great progress in desegregation and race relations but the courthouse crowd has done everything they could to harass.

The oppression of the courts and law enforcement are Negroes' major grievances now."

Warren Fortson's story, of course, is not unique. In 1963, Charles Morgan, who had already aroused hostility in Birmingham for his willingness to represent Negroes in controversial cases, lost his law practice for urging Birmingham to re-examine itself in the wake of a church bombing in which four Negro children were killed. He left Birmingham to become a staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union and is now waging a legal fight to integrate white juries, proportionate to population.

Two years after Morgan left Birmingham, another attorney, Paul Johnston, agreed to defend a government undercover agent against a Ku Klux Klan attorney. His decision, which he made at the urging of U. S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, cost him his membership in one of Birmingham's most prosperous law firms, a firm which still includes his father and a brother. Daniel H. Pollitt, a professor of law at the University of North Carolina, had earlier observed: "The small band of southern attorneys who undertake 'racial' litigation often find the common courtesies of the bench and bar denied them."

White Supremacy on the Bench

With or without adequate counsel, the Negro must often face a hostile judge. Many southern judges are,

of course, scrupulously fair. Others seem to view themselves less as impartial umpires and dispensers of justice than as defenders of white supremacy.

In one large southern city in 1962, a 25-year-old Negro was summoned from his jail cell to a municipal courtroom. The judge had received complaints that the defendant, while serving on a prison work gang, had failed to say, "yes, sir" to a foreman with the Birmingham Park and Recreation Board and had "scuffled" with an assistant jail warden. The Negro man contended that the assistant warden had attacked him as part of a lesson in "politeness." He asked permission to go to a hospital for treatment for sore ribs. "No," said the judge as he ordered him to pay a $55 fine. "Until you learn to say 'yes, sir' to white people you can stay in jail."

The view of Negroes as second class citizens sometimes extends to the federal bench. In Jackson, Mississippi, federal Judge Harold Cox once referred to Negroes as "chimpanzees," criticizing their voter registration activities.

Judges are often inclined to be lenient with whites who are charged with offenses against Negroes and harsh with Negroes accused of crimes against whites. In New Bern, North Carolina, in June of 1965, three white men -- one of them an exalted cyclops in the Ku Klux Klan -- admitted bombing a Negro funeral home and two cars which

were parked outside a Negro church. They have yet to serve a day in prison. A superior court judge handed down suspended sentences. In Georgia, a 75-year-old white woman, jaywalking after being warned repeatedly by police, walked into the side of a car driven by a Negro and was killed. Officials were reluctant to file charges against the Negro, but ultimately did so after pressure from the woman's family. Rather than face an all-white jury, the Negro elected to appear directly before the judge. He lost his gamble. The judge sentenced him to five years in prison. A police official called the sentence a "raw deal" and termed the woman's death "strictly" accidental, but the words didn't help the Negro.

The Jury Problem

Despite the outrageous outcome of his case, the Negro may have been wise to prefer a judge rather than a jury. Southern juries tend to be all-white and, all too often, inclined to support other whites in legal clashes with Negroes.

"Take for example, the killing of Clinton Melton, in Glendora, Mississippi, in the Delta, by a white man named Elmer Kimbell, a close friend of the man who had been acquitted of the murder of Emmett Till," Robert Penn Warren wrote in his book, Segregation. "When the Lions Club met three days after the event, a resolution was

drawn and signed by all members present: 'We consider the taking of the life of Clinton Melton an outrage against him, against all of the people of Glendora, against the people of Mississippi, as well as against the human family . . .' And the town began to raise a fund to realize the ambition of the dead man, to send his children to college . . ." "But," Warren added, "in that division between man and man, the jury that tried Elmer Kimbell acquitted him."

The record of southern juries in racial cases is so depressingly anti-Negro that some observers have come to question the fairness of the jury system itself. Such sweeping criticism of one of man's sanest achievements -- the right of trial by jury -- is indicative of the danger of allowing the jury system to operate in crippled fashion. It is not merely a matter in the South of a rare, occasional miscarriage of justice growing out of the nature of the jury system at its best. "This is the price we have to pay for the jury system," Attorney General Katzenbach was quoted as saying after the Coleman acquittal in Hayneville, though not talking directly about that trial. The price is being paid for the crippled condition of the jury system. For there is no doubt that the jury system as it now operates in most parts of the South -- and, it should be said, in many parts of the United States -- is grossly unfair. It is unfair not only to Negroes but to poor whites, as well.

Much of the problem is in the selection of jurors. In almost no courts are jurors picked by thoroughly objective means to ensure a true cross-section of the community.

Charles Morgan, in a suit attacking the jury system of Jefferson County (Birmingham), Alabama, makes the point that most courts in the country use selection methods that work against obtaining a cross-section.

Mr. Morgan said in his brief, "Selection techniques now differ from state to state and within states from court to court. The federal system differs from the state system. Qualifications differ from state to state. Federal qualifications differ from state qualifications. Indeed, former Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall recently noted: 'A justice department survey in 1961 showed that the 92 federal district courts had 92 different systems of selecting juries.'

"One jury commissioner's telephone book is another's city directory. A third may try voter registration lists. The Junior Chamber of Commerce; church membership lists (regardless of the First Amendment); lists of school teachers; American Legion posts or labor unions; lists of industrialists and lists of automobile owners; lists of householders or PTA members, or registered voters or real property tax payers -- all are used."

Mr. Morgan pointed out that many of the federal courts rely on the "key man" system. Persons well known

to the court -- usually men of substance -- are tapped and they in turn suggest their friends.

Mr. Morgan said, "One clear light shines through the forest of lists -- the United States in almost every one of its courts tries its citizens before Literary Digest juries."

That was an allusion to the old Literary Digest method of polling national issues and elections. The magazine went out of business after a spectacular polling failure in 1936 when it predicted that Landon would defeat Roosevelt. Subsequent evaluation of the Digest techniques indicated the reason for the failure: The magazine based its predictions on the opinions of middle and upper class Americans and paid no attention to the poor. Mr. Morgan concluded that present-day juries are selected by the same discredited method, ignoring the welfare and relief rolls and all other lists that would give the poor a voice on juries.

Governor Robert McNair of South Carolina was quoted recently as saying that the real threat of increased Negro votes is not so much at the polls as on juries. He said that adding large numbers of Negroes to the electorate would put more and more illiterates on juries, and he saw that as unfortunate.

If it is proper for a middle class public official charged with embezzlement to be tried by a jury of his peers -- other members of the middle class -- why is it

improper for a penniless Negro to have his fate decided by a jury that includes his peers?

Instrument of Oppression

In the system of justice portrayed by Franz Kafka, an innocent man could be accused of an unspecified crime by a faceless court. The court was corrupted almost absolutely, so that by manipulation and tribute the accused could avoid prison. But the freedom he enjoyed was perhaps worse than imprisonment. He could never win definite acquittal of his unstated charge; he could only choose between ostensible acquittal and indefinite postponement. Under the first, the accused and his representatives might cajole and manipulate a sufficient number of judges to have the case informally set aside and forgotten. The drawback was that a new judge in another part of the hierarchy might rediscover the charge sometime in the future and order the accused arrested again, thus starting the process over. If the accused selected indefinite postponement, his case could never be disposed of decisively but, through the same use of influence, it could be kept always in its early stages, never moving toward trial and sentencing as long as the accused unflaggingly minded his attentions to the judges and their functionaries.

It can be said without unconscionable exaggeration that the southern system of justice suspends the Negro in just such a state of torment and obligation. Because

he is black he is continually subject to caprice. In a manner of speaking, there is no such thing as "definite acquittal" for the Negro. His color carries with it a presumption of hard luck in the white man's courts; a given Negro is automatically a poorer risk than a white man at the bar of justice. That is a statistical certainty that hovers over every Negro and makes him never quite free.

But, like Kafka's accused innocent, the Negro is not without a fretful, worrisome kind of hope. He is reminded constantly that he can buy insurance against the harshness of the system. One thing that most Negroes learn early is that a "good nigger" fares better in times of trouble than a "no 'count nigger." By debasing himself systematically, a Negro can earn a reputation as a "good nigger" and assure himself of favored treatment should he be called to account in a court of law.

It is common knowledge that many a southern jury, in deciding the fate of a Negro charged with a crime against another Negro, tempers its verdict if the accused has a white man to vouch for him or if he stands well in the white community. If a Negro has been scrupulous in cultivating the good will of white men of standing, he is safer from the caprices of the system. The unfounded criminal charge is more likely to be dropped and the justified charge is less likely to result in a heavy penalty.

A Negro who neglects his reputation is always at the threshold of trouble with the law. If a crime is committed, all the "bad niggers" are rounded up routinely. A Negro man who takes the liberty of speaking assertively to a policeman is much more likely to go to jail on a trumped-up charge than a white man who speaks the same way. Even when an honest mistake is made in charging a man with a crime, the accused Negro who has no white patron has greater difficulty in extricating himself from the white man's jail.

All-White Justice

Once the Negro is under arrest, he enters a world that is almost totally white, and every person he encounters could mean trouble.

Attorney Morgan, defending a Negro charged with murder in 1963, filed a motion to quash the indictment in which he outlined his client's prospects. He wrote of the man's being arrested by white policemen, carried off in a segregated paddy wagon driven by a white man and locked up in a segregated jail staffed solely by whites. He was to be brought to trial in a courthouse inhabited by whites, in a segregated courtroom run by white officials, before a jury that almost certainly would be solidly white.

"If he receives the death penalty," Mr. Morgan wrote, "he will then be given a last meal by his white guards, visited by a white chaplain, shaved by a white barber,

and taken by white guards to a yellow electric chair in Kilby Prison . . . the chair being the only facility in Alabama justice which is and has always been desegregated . . ."

"A button or switch will be pressed or pulled by a white man, before white witnesses, and the condemned will die. Being in indigent circumstances, he will thereafter be buried in a potter's grave in a racially segregated cemetery, provided by the state of Alabama."

It might be protested that Mr. Morgan has been unduly harsh, but note the findings of the United States Civil Rights Commission in a recent survey: 87 per cent of county jails and 93 per cent of state penitentiaries in the southern and border states are segregated; 63 per cent of the courthouses have segregated rest rooms; 17 per cent have segregated court rooms.

Jack Nelson, writing on Jim Crow justice in the Los Angeles Times, concluded, "In some areas of the South the system is so loaded against the Negro that his only choice may be to throw himself on the mercy of the courts."

Classic Corruption

What the South is faced with is a monstrous corruption, no different in any essential way from other classic cases of political corruption. The system has been tampered with to give one group a social, political, and economic advantage at the expense of another group.

The nation, for some reason, has not yet learned to

deal with the corruption of justice by racism. In other, more pedestrian shortcomings, America has been able to call on its tradition of pragmatism and produce reform, and the reform always has been within the liberal democratic framework. Now, with the nation seemingly unable to abolish this particular corruption pragmatically, a new mode of reform is arising. It is a radical reform whose adherents are uncommitted to liberal democracy and the American tradition of pragmatism. These new reformers, who proudly wear the name of radical, move at the fringes of the civil rights movement, working frankly at the total destruction of the system that deals unjustly. Occasionally, one can hear a bitter young civil rights worker call openly for a riot, on the theory that only through violence can the white majority be persuaded to take its foot off the neck of the oppressed minority.

Democracy Damaged

Of all the forces that urge the Negro away from the American democracy, none is more vicious or more effective than the dual system of justice. His ingrained knowledge of the dual system causes a Negro instinctively to dodge a policeman. The same wretched awareness leads him to think of the courts as a white man's game, and, since to the Negro in poverty the court is one of the most visible arms of the government, it tempts him to consider the entire governing system as a device for maintaining the white man in charge and the Negro in "his place." From the Deep South, he

carries his fear, resentment, and distrust to the ghetto slums of the rest of the nation, like the Watts area of Los Angeles where rioting was touched off when policemen made an arrest. Too often, he finds, out of the South, the familiar taints of dual justice.

The duality is so successfully pernicious that multitudes of Negroes have gone to their graves without doubting the rightness of the scheme.

Other Voices

But now the scheme is being doubted, and voices are being raised against it.

In June, the police at Jackson, Mississippi, arrested more than 800 Negroes for demonstrating in opposition to what they considered the "illegally constituted legislature" in Mississippi. They were herded into display halls at the Mississippi state fairgrounds. Convinced that the full force of the law was being directed against them, they assembled in a Negro church afterward to air their grievances. Willie Ricks, a SNCC field worker, took the podium and told the Negroes that they could expect no justice from "Mr. Charlie's courts." And, he said, the situation would be little better in federal courts. Hadn't President Johnson just appointed J. P. Coleman (a former governor of Mississippi who is considered a moderate by some, but a segregationist by Negroes familiar with many of his utterances and acts while governor) to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals?

As a result, Mr. Ricks said, the Negro would have to protect himself. "When the spirit say shoot," he said, "we're going to shoot. When the spirit say throw rocks and bottles, we're going to throw rocks and bottles."

In Bogalusa, Louisiana, in July, the police stood by smiling while a barber turned a water hose on a civil rights worker. "I almost hit him," the civil rights worker said later. "A year ago I was nonviolent -- I really believed it as a philosophy -- and everyone I knew in the movement was nonviolent, but now it's nothing more than a tactic. Almost no one talks of nonviolence as a philosophy any more."

A Negro lieutenant was brutally beaten in Canton, Mississippi, and the police made no arrests. Soon after, civil rights workers brought a shotgun into the Freedom House at Canton for protection.

The white officials of several southern states have expressed alarm at the growth of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a Negro protective league that advocates carrying arms and shooting back when white racists attack. The dismayed officials miss an important point. Of all the reasons for the popularity of the Deacons among Negroes -- and they are complex -- the one that stands as an incontrovertible rebuke to the people who govern the South is the Negro's experience with the white man's justice. In too many places, the Negro cannot depend on the police

for protection and, when an occasional terrorist is arrested and brought to trial, the Negro can be confident that the white court will turn the offender loose or punish him so lightly that the penalty is interpreted as quiet approval of terrorism.

Day-To-Day

The Negro's loss of confidence in the white man's system of justice does not have to be traced to the more drastic failings. A murderous bombing is terrifying in its impact, but perhaps just as damaging to the Negro's faith in his government is the unspectacular, continuous erosion produced by his day-to-day contact with the System. The demoralizing nature of this contact is summed up in a Negro's encounter with two southern policemen as recounted by Claude Sitton in the New York Times. The encounter, shy of brutality, might be called routine intimidation, the kind that every southern Negro dreads.

"The Negro watched anxiously as the two whites in uniform jumped out and approached him," Mr. Sitton wrote.

"'Where're you going, nigger?' demanded the driver.

"'Home,' replied the man.

"'Let me see your identification.'

" He fished out a longshoreman's card and handed it to the policeman.

"'Take off your hat, nigger,' ordered the policeman, still looking at the card. Before the command could be carried out, he snatched the hat from the man's head and

threw it to the pavement.

"'What's that in your pocket?'

"'Nothing.'

"The policeman thrust a lighted match into the lapel pocket of the man's coat. Striking a second match, he held it to the card, which curled and blackened in the yellow flame.

"'You go on now, nigger,' said the policeman. And he and his partner strode back to the police car and drove away."

The First Steps

There are no easy solutions to the Negro's problems anywhere and that is particularly true in the area of equal justice. But it is clear that several steps must be taken before any real progress can be expected.

To begin at the top, the President of the United States needs to find men for federal judgeships who do not owe their political careers to the same system that perpetuates dual justice. Some of the most notorious appointments to the bench have been made by liberal Democratic Presidents, simply because a President is loath to violate the tradition of letting these appointments be made, in fact if not in name, by the ruling Democratic apparatus in the one-party states of the South.

Not all judicial appointments have been unfortunate, and in fact, many have been thoroughly laudatory. But even

the "good" judges have added to the Negro's woes. The 28 court clerks and the 109 jury commissioners attached to the federal courts of the 11 states of the old Confederacy are solidly white -- all appointed by the 65 white district judges. Through these appointments, the judges build higher the walls of segregated justice.

Despairing of any immediate end to dual justice in the South, Negroes are turning increasingly to the U. S. Department of Justice, demanding that it "do something." Often the Negroes are disappointed. Although systematic exclusion of Negroes from juries is at the root of dual justice, not once during this century has the Justice Department prosecuted anyone for the practice. This, despite a specific law -- passed in 1875 -- which makes jury discrimination a crime punishable by a fine of up to $5,000.

Despite spectacular arrests in Mississippi and Georgia, the Justice Department has also been cautious at best in prosecuting racist terrorists under existing federal law, contending that in most cases it lacks jurisdiction. The Department's argument has been challenged by some of the nation's most eminent law professors. In the summer of 1964, for example, Robert Kennedy, who was then attorney general, told a civil rights delegation that terrorism in Mississippi was a "local matter for law enforcement" and said that his power to move against it was

"very limited." Twenty-nine law professors, representing six leading law schools, quickly prepared a group statement arguing that Title 10, Section 333 of the U. S. Code gives the President power to suppress "any domestic violence" through the use of "the militia or the armed forces, or both, or by any other means."

Probably the most frequent criticism of the Justice Department voiced by civil rights workers centers on FBI agents who, as during arrests for peaceful demonstrating, observe violations of constitutional rights, take copious notes on it, but rarely intervene. Arrests were made by federal authorities on complaint for interference with constitutional rights during the Mississippi Summer of 1964. Then, three men were charged with violation of Title 18, Section 241 of the U. S. Code, for interfering with voter registration workers in Itta Bena. The Justice Department filed a court suit seeking full protection of constitutional rights to peaceably assemble for demonstrations, this during a voter registration campaign in Greenwood, Mississippi, in 1963. But such actions are so rare as to be almost unheard of.

Out of criticism over this has come the cry for a special federal police force to handle racial matters with the same efficiency the federal government handles cheating on income taxes. Those who are wary of more federal police are forced back to the drastic need for basic reform of existing methods of law enforcement.

Often the federal government seems to say it is as helpless as the Negroes themselves at gaining compliance with federal statutes and the U. S. Constitution through the normal procedures and institutions of southern justice. What does this say to Negroes across all America, and to the world?

Public Responsibility

Nothing less than a public outcry against dual justice is needed, coupled with a specific program to eliminate some of the most flagrant abuses. One step of the program must be a jury system that will not include just "token juries" but a completely representative cross-section of an entire judicial district -- whites as well as Negroes. Attorney Morgan recommends the Kraft-Rosenbluth system of jury selection. By the use of racial, population density, sex, economic, and other census data, John F. Kraft, a specialist in public opinion surveys, and Leon Rosenbluth, a consulting statistician, have devised a system for the random selection of juror's names. It would abolish all subjective standards of juror selection and would not require "the use of judgment by a jury commissioner or key man." It also would eliminate "Literary Digest" jury lists taken from phone books, voter registration lists, etc.

Discriminatory appointment and hiring of court officials and employes needs to be eliminated in not just the state but

also the federal courts of the South. As on a jury, the mere physical presence of Negroes could accomplish much in eliminating gross expressions of racial bias.

Eliminating court and jury discrimination is only a step, however. The cases of Preston Cobb, Jr., and countless other Negroes illustrate the need for a workable public defender system, one in which the attorney would be hired on a career basis and thus be free of public pressure. Or perhaps other systems can be devised which will provide Negroes advocacy rather than echoes from the South's past. To eliminate cash register justice, the use of the installment plan method of paying fines should come into widespread use. And, indeed, a judge should determine the ability of a defendant to pay before he hands down a fine. To reduce the possibility of overly harsh sentences, some penologists have suggested that legislatures pass laws making it mandatory for the judge to receive a complete pre-sentencing report from court investigators before handing down a sentence of more than two years. The report should include an assessment of the defendant's prospects of rehabilitation, his general character and reputation, his previous court record, his record as a parent, etc. This could have the effect of making the judge see the defendant as a person, rather than as another criminal standing before the bar of justice. It would also result in a delay in sentencing and give the

judge a chance to reflect on the sentence before he hands it down. The same weighing of individual circumstances is needed in the setting of bail.

It is obvious on the face of it that dual justice could not exist, at least with its present excesses, if the American bar had taken aggressive action to end it. At best, attorneys in most areas of the South have been shy in accepting controversial cases involving Negroes, thus allowing the full wrath of segregationists to fall on a handful of Negro and "liberal" white attorneys. There is a desperate need for national and southern bar associations to begin enforcing their ethical codes in a manner which will guarantee that Negroes will be able to choose from a broad range of attorneys. Individual lawyers would be less reluctant, perhaps, to accept controversial cases if bar associations made it clear to the public that lawyers have the obligation to provide vigorous defense not only for white clients but for Negroes and unpopular white clients as well.

Finally, the people of the South must be fully aware that they have this sickness among them, and that it must be cured. White people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the Negro revolution. Their weariness is nothing compared to the Negro's.

The ultimate responsibility is with the people to assure liberty and justice for all -- in the South and across the nation wherever dual justice prevails.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION: A PROGRAM

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION:

A PROGRAM

February, 1966

With the aid of recent legislation, increasing education, and greater financial security Negro Americans are restive at being confined to areas of old and poor housing. Negroes are moving more frequently into formerly all-white neighborhoods or using their newly-found political power to demand municipal services and aid in upgrading their present dwellings. Community groups formed to articulate these demands or to resist exploitation by unscrupulous real estate speculators have become units with great political potential. So the pressure by Negroes for better housing may lead to a real revitalization in America of local democratic processes as an extremely important by-product.

All over the country newspapers are reporting the effects of local initiative on communities, local governments and federal agencies. This country's social development has been based on action by concerned and dedicated local citizens. Even as recently as the turn of the century there were numerous groups in our cities applying the fabled American organizing genius to social justice causes. And in the last decade the same energy has been expended imaginatively in cities and towns, north and south, in the campaign for recognition of equal rights for all Americans.

An organized local group can make its case known to the public and become the basic unit in instituting, directing and implementing public policy. With cohesiveness, effort and dedication, such groups exert pressure on lawmakers

and law enforcers, who, yielding to this expression of grass roots wishes, support those measures advocated by them. This interplay can continue in such a way as to make the democratic process a reality in a populous and highly technical country.

Neighborhoods are particularly apt units in which to foster a strong community voice; common problems create common bonds. Neighborhood associations have developed in neighborhoods facing the fact or possibility of their first Negro family; neighborhoods which have been short-changed or ignored by city governments or federal agencies; neighborhoods which want to expand equal opportunity to include housing in their own areas.

. . . . .

Suppose we examine a neighborhood where a strong neighborhood association will be a necessity if the neighborhood is to survive. In an older section of town, rather near the city's center, stand pleasant, spacious single-family dwellings. The average age of the owners is about 55; these have been family homes and the children have grown up, moved away and established themselves in other cities or other neighborhoods. There are some new families moving in, but property taxes are high, and the down payment required to buy a house here is more than most young families feel they can afford. But the community has many advantages - wide, quiet streets lined with tall trees, houses with large, high-ceilinged rooms, proximity to activities in the city, better

public transportation facilities and shorter commuting time for the wage earner. The neighborhood is near a cramped area inhabited by Negro citizens, cramped because the city's lack of fair housing laws has allowed housing discrimination to operate for years offering Negroes little possibility of escape into more comfortable, less crowded sections of the city.

This neighborhood with its many advantages is marked. Real estate dealers view it as speculative property; they hope to buy very low and sell high. And they will accomplish their ends if the neighborhood isn't careful. A middle-income Negro family perhaps will purchase one of the houses owned by an old resident who wants to move to an apartment. When this occurs, or simply by suggesting it might occur, real estate speculators "block bust"; they attempt by scare tactics, constant harassment and circulation of rumors to frighten other residents into selling fast before property values decline drastically. So a house properly assessed at $20,000 may be sold for $14,000. This house will be resold at $25,000 to a Negro family desperate for housing. If the residents don't scare easily then the speculator may sell a house to a Negro with low income and convince him that he can make the payments of several hundred dollars a month by turning the property into a rooming house for other Negro families. Thus, the speculator makes his profit and assures neighborhood devaluation by changing in this manner the character of the neighborhood from single-family, owner-occupied property

to multiple-resident rooming houses. But the realtor probably won't have to resort to this system, for white residents have been told for years that Negroes cause property decline,[1] that Negro residents won't take care of their homes,[2] that schools cannot maintain standards with many Negro children enrolled.[3] These are all myths, but unless facts are forcefully presented to old residents they will be victims of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" - people will act in a manner to assure their prediction will come true. The panicky owners throw their houses on the market at the same time, the sudden oversupply naturally depresses prices, and therefore, it is shown once again that the entrance of Negroes into a community lowers housing values. Negroes? White property owners have managed to cheat themselves by their fright and foolishness. And neither does this aid Negroes, for they are victimized by realtors. All that is produced is another "instant ghetto." Everyone loses except the speculators.

This is the picture, as dark as it can be made. There is hope - but only if the community will take action itself. No one else is going to save it; no one else is directly concerned about stabilizing the neighborhood. What can be done must be done quickly. It is practically impossible to halt

---

1 See Luigi Laurenti's study Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities, University of California Press.

2 Fair Housing Handbook, p. 27; Richard Margolis, "Integration - the Problems Nobody Talks About," Redbook Magazine, April, 1965, p. 138.

3 Neighbors, Inc., Washington, D. C., Fifth Annual Report, 1963.

neighborhood decline after the panicky rush to sell is well along.

Pioneering has been done by a number of communities. Their experiences, varying in success, furnish encouragement and guides to those who would emulate them. There is now a literature on neighborhood reclamation and a great deal of interest by individuals, groups, foundations and government in local efforts at stabilization. No community need feel they stand alone even though the will and effort must be theirs. A formula for self-help follows.

. . . . .

ORGANIZE

If the area has an old neighborhood association, reactivate it to form the basis of organization for the new fight. If there is none, then find among various acquaintances those people in the community interested enough in their homes and neighborhood to make the long, tedious and sometimes unpleasant struggle required. These willing, dedicated and persistent ones are the core of the resistance. If there is one such person for each block or two blocks, he can talk with others in the block to find out what their feelings are without arousing distrust and suspicion. Block by block, person by person, is the best way to confront and confound the

rumors and myths. Here is where the worker can point out that it is not a scientific fact that Negroes depress housing values, but that the opposite appears to be the case from the data.[4] At the same time people can be located who are thinking of moving for reasons other than racial prejudice, whose homes are too large now with family grown, who have been transferred out of the area, or who genuinely want to move into a suburb. If these residents are responsive to arguments of self-interest, ask them to be careful in placing their homes on the market and to do so when they can obtain a fair price. Finally, those who will allow racial prejudice to defeat every argument can also be identified and thenceforth avoided.

MOBILIZE

The next step will be to increase the cadre with all who want to be part of the neighborhood stabilization action. Notify residents by circulars or letters of the purposes of the

---

[4] See Laurenti, Property Values and Race. After an investigation of 10,000 real estate transactions in seven cities, the Commission on Race and Housing reported that in 85% of the cases, prices in areas entered by non-whites kept up with or exceeded those in all-white areas. In 15% of the cases, there were declines of from 5 to 9% which were usually short term and followed by rises to or above former prices.

neighborhood action and when meetings will be held. Put all volunteers to work - there will be plenty to do. Every successful neighborhood organization has stressed this point. They emphatically say an unused volunteer is a lost volunteer.

COMMERCIALIZE

To stabilize the neighborhood new white buyers must move into the area while older residents stand pat. All over the country in case after case, once a Negro has moved into a formerly all-white neighborhood, this community has been written off as being of no interest to whites.[5] In most cities realtors have refused to review their decisions. This means that although the neighborhood is the same as before Negro families moved in, and the advantages it offers are identical, no new white family will be shown it. In the South it may even be listed for "colored only" if the local newspapers still allow such classifications. Other neighborhoods have faced this

---

[5] MacGregor Estates, Houston, Texas; Hyde Park-Kenwood, Chicago, Illinois.

same problem, and a few have found after long canvassing a few realtors who would show to Negro and white homeseekers. If such men can be found, urge residents who must move to list their homes with these real estate agents. In most cases, however, the neighborhoods themselves have had to set up their own realty offices with listings of neighborhood property for sale on an equal opportunity basis. These offices usually have been non-profit and operated by volunteers.

UNIFY

Prospective buyers respond to confident neighborhoods where old residents are determined to remain and aren't abandoning their homes to move to lily-white suburbs which will themselves be integrated inevitably. With great success several besieged neighborhoods urged residents to place signs in their front yards declaring THIS PROPERTY IS NOT FOR SALE.

PUBLICIZE

To lure stable buyers into the area the neighborhood association must see that the neighborhood receives favorable publicity.

Often newspapers have been prevailed upon to write complimentary stories on the community and its activities. Other ways neighborhoods have gained valuable exposure are through art and book fairs, open houses and garden tours, and the distribution of their own literature to universities, government agencies and other groups to whom they felt their neighborhood might appeal.

CAPITALIZE

Once interested persons are ready to buy in the area, another hurdle is reached. In city after city where associations fought to revitalize their neighborhoods, they have found homes in the area could not get mortgages nor would bankers lend for buying or housing improvements in the newly integrated community. The only recourse has been to pressure bankers and savings and loan people until one or two agreed to finance homes.

. . . . .

In our example we find our neighborhood is determined to resist exploitation. A local housewife is the first to become aware of real estate speculation, and she determines to do something about it. Over coffee with several friends from

near-by streets she decides to organize the neighborhood by blocks and to question people about their feelings toward the five or six new Negro families resident in the community. The group finds that most home owners do not object to the new neighbors but are frightened by the old myths and the scare propaganda of the real estate men. At block meetings these fears are dispelled by facts, and literature about neighborhoods successful at stabilization is distributed (neighborhoods like Hyde Park-Kenwood in Chicago and MacGregor Estates in Houston). The few who evidence real racial prejudice are not argued with but ignored.

The neighborhood begins to feel that it too can save itself. The people make plans to show their renewed confidence in their community as an exceptional place to live. A publicity group is formed which produces a clever brochure advertising the many advantages of their neighborhood, and this is distributed to local colleges, universities and businesses. The neighborhood association which now numbers 200 families holds a spring home and garden tour to entice people into the neighborhood to look at the houses and community. This gains favorable publicity in the local newspapers.

New white families begin to take an interest in the area. They contact the non-profit real estate office operated by the neighborhood association, and several eventually find houses that fit their needs. After some difficulties the first family receives financing for their house, but the

families who follow have less trouble. Financing institutions begin to realize that our community still has plenty of appeal to whites as well as to Negroes, and that such a vital neighborhood is not going to die. Gradually the neighborhood regains its confidence and relaxes. Panic is no longer the reaction when a resident must move, for the neighborhood feels sure that whether a white family or a Negro family decides to purchase the vacated house the neighborhood will be able to assimilate the newcomers and give them welcome.

. . . . .

Communities which have succeeded in stabilization efforts emphasize the need to sell to white families. At first glance this may seem discriminatory in emphasis if not in fact - for each neighborhood sold willingly to Negro families. The truth is that until there is a fair housing law in each city and each state, Negroes locked into restricted areas will be forced by severe need to take advantage of any additional housing. If whites abandon a neighborhood because one or two Negro families have bought there, then, of course, that neighborhood will become just another all-Negro block in the Negro section. If all areas were equally open to occupancy for all with the means and desire to live there, then no one area would be under more or less pressure than the next. Until that time, however, communities seeking to remain stable and integrated must exert extra effort to maintain racial balance; that is, they <u>must</u> interest new white families in living there. If

they do not, then realtors will continue to list or show for colored only, and mortgages and loans will be ever more difficult to obtain. This emphasis on the necessity of new white home owners may sound harsh, but the reality of the situation is too obvious to be denied - ask neighborhoods in Chicago, Denver, Washington, Philadelphia, Baltimore or Houston.

With all the plans, suggestions and work, the prime ingredient for neighborhood stabilization is dedicated, tireless, committed people. Leaders will arise and be worn out in the struggle, but new leaders must be ready to take their places. Sometimes leadership has been entirely voluntary from the beginning through many years. Some communities hired a professional worker after local initiative organized and began the association. One association with its permanent salaried employee has expanded activities to include many useful community and educational functions, creating a real "esprit de corps," a sense of pride and unity, in the neighborhood.

One point is very certain; there is no one simple formula for all beleaguered neighborhoods. Each must adapt from previous efforts those methods which appeal to it and which will fit the community, and each must use imagination and ingenuity to solve its own problems in its own way. But the hope is this general outline first may awaken neighborhoods to the need for stabilization and secondly show them that with honest effort and hard work it can be done for it has been done.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Material from Neighborhood Associations

ACTION-Housing, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

MacGregor Estates Planning Committee, Houston, Texas

Neighbors, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Neighborhoods, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland

North Shore Summer Project, Chicago, Illinois

Pamphlets and Articles

A Strategy for the Next Stage in Civil Rights: Metropolitan Development for Equal Opportunity, A Policy Statement of the Steering Committee for the New York Pre-White House Conference, National Council of Churches, December 29, 1965.

Equality and Beyond: Housing Segregation in the Great Society by Eunice and George Grier, Daedalus, Winter, 1966. Careful analysis of present housing discrimination and means of changing this in policy and practice.

Fair Housing Handbook, American Friends Service Committee and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 1964. Readable, straightforward program for organizing local fair housing committees.

Integration - The Problems Nobody Talks About by Richard Margolis, Redbook Magazine, April, 1965.

Kenwood Foils the Block-busters by Elinor Richey, Harper's Magazine, August, 1963.

Neighbors and Neighborhoods: A Housing Handbook, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, 1965. Background information about the development of residential segregation, the cost of housing discrimination, review of approaches toward equality of opportunity in housing and suggestions of what can be done in communities toward this end.

New Approaches to Creating Strong Neighborhoods by James V. Cunningham, reprinted from New City, May 15, 1965.

Operation Open City by Eunice Grier, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, October, 1965.

Poverty and Social Change by Alexander H. Leighton, Scientific American, May, 1965.

The 1965 Capahosic Fair Housing Conference, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 1965.

Block-busting vs. Neighborhood Stabilization, Washington, D. C., U. S. Conference of Mayors Experience Report 105, Community Relations Service, 1965.

Housing and the Neighborhood, Planning Session for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights," December, 1965.

Zoning and the Planning Process, A Case Study: Houston, Texas by Peter H. Brown, unpublished paper, 1965.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS AND POOR PEOPLE

March 1966

COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS AND POOR PEOPLE

March 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

COOPERATIVES, CREDIT UNIONS AND NEGROES IN THE RURAL SOUTH

The Economic Dilemma

The southern rural Negro is in a time of peril. The civil rights achievements of the past few years -- gains that have profited middle-class Negroes -- are only a list of laws on a piece of legal scrip for the Negro in poverty. The civil rights movement somehow went by the poor Negroes in the United States, and the southern rural Negro -- whether he is a farmer or a sharecropper -- is in a dilemma. The cause of this dilemma is an almost total lack of economic independence. Civil rights workers in the South have urged people to register to vote, or have advised them to put their children in a "white" school. A number of brave men did these things. The results thus far have not satisfied either the civil rights workers or the men they advised. Now there appears to be a concern (a long overdue concern, though one which perhaps had to wait until now) that the Negro cannot exercise the rights that legislation has awarded him unless he is economically free.

There is a growing interest in attempting to attack the problem of minimal economic independence of rural southern

Negroes through the use of cooperatives and credit unions. Recently organized co-ops and credit unions can be observed across the Black Belt of the South.

A Note of Caution

While we commend their basic philosophy as being admirable we think it is important that cooperatives and credit unions not be accepted as cure-alls for the southern rural Negro's economic problems. Instead, they should be closely examined to see what they are and to ascertain where they fit into what has to be a massive effort aimed at improving the economic position of the southern rural Negro. Two points can be made here: where a successful cooperative already exists it is preferable to JOIN IT rather than to begin another cooperative organization. If it is impossible to become a member of an existing cooperative or if there is no cooperative supplying the service required, then before a cooperative is seriously considered a FEASIBILITY STUDY should be made. Such a study would attempt to find out the following information:

-- the need for the cooperative
-- the potential membership in such a cooperative
-- the management skills needed to run the organization successfully

-- the facilities needed

-- the operating costs

-- the capital required

-- how or whether to incorporate.

It is natural that civil rights groups turned to cooperatives when they were confronted with the rural Negro's need for financial independence. Ideally, cooperatives offer an individual or a group the power to make decisions concerning their own lives. The civil rights movement is concerned with helping people achieve this same decision-making power, which is the integral substance of freedom. It is both natural and good that the two came together. But the marriage should not be a hurried one. There is some question of the compatibility of cooperatives with the present needs of poor rural southern Negroes. The following discussion of some of the things that cooperatives are and aren't is an attempt to answer this question.

Cooperatives are businesses. That cooperation is a good thing is not enough to guarantee success. A business established by groups of people, owned and controlled and largely patronized by these same groups, is still a business and it must have at least as efficient operations as those of its competitors. The business record of cooperatives reveals that about the same number of cooperatives and mutual businesses

have failed as other businesses. Cooperative businesses are not automatically guaranteed success.

Cooperatives are a hard kind of business to start and an even harder kind to operate successfully.

Cooperatives demand excellent management if they are to succeed.

Cooperatives almost always lack capital. Basic capital must always come from members of co-ops. When these members are poor, there is a lack of capital.

Cooperatives are, in most lines of business, up against stiff competition from highly efficient competitors.

Experiments In Business

Negroes in the Black Belt are experimenting with small grocery cooperatives. The average store is a small building located in the Negro neighborhood. It is owned by perhaps twenty or more men. Their investment ranges from $25 up. How good an investment is it? There is a history of failure behind attempts to establish similar co-ops. During the years following World War II, a succession of failures in consumer cooperative food stores led to a belief that such businesses were almost impossible to operate successfully. Recently very large co-op grocery stores have been successful in some of the northern cities. But the small grocery co-op remains

a poor risk. The small grocer necessarily buys in small lots. Often he buys at high wholesale prices, prices which many times exceed the retail prices of chain groceries in the area. The low volume of sales makes it difficult to supply fresh products such as meat, milk, and vegetables to customers. The quality and location of facilities are often poor. The small Negro-owned grocery co-op in a small Black Belt town will undoubtedly lack operating capital, making it difficult for it to offer credit to its customers, and credit has long been the life force of small grocery stores in America.

Some discussion has been given to the possibility of establishing state-wide wholesale co-ops to supply local grocery co-ops with produce at wholesale prices. The cost of such an operation would probably be prohibitive. Trucks, warehouses, and employees all cost money, and should the wholesale cooperative make enough to pay for itself it is doubtful if the individual store owners would make any profit during the first several years. It appears that the problems of small grocery co-ops, even when serviced by a wholesale food cooperative, are considerable enough to label such an endeavor an extremely high risk.

Marketing cooperatives, on the other hand, have long been successful in the United States. Almost one-fourth of all America's farm crops are sold through cooperative marketing

associations. Several civil rights groups and one or two independent individuals are presently attempting to establish farm cooperatives around truck crops in Alabama and Mississippi with Negro farmers.

These will be both consumer and marketing cooperatives; the consumer part will provide necessary farm and home supplies to the farmers and the marketing aspect will concern itself with selling the truck crops. Again it seems that perhaps the cooperative idea has been oversold as a means for solving an economic problem and under-explained in regard to the risk and personal involvement it entails. Six or ten Negro farmers in Alabama can gain when they get together to buy fertilizer cheaper or to share the use of a tractor or a combine they own collectively. Such cooperative venture supplies a service, but rarely does it produce a really substantial increase in a farmer's income. Collective marketing of crops by ten, fifteen, or even twenty farmers is a complicated procedure and it involves a fairly high risk. Generally, marketing cooperatives are formed or have been formed to protect farmers against the fluctuations of the speculative market. Without a marketing co-op the farmer is forced to sell his crop -- sometimes to but one or two buyers -- at whatever price the buyer is willing to pay and under whatever conditions the buyer insists upon. Large marketing

co-ops supply terminal storage, marketing facilities, and marketing agencies to large numbers of farmers. In this way the farmers, through cooperatives, are able to exert some influence in terms of both quality and price on the buyer. All this sounds very good. The question, however, is whether a group of twenty Negro farmers in Alabama can provide themselves with all the necessities to make such a venture a business success. Where will the capital come from? Who will supply the management skills necessary for success? What will keep the buyers and white farmers from simply treating such a small bargaining unit as just one middle-sized farmer, whose tomatoes or cucumbers "they just don't feel like buying at market price today?" Will the farmers sell all their produce through the marketing co-op or will they be tempted, especially if other members' produce is not as good as theirs, to sell their best produce separately and only their inferior produce through the co-op?

Several questions should be asked of other cooperative efforts under way in the South. Can a gas-oil cooperative servicing only Negro-owned service stations withstand a price war with a major oil company? How long can a co-op making clothing and leather luxury items depend on a "sympathy" market? And is this market large enough to allow the business to expand enough to offer minimum wages, training opportunities, and retirement benefit to its owners, the employees? It should be

noted here that with adequate training courses and assistance in the marketing of the finished products self-employment cooperatives such as these offer great promise in that they provide jobs to persons who are unemployed, underemployed, or victims of economic retaliation. Can a state-wide consumer cooperative planned to supply Negroes with all basic living requirements from food to clothing under-sell a national mail order house on everything or even meet their prices on a majority of items? Can they offer easy credit? If such a cooperative did succeed and if it could include all the Negroes in any southern state, would it change the situation appreciably? Could it offer employment, more income, housing, or better education to ex-farm workers? Would a man making $1500 a year find a dividend check of $4.50 at the end of a year and one vote out of 10,000 in the running of the cooperative of enough value to his life to pledge his involvement and loyalty, both of which would be necessary if the co-op is to succeed, to the organization?

A Good Idea is Not Enough

An ideal couched in the greatest moral and social needs of man is not enough to assure the success of a business enterprise. Mr. Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League, says that cooperatives in America have learned a number of lessons since 1950. Among them are several

that are especially applicable to this discussion:

1. The day of the small cooperative kept alive by idealism alone is largely past; coordination, federation and merger are necessary. Everything from raw materials..... to consumers must be included.
2. The best method of expansion of cooperatives is from regional cooperatives outward, not in formation of new cooperatives.
3. Good management is of critical importance.

People planning cooperatives might well heed several guidelines for their successful operation.

--- Cooperative managers must do only the job assigned them by the co-op members.

--- Members must be familiar with the business field they are entering and must realize their responsibilities. (Or, members may withdraw, especially if they don't see immediate benefits.)

--- Members often feel that since the business belongs to them they can safely "owe themselves." A private business can select its business risks -- a co-op must treat all members alike.

--- Co-op managers must be good businessmen and good leaders. Training should be a requirement.

--- Local and independent co-ops often suffer problems. Co-ops, when possible, should affiliate with others and with central marketing and supply organizations.

--- Cooperatives must anticipate vigorous attacks by those whose business interests are in conflict with objectives of the cooperative.

--- Because cooperatives are democratically controlled organizations it is often difficult to distinguish between one member, one vote in overall control of the organization (an essential feature in any true cooperative) and attempted "democracy" in management and operations, which is fatal to any business, cooperatives included.

Credit Unions

The growth of credit unions among low-income people, primarily Negroes in the South, has accelerated during the past six months. These, too, are often interpreted as a

means to economic power. Their value as a source of money is often emphasized over their purpose of promoting thrift, individual self-help, etc. As with other cooperative efforts, it is necessary to look closely at credit unions to see what they are, and how they can benefit people belonging to them.

Credit unions are cooperative organizations composed of members having a common bond of occupation, residence, or other association. They promote thrift and create a source of credit for their members. Credit unions give to their members the opportunity for regular saving and offer protection of funds -- for they operate under law, supervised by the government, and must supply surety bonds and substantial reserves. Often life insurance benefits are available. Credit unions loan money at low interest rates (usually 1% a month or less) to their members to pay bills, taxes, medical expenses, automobiles, vacations, education, etc. They are often the only place a low-income family can go and obtain a loan at decent terms.

Most federal and state credit unions provide organizational assistance where the applicant group is eligible for a charter and has qualified leadership within it to insure a reasonable chance for successful operation.

Strictly speaking, it is not necessary for credit unions to incorporate. But the advantages of incorporation are great.

The laws generally:

--- require audit by state banking authorities

--- limit the member's liability

--- enable credit unions to sign contracts

--- give legal standing to rights of the credit union and to any member who may appear in court

--- establish chartered and incorporated credit unions as any other banking institution.

How does a credit union of rural Alabama Negroes, or of citizens of a city slum, compare with the majority of credit unions in the U. S.?

The majority of credit union members in the U. S. are industrial employees, government employees, and teachers. Rural based credit unions account for only 3% of U. S. credit unions and for but little more than 1% of total credit union savings. Local community credit unions during the 20's and 30's had such poor records of success that some state supervisory authorities refused to charter community groups. This trend has somewhat disappeared and farm credit unions are now considered good risks.

A Realistic Look

What can low-income people expect of a credit union if it succeeds?

In the U. S. as a whole average savings of credit union members is about $500. Last year loans to individual members of federal credit unions averaged over $750. Credit unions rarely make unsecured loans (by signature only) in excess of $300. Usually they place a limit even on loans with security. A small credit union of 30-40 poor people could not make very large loans. Its primary value would be to allow people to make their own decisions concerning the use of their savings, and to provide a sympathetic board to hear their loan requests. Requests should always be kept in confidence at the risk of members losing faith in the credit union.

Small credit unions made up of low-income people will have problems. As long as credit unions are small and cannot afford to pay for help, they have the perpetual problem of finding volunteer workers who are qualified to manage the affairs of the union. Community credit unions have a reputation of being "stillborn." Stillborn credit unions are those organized with only partial support from the community, or unions which failed to select competent officers or attract sufficient working capital.

Credit unions, then, can lend members small sums at reasonable interest and provide other services such as inexpensive life insurance. That such organizations are badly, if not desperately, needed there is no doubt, but their

chances for success hinge on good management, community involvement, and adequate capital. They can obtain help from the Office of Economic Opportunity in grants or loans which allow the beginning credit union to hire a financial manager -- something a credit union cannot ordinarily do until it is several years old. Assistance is also available from state credit union leagues and the Federal Credit Union League. The Credit Union National Association (CUNA) in Madison, Wisconsin, can supply advice and written information, as well as the materials for bookkeeping and other essentials.

A small credit union of poor people cannot do much to change a member's economic position if he is already deeply in debt, or has only a meager income. The spirit of the cooperative action seems of more apparent value than the economic assistance it can give.

SUMMARY

This analysis of cooperative action among poor people, especially poor southern Negroes, has perhaps drawn far more negative conclusions than were intended. Cooperatives, and the ideal of placing human rights and better living above profit motives, are needed in the South. Perhaps the viability

of a democracy depends on such cooperative action. There is a danger, however, of thinking of anything done cooperatively as being something sacred, something that can overcome all obstacles.

The question, of course, is how best to achieve economic independence, without which the southern Negro will not be able to wield his considerable political power. It is evident that some people believe that small cooperatives, and still smaller credit unions, can offer low-income people some degree of independence. But, a restriction of the use of the cooperative to a small, almost romantic notion of a community will in all probability sentence it to failure. There is also the inherent danger of dashing and discouraging the cooperative spirit that presently exists, if such small organizations should fail.

Because cooperatives and credit unions are both businesses, if such efforts are to be of real economic benefit in this day of big business, they will have to be large in size and scope. State-wide and regional cooperative endeavors should be considered. Large land cooperatives, featuring housing co-ops and perhaps industry owned by the people themselves, are possibilities. State or regional corporations could offer sizeable loans and provide technical training and marketing assistance to individual self-employment co-ops. Such

corporations could be foundation or government subsidized. This would allow the valuable moral and psychological advantages of the cooperative self-help idea to continue while also weighting the odds for economic success in the co-op's favor. Thus, cooperative spirit -- among the very people who need it if they are to survive as individuals with basic human rights -- might succeed and thrive.

Information Sources - Cooperatives

More information regarding cooperatives can be obtained from the following agencies:

1. The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605

2. Farmers Cooperative Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250

   The following publications are available from the Service:

   -- How To Start a Cooperative

   -- Financing Farmer Cooperatives

   -- Managing Farmer Cooperatives

   -- Sample Legal Documents for New Cooperatives

   -- What Is a Co-op?

3. The National Sharecroppers Fund, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

4. Assistance may also be obtained from:

   1. Local County Extension Agents
   2. State Director of Extension
   3. Head of the Agricultural Economics Department at the state land-grant college
   4. Head of the State Department of Agriculture
   5. The district bank for cooperatives
   6. The management of existing cooperatives
   7. The secretary of the State Cooperative Agricultural Council.

Loans To Cooperatives

Loans to cooperatives serving rural families with low incomes are available under:

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

These loans are made through the Farmers Home Administration.

Details are available from:

United States Department of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration
Washington, D. C. 20225

Pamphlet: "Loans to Cooperatives"

Information Sources - Credit Unions

Credit Union National Association
P. O. Box 431, Madison, Wisconsin 53701
Attention: Mr. Robert M. Dolan

Bureau of Federal Credit Unions
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20225

Loans Available to Credit Unions

Regional Office of Economic Opportunity
101 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Loans designed to utilize credit unions as the vehicle to accomplish the purposes of Section 6.f. "Consumer Information, Education, and Mutual Aid" of the Community Action Guide, Vol. I, February, 1965.

The Applicant Agency

1. Where the official Community Action Program Agency has been designated in a given area, it would serve as the applicant agency.

2. Where the official Community Action Program Agency has not been designated, an existing neighborhood organization, such as a settlement house, might serve as the applicant agency, taking the initiative to bring together leadership representative of the community as a whole. In this case the history and activities of the agency should be described as part of this proposed component.

Purpose of Component

To meet the problems indicated above and to fulfill the objectives of Part C, Section 6.f. of the Community Action Program Guide by expanding existing credit unions or developing new ones:

1. To open up for residents of target areas served by neighborhood centers the opportunity to manage their finances with the same dignity that others enjoy through membership participation in credit union benefits.

2. To provide through the credit union a "money clinic" and a "school for economic literacy" addressing itself actively on a full-time basis to money and credit problems of the people who reside in these neighborhoods.

3. To provide basic thrift and low-cost lending services.

4. To develop consumer education programs for members and potential members.

5. To develop budget and family financial counseling services.

6. To provide a device for the development of leadership and operational skills in a cooperative venture.

Action Plan

To apply the tested approach of supplying a staff unit of three persons to operate the credit union on a full-time basis in each selected neighborhood.

A. 1. Identify the well-defined neighborhood boundaries that will qualify for a credit union charter. Survey the area to determine whether to expand an existing credit union or start a new one.

To be done by the state credit union league in cooperation with the applicant agency. Additionally in all phases of this program the services of CUNA will be made available.

2. Recruit and train indigenous sub-professionals to serve as the credit union operational staff.

To be done by the state credit union league in cooperation with the applicant agency and other neighborhood associations. Training would include

on-the-job experience in existing credit unions; participation in existing credit union league and chapter programs; special training sessions geared to special needs of the group to be served.

3. Provide training for the credit union volunteer officials (15) chosen from the neighborhood by fellow residents to serve as credit union board and committee members.

   To be done by state credit union league and the credit union operational staff.

4. Provide guidance and assistance in launching the credit union into operation.

   To be done by state credit union league.

5. Provide continuing advice and counsel for the successful operation of the credit union.

   To be done by state credit union league.

B. Where plans call for establishment of more than one neighborhood center credit union, a Credit Union Project Coordinator-Trainer would be employed. He would be a credit union specialist with field experience who would be involved in all phases of the action plan for each unit.

Budget

Individual Neighborhood Credit Union Unit

Credit Union Staff Salary & Salary Expense	$15,000.00
Manager Loan Counselor Bookkeeper-Teller	
Education and Training Materials	4,000.00
Equipment	1,000.00
	$20,000.00

(It is anticipated that space and utilities might be donated by a neighborhood association, and applied as part of the necessary 10 percent local contribution to the program.)

City Project Credit Union Coordinator-Trainer

(When two to five neighborhood center credit unions are planned. If more than five are initiated it might be necessary to add an assistant to the Coordinator.)

Salary and Salary Expense	$ 9,000.00
Travel and Transportation Expense	1,000.00
	$10,000.00